Proceeding

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

SOCIAL MEDIA CULTURES

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND JOURNALISTIC CHALLENGE

Yogyakarta, Indonesia
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Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
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Foreword

The proceeding of International Conference on Social Media Cultures: Political, Economic, Social, and Journalistic Challenges published by Faculty of Social and Political Sciences University of Atma Jaya Yogyakarta as a part of International Conference, held on September 22, 2011.

The theme reflects the interest of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Atma Jaya Yogyakarta to anticipate the rapid and fundamental changes occurring in our life because of the emergence of the social media.

We see that the use of social network tools leads to social changes in everyday life, politics, education and other fields and it has changed the way information circulates within the country, creating more awareness, actions and changes.

This conference is dedicated to providing opportunities for scholars and practitioners to share their knowledge and to get involved in discourse on social media uses and their implications on politics, economy, social, and journalism, as well as the challenges they bring.

Through the presentation of invited speakers in plenary session and parallel sessions, delegates will present research that considers the current and future impact of the Internet and social media in political, economic, social, and journalism contexts.

We would like to thank you on your participation. We received 71 abstracts from 14 countries, 38 abstracts were accepted for presenting. However, some presenters have cancelled their presentation, and now we have 25 papers will be presented.

It is with great pleasure that we welcome four outstanding keynote speakers. Merlyna Lim and Yanuar Nugroho are outstanding Indonesian scientists. Merlyna talked about participatory culture and political engagement in social media, lessons from the Arab Spring, and Yanuar Nugroho talked about social media in the contemporary civic activism in Indonesia. Prof. Martin Loffelholz from Ilmenau University, Germany talked about social media and corporate communication and Cherian George from Nanyang Technological University, Singapore talked about social media and journalism.

Most of all, I hope you find this conference intellectually challenging and stimulating for your own teaching and research.

Yohanes Widodo
Organizing Chair/Editor

Part A
Youth and Social Media

Adolescent Reproductive Health Counseling through the Internet Media: Obstacle or Chance?

AGOENG NOEGROHO

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Abstract-Mobilphone communication technologies can be used to phone, write a short message, and also to send images, and the latest fiture of mobilephone with 3G technology, we can use to communicate face to face or see the other person's face, chat, send e-mail, and use to access the internet. Almost all the teenagers in big cities in Indonesia have a mobile phone. This paper will explore the use of information and counseling on reproductive health by the teens via Internet media. The phenomenon of the many teenagers who download the porn video via Internet on computers and mobilephones, has served the background to know how the most problem of internet media is used by teenagers to obtain the information about adolescent reproductive health. The results show that there are many sites that provide information and consulting services regarding reproductive health of adolescents in Indonesia, for example www.ceria.bkkbn.go.id, www.kesrepro.info, www.pilar.pkbi.20m.com, www.birudanpink.com, and etc. The category of interactivity, all of the sites already serving interactive reproductive health consultations via electronic mail or e-mail and provide adolescent reproductive health consultations through an interactive discussion forum on the internet. The problem is the interest of adolescent to take advantage of sites that related to reproductive health through the internet media. The assume that the tendency of adolescents reproductive health is very privacy, so they more prefer to the teachers, or ask the medicals to consult of adolescents reproductive health.

Keyword: Internet, accessibility, adolescent reproductive health, teenagers

PREFACE

The phenomenon of the teenager exploring of sex to access porn sites and download images or video scenes "erotic-sex" is many occur in Indonesia. As reported in Okezone.com. in July 2010 entitled: 7 of 8 Teens Save Video Porno 'Ariel', the numbers of teens abuzz downloading video via the internet on a computer or mobile phone. To spread is also very easy, ie using bluetooth facility or between mobile multi-media message sent to friends.

Mobilphone as a communications technology, which has attributes such as practical and can be taken anywhere (mobilphone), sophisticated, we can use to call, write a short message, and also to send a photo. Even now with the latest fiture phones with 3G technology, we can use to communicate with a person or see the other person's face, chat, send e-mail, and used to access the internet.

Communication technology equipment is defined as hardware, organizational structure, and social values   in which individuals collect, process and exchange information with other individuals (Roger, 1986 in Noegroho, 2010b). The social role of communication technology today has added the concept of real social networking in the community with social networking virtual world or cyberspace.

Recent data on the use of internet facilities through the mobile phone becomes to speed up access and also more and more of the users in a short time. For example chat rooms and share facilities information through social networking site www. facebook.com. On August 29, 2008, the social networking site Facebook is increasingly popular. The management announced that the service user networking site Facebook has been through 100 million. A year later on 20 September 2009, Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg is proud to announce the number of Facebook users had exceeded 200 million, and on September 18, 2009, the United States Citizens who enroll in Facebook has reached 90 million users.

Back again to the problem of adolescent sexuality in Indonesia. In BKKBN online on January 22, 2010, the youth in Indonesia now have the courage to explore the sexuality.Based on data from the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN online) the period of late December 2008 showed that **63%** of teenagers in big cities in Indonesia have premarital sex, and most believe that their sexual relationship did not make to pregnancy.

Dr. Boy Abidin, who practiced in SpOG Hospital Partners Kelapa Gading, Jakarta, also has a data of teen pregnancy in Indonesia. The results were startling, look figure 1. Approximately 3.2% of girls get pregnant out of wedlock because of being raped, 12.9% pregnant out of wedlock because on the basis of sex are equally willing, 45.2% pregnant out of wedlock, unexpectedly when they would get pregnant and 22.6 % lead-free sex.

Figure 1. The Cases of Teens Pregnant in Indonesia
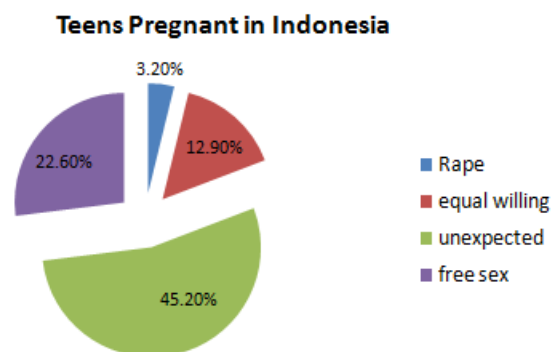
Source: Boy Abidin in www.hanyawanita.com

The data that makes us his chest that happens because they

lack knowledge about reproductive health and communicable diseases caused as a result of these free sex. Sex sometimes becomes taboo to talk about.However, its impact can be disastrous. The teens were choosing to find out for theyself, even they have sex without knowing the consequences that must be borne in the future.(source: www.hanyawanita.com)

The phenomenon of adolescent behavior in dating are packed into the facts in reporting by journalists on-line media from the period of 2009-2010 in Noegroho (2010a) are presented in Table 1,

Table 1. List of The Online News About Adolescent and Sexuality in Indonesia Period 2009-2010

Source: Media Indonesia Online

No	Title	Time	Source
1	Kasus pernikahan di bawah umur atau pernikahan dini di Purwokerto menunjukan angka peningkatan	08 Juli 2009	TEMPO Interaktif
2	Foto Bugil Siswi SMP di Palembang beredar via Handphone	4 Februari 2009	Sriwijaya Post – 3/2/2009 in Heboh.Mampir.Net™
3	Video Mesum Siswi SMP di Palu Hebohkan Warga	15 Desember 2009	Palu (ANTARA News)
4	Puluhan Warnet di Purwokerto Jadi Tempat Mesum	03 Desember 2009	Republika Newsroom
5	Siswa Mesum di Hotel, Dipergoki Ayah Sedang Bugil	14 Nov 2009	www.riauinfo.com
6	63% Siswa SLTP Sudah Berhubungan Seks	7 Januari 2009	http://www.vhmedia.com
7	25% Siswa SMU Sudah Berhubungan Seks		http://cybernews.com
8	Hot! Lulus Unas, 9 Siswa Pesta Seks	17 Juni 2009	www.beritajatim.com
9	Seks.Dulu..Lalu.Tidak.Ikut.UN	27 April 2009	http://regional.kompas.com
10	Tinggi, Angka Pernikahan Dini di Malang	10 February 2009	BKKBN-online
11	Kondom Bukan Pembenaran Seks Bebas	22 Januari 2009	Sumber: Media Indonesia Online
12	Video Siswi SMP Mesum Beredar Luas	Diakses 2010	www.berita86.com
13	Berzina Direndam Setengah Bugil	24 Januari 2010	http://pakarbisnisonline.blogspot.com
14	Siswa SMP Tertangkap di Kamar Mandi Berhubungan Seks	12 Januari 2010	www.suaramerdeka. com
15	Siswi kelas II Sekolah Menengah Atas Negeri (SMAN) melahirkan di sekolah	26 Februari 2010	www.suaramerdeka. com
16	Siswi SMA Negeri 12 Surabaya melahirkan di sebuah kamar mandi sekolah	17 Juli 2010	www.inilah.com

Turns out to data, there are many cases and shows at a level that can be called worrisome. Facts and data that most teenagers are sexually active, high rates of teenage pregnancy, increasing numbers request dispensation to marry in children under age, many babies are born from the womb of a teenager, and many other cases relating to abortion, the baby is born prematurely , and the infant mortality rate, are the problem facing not only Indonesia but also the countries in the world today. Therefore, sufficient information about sex education and reproductive health need to be provided to youth.

A wide variety of activities have been organized by various organization within the framework of counseling on reproductive health of adolescents in many cities in Indonesia, both initiatives from government agencies, non government, or at the initiative of the community with the health educators in the field. The purpose of including adolescent reproductive health education to provide knowledge to the youth about the health of reproductive organs and behavior of adolescents in order to avoid of sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancy before marriage.

Linkages and communication technology advances Indonesia adolescent sexuality issues underlying the writer thought to reveal any further focus of the issue: how much the use of communication technology by the competent organization in Indonesia to disseminating information and counseling about reproductive health for adolescents?

CONTENT

Now the communications technology has been successfully integrate between telecommunications technology, information technology and multimedia technology, we often called telematics technology. The variative of new service to get information because it is supported telecommunications technologies become a necessity. The new service is essentially aimed at fulfilling the human need for the information presented in various forms. Because of humans encode and decode the information using the senses (eyes, nose, ears, mouth and skin), then we attempt to present information services in the form of pictures, graphics, text, sound.

The development of communication technologies such as the cyber world of internet for every nation in the world have no other option to avoid the brunt of flow the information. Including the reproductive health for adolescents of information sources other parts of the world . Utilization of communication technologies are rightly used to follow the times and the need for dissemination of information relating to reproductive health for adolescents.

Several agencies of various government and non government also aggressively disseminating reproductive health messages through the site on the internet, the following website address

which can be accessed in table 2:

Table 2. Website Address of Reproductive Health in Indonesia

Website
www.bkkbn.go.id
www.kesrepro.info
www.seksehat.info
_____ www.kesehatanreproduksi.com
www.surabaya-ehealth.org
_____ www.pilar.pkbi.20m.com
www.pkmi-online.com
www.klinikpasutri.co.id
www.mitrainti.org
_____ www.birudanpink.com
www.ceria.bkkbn.go.id
www.mcrpkbi.org
www.pkbi.diy.info
_____ www.kesehatanibu.depkes.go.id
www.menegpp.go.id

Source: Noegroho 2011

A wide variety of forms of address for the site menu offered by the various organization in the context of counseling on reproductive health of adolescents in the cyber world, both initiatives of government and non government agencies. The category of interactivity, all of sites already serving interactive reproductive health consultations via electronic mail or e-mail and provide adolescent reproductive health consultations through an interactive discussion forum on the internet. The goal of adolescent reproductive health education is the same ie to provide knowledge to the youth about the health of reproductive organs and behavior of adolescents in order to strengthen avoid of sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancy before marriage.

Chance to adolescent reproductive health counseling via the internet medium can be described as follows:

- Internet in Indonesia is now easier and cheaper
- Now mobile internet equipped web browsing
- Internet is accessible anytime and anywhere
- Internet users in Indonesia in 2011 reached 39.1 million people (world ranking 8) and 24,195,080 people (61.88%) access via mobile phones (Vivanews.com on edutechnolife.com)
- Research conducted by TNS Indonesia and Yahoo! Indonesia delivered in a press conference at Le Meridien Hotel, Jakarta, Friday (20/3/2009). Menti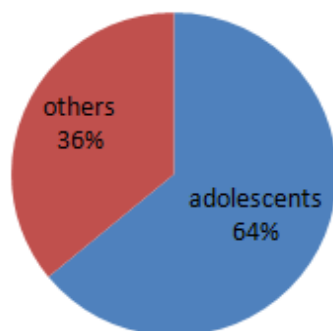oned that one of three urban residents in Indonesia to access the internet. Adolescents aged 15-19 years are 64% of internet users in Indonesia. See Figure 2.

This survey also said the dominance of the use of online services is on the e-mail (59%), instant messaging (59%) and

Figure 2. The Age of Internet Users In Indonesia

social networking (58%). In addition, using search engines (56%), access news online (47%), write blogs (36%) as well as play games online (35%). See figure 3.

Figure 3. Tipe of Use the Online Service by Internet Users In Indonesia

In Indonesia there are many sites that provide information about adolescent reproductive health in a positive and responsible.
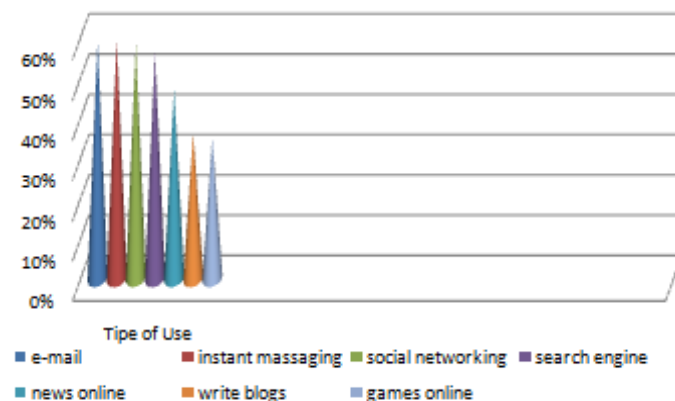
The obstacles to adolescent reproductive health counseling via the internet medium can be described as follows:

- Knowledge to address of adolescent reproductive health sites on the internet
- The willingness of adolescents to access information and consultation on reproductive health of adolescents through the Internet
- Reproductive health of adolescents is more oriented only to sex
- The internet is used for teen sexual exploration by accessing pornographic pictures or videos
- Reproductive health is a very privacy for teens, so many of them to choose teachers or medical personnel to consult the reproductive health, in order to guarantee confidentiality than through the Internet media.

CONCLUSION

Observing the number of cases that occur in adolescents and sexual behaviors that lead to a negative, in fact many factors that influence it: such as limited access to information and reproductive health services for adolescents are not comparable to the type of reproductive health risks that must be faced by teenagers such as unwanted pregnancies (Kehamilan Tidak Dikehendaki), abortion (abortion), sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and sexual violence. Choices and decisions taken by a teenager is very dependent on the mental toughness, that they have to talk "not for sex before merriage" as well as the availability of reproductive health services and policies that are specific to them, either formally or informally situation.

As a first step of prevention, are expected to educate that even the various media has a role in enhancing the knowledge of adolescents about reproductive health, it must be supported with communication, information and education (CIE) is a firm about the causes and consequences of sexual behavior, what to do and the service who are willing to help if there has been

an unwanted pregnancy or contracting sexually transmitted diseases (STDs).

Therefore the use of media in the cyber world are expected to more than just providing reproductive health information and also campaigned for the need for adolescent reproductive health with the slogan "Say No to ML (Making Love)" or "Say No to Sex Before Merriage" and personal counseling by person either via the internet connectivity in mobile phones and computers. The problem is the adolescent's interest to or willingness to use of existing sites to provide adequate information about reproductive health through the internet. Assume that the tendency of adolescents reproductive health is a very privacy, they more prefer to choose the teachers and the medical personnel to consult in order to guarantee confidentiality than through the Internet media.

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Risk and Opportunity Among Indonesian Teens Using Social Media: The Need of New Media Literacy

B. GUNTARTO

Abstract--In various regions of the world, adolescents under the age of 18 years is a pretty dominant group as an active Internet users. About 80% of them are users of social networking sites (SNS) or more popularly known as social media. According to facebook.com, the percentage of Indonesia facebook users under 18 years old in May 2011 reached 24% or about 8.7 million people. This is a very large number, and will certainly grow quickly.

As a member of the community who are in the process of reaching their maturity, teenagers is a period of turmoil that many experience both in dealing with parents and teachers, with peers, with other people and new people, as well as with theirself. Great curiosity, the urge to try and experiment, openness to new things, is a great learning opportunity but at the same time also risky for teenagers.

Their interest and attachment to the Internet and social media in particular is a necessity. But over the internet, many things done by teenagers who can no longer be monitored as well as in real life. So, there needs to be a wise move but put up with a serious and comprehensive of the various parties, so that learning opportunities that are so great from this new media can be optimized, while the risks appear more manageable.

Sonia Livingstone with her research of 'EU Kids Online' (2011) underlines the importance of digital issues safety skills to anticipate the risks of using social networking sites in children and adolescents. One of the most important issue is privacy. This is similar to research results done by the Children Media Development Foundation (YPMA) in 2011 in junior high and high school students in Depok West Java, which found that nearly 60% of students familiar with the Internet since grade 4-5 elementary school.

This paper is intended to discuss about the importance of new media literacy among Indonesian teens. The new media literacy is essentially aims to allow users to have an understanding and competence in using new media in order to navigate the jungle of the Internet with a safe and fun.

Teachers/schools and parents, are basically the closest in teenage life, and ideally can be a place to ask and lamented. Thus, teachers and parents should also have an understanding of the issue of adequate Internet and teenagers. Those teachers, parents, and students/teens are what should get the program school-based new media literacy.

Keywords: social media, teens, new media literacy, risks and opportunities.

BACKGROUND

Internet users around the world inevitably continue to grow rapidly. The vast development of communication technology and information have a very large slice of the Internet. Ease of access, practicality in use, and low cost of surfing cause anyone interested in utilizing the Internet. No exception of children and young people wherever they are.

Characteristics of the Internet can foster a sense of wonder, curiosity, a desire to explore, desire to exploit, challenge, which is upon all those who use the Internet. Once people use the Internet so unconsciously, many things in his life had influenced and changed by the Internet. For example, in this way a person communicates with others who are now increasingly relying on virtual communication via the Internet. In addition, news and information is now more often obtained from the Internet because it can be obtained very quickly and update.

Among teens, especially in big cities in Indonesia, the Internet is increasingly popular and in high in demand. This is because the cost is more cheap and cheaper, easy to access either through the Public Internet (Warnet), at home, or on their mobile phone. Internet also found at school. School teachers sometimes also demands the students to do a small research and gather data from the Internet. This assignment of course also encourages Internet use among junior high and high school students.

A fairly intensive use of the Internet among teenagers has raised the possibility of two opportunities, i.e. the benefits that they could take, and the risk of negative impacts. As a 'data warehouse' which contain billions of data both positive and negative for the students, the Internet is potentially a huge source of learning. But on the other hand, content that is not appropriate for children and teens are also available in abundance.

In other words, a certain skill is needed in order to use the Internet appropriately, while on the other hand can minimize the negative impacts that may occur. Although it is known to have a fast learning ability in understanding the technology and the Internet, but still children and teens need assistance in understanding and interpret the content, use and produce the content properly, beside other issues such as ethics, privacy, and so on. Without those things, their acitivities using the Internet can be said in an unsafe condition.

This paper would discuss how young people in Indonesia in general in using the Internet, what the opportunities can be maximize from the Internet, the risks that often occur, and what action should we do for the best interest of the child. The structure of the writing in this paper consists of the introduction, an overview of youth in the digital era, the risk and opportunity, the notion of new media and new media literacy, as well as recommendations for the various parties.

Teens and Internet

Children's Media Development Foundation, a National NGO which put great concern on children and media issues, in early March 2011 did a small research entitled "Internet In the Lives of Youth". The study was conducted to obtain baseline data on how actual patterns of Internet use in junior high and high school. The data base is used for the purpose of seminar papers on media literacy wich involving school teachers. The seminar was held in FISIP University of Indonesia in Depok, West Java.

The results showed that students who are digital natives in Depok familiar with the Internet since they were in elementary school, especially in grade 4 to grade 6. Parents, family (brother, uncle, aunt, and cousins), and teachers play a role in introducing the Internet to them. However, there are also among those who learn on their own. They are looking for information to Internet in the print media either magazines or books and then practice it by themselves.

To surf in the virtual world, they were using a device such as personal computers (PCs), laptops, mobile phones, or BlackBerry. Because the majority of respondents have Internet access at home, then they use PCs and laptops in their homes. The number of students who go to the cafe a lot less. This is inline with finding from other studies by Mutmainnah which shown that the habit of students in accessing the Internet from home was 71%; in Warnet 12%; at school 1%; and others - including the use of mobile phones 15% (Mutmainnah, 2011).

Most of the respondents doing access the Internet after school. Usually, they took time to spend within 1.5 - 3 hours to access the Internet in the afternoon and at night. However, there is also many sttudents accessing the Internet during school hours using mobile phone or BlackBerry. Some of schools do not apply the prohibition to use mobile phone in school.

Websites that they frequent access is google.com. Through this website, they also use the search feature to translational and doing schoolwork. Other sites that often becomes their favorite is facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Google, and online games. On facebook, they usually monitor the newsfeed, communicating through a feature wall to wall or comment, upload photos and do photo tagging, playing games, and fill in the form of quiz games such as 'interview friend'. With tweeter, they frequent the activities like: update status (tweeting), re-tweet, mention, direct message, and follow.

In using facebook, it turns out many of those who do not know the age limit of users. Most of them thought that the youngest age limit to have a facebook account is 17 years old. In fact, in terms of usage (Statement of Rights and Responsibilities) facebook specified minimum age is 13 years. Certainly, many of them who have a facebook account provide wrong information on the year of birth.

Still associated with the use of facebook, 50% of respondents said that they activate privacy settings feature (such as who can view status, photos, and personal data). Those who activate this feature privacy settings say that a lot of crimes that occur due to facebook. For them, this privacy settings provide control over the information about themselves that are important.

Meanwhile, those who do not activate the feature privacy settings said that they did not know about the existence of the feature or can not optimize the feature. However, there are among those who say that they do not provide personal data within facebook so it does not have to activate the feature of privacy settings.

In addition to access on both favourite sites, these students also love to find video clips on Youtube. Types of video clips that sought usually depends on the type of their favorite music, ranging from the boyband like Sm*sh up to marawis.

Similarly, the activity of downloading video from Youtube, teens also often perform activities in 4shared.com downloading everything like music or photos in this website. File sharing sites (4shared.com, mediafire.com, indowebster.com etc.) is a provider of file storage in the network. Files can be uploaded through this medium is music, movies, videos, documents, drawings, photographs, and so on.

Although there are rules that if somebody shared files with content for adults, the uploader must apply a password, but not infrequently the password can be easily found. Or, they just not given a password at all. So it is quite vulnerable for children and young people who can access adults content through this site. Moreover, someone who download files in this site should not be a member or register.

John Palfrey and Urs Gasser in their book Born Digital (2008: 1-15) describes some facts about children who were born when the existing digital age. The facts are that they are a different generation with a generation of their parents. They learn, work, write, and interact with others in ways that are significantly different from previous generations.

This generation has lived most of his time in the virtual world (online), sometimes without distinguishing between online and offline world. They do not like reading newspapers, but would prefer to read blogs to get information. In terms of communication, they prefer to meet other people online before meeting in person. They prefer to send instant message (IM) rather than pick up the phone from a friend.

They rarely go to the library unless their theacher asked. They prefer to seek information on the Internet rather than having to search the text books. They get music online for free and often obtained illegally, instead of buying at a music store. In terms of games, then their dependence on the digital world is already very high. They adopt and play with virtual pets through the Neopets online rather than playing with real pets. The majority of aspects of their lives in the form of social interaction, friendships, community activities, are mediated by digital technology. Their real life always mixture of digital world.

What Palfrey and Gasser identified are very fundamental because it occurs among teens in different countries and ethnicities. Many things performed in the book exist in the behavior of teens using the Internet in Indonesia. Therefore, analytical methods commonly used by researchers in the west and other countries about Internet behavior, in general have in common. Other factors such as local culture which usually plays a major role in influencing the behavior of using media, become less dominant in the case of surfing behavior.

OPPORTUNITIES AND RISKS

By considering the various characteristics of the Internet, it is understood that the Internet is actually more suitable for adults who already have a maturity of thought, weighing the good and bad, understand the consequences, and so on. But the fact that the largest Internet user group is teenagers, then it makes sense that the later thinking about the opportunities and risks of this must be explored deeper. Of course the issue about the opportunities and risks are not just happening on the Internet.

For teens, there is no denying that the Internet is a means to conduct research for academic interest. Many materials can be found on the Internet to broaden students' understanding of a topic discussed in class. Students also use the Internet as an ingredient in the manufacture of the tasks of observation reports, papers, presentations and so on.

Through the Internet, students also learn new things. Not only in the context of knowledge that opens their horizons and minds, but also learn in attitude, behavior, in response to something. Therefore, what kind of content they access, the issue of what they are talking among themselves, how they treat their particular content, are things that are important and determine whether the activities of Internet access they are doing is useful or not.

As a means of communication are massive and intensive, students also learn how to express their opinions, listen to opinions and criticisms of others, manage problems that arise between them. Expanding opportunities in a very open friendship, if they can put to good use will certainly provide a significant benefit for students.

The big question is whether they are able to optimize the Internet for their lives. Are they equipped with the knowledge and skills in utilizing the Internet? Will they soon be able to differentiate between good and which ones are not, what is right and what is wrong?

In addition to the utilization of opportunities, of course also many risks that may occur due to the Internet. Uncontrolled use of the Internet can make teenagers accessing pornography and other inappropriate material they consume. In the case of pornography, then the role of the Internet is very large and significant in broadening the spread of material, make people become addicted, to cause undue behavior.

Blurring of boundaries between the real world and the virtual world in cyberspace is also a very important issue. High level confidence of the Internet content will lead teens, who are still in the process of formation of critical thinking, experience a variety of collision. Virtual world that has no direct physical effect compared with the real world will make teens become less calculation and tend to be careless. Adoption of the values   of life and different lifestyles that are intentionally or unintentionally popularized on the Internet, are very potential to cause the negative effects.

Some cases are associated with the consequences of friendship on facebook that at first we only hear or read in other countries, is now often the case in our own country. Box below gives a very clear picture about it.

Cases as Impact of facebook

Ratih Dwi K (2010) compiles some of the impact of facebook on adolescents from a variety of sources. Examples of such cases are:

1. Marietta Nova Triana (14 years), a junior high school student who lives in Surabaya, disappeared from her aunt's house in Bumi Serpong Damai, Tangerang, and found with Ari, a young man whom he knew through facebook. Marietta has experienced sexual abuse and having sex three times (Source: TVOne; RCTI).
2. Disappearance of Stefani Abelina Tiur Napitupulu (14 than) a student of SMAN 22 Surabaya who allegedly went with her friends of facebook, found in an Internet cafe in Jakarta in conditions of lost of her mobile phone (Source: surabaya.detik.com).
3. Safira Ayesha (14 years) a student of grade 3 junior high school in Tangerang, who disappeared four days was taken away by her boyfriend named Airlangga (21 years) which she met in facebook. Both were found at a hotel in Cibitung, Bekasi. They had sex four times (Source: beritajatim.com).
4. Rohmatul Asyhari Latifah (16 years) living in Mojowarno Jombang, disappeared after receiving an invitation to work by a man named Anis Asmara (41 years) whom she knew through facebook. Latifah confessed went to to Jakarta and Bali, had even did a siri married (Source: beritajatim.com).
5. Four teenage girls must be exclude from SMAN 4 Tanjungpinang, Riau Islands, because of their insult their teacher through facebook (Source: metrobalikpapan.co.id).
6. Rahkma Safitri (19 years), students of Bakti Asih Academy of Midwifery in Purwakarta disappeared with a friend who allegedly knew through facebook (Source: metrobalikpapan.co.id).
7. Russrina Sylvia (23 years), student of Faculty of Medicine of Diponegoro University in Semarang, disappeared with a man whom she knew from facebook (Source: detiknews.com).
8. Dewi Fatima (14 years) a junior high school student was found dead in South Jakarta and was killed by four men whom she knew through facebook (Source: detiknews.com).

NEW MEDIA LITERACY

Basically, new media literacy is a development from the conventional model of media literacy. There are some same basic principles, such as seeing the importance of understanding the process of information production, distribution of information, impact, interests and motives behind the media content, audience self-protection, and so on. Media literacy, is conventionally defined as "A set of perspectives that must be possessed by every person who is actively used over the meanings of media messages" (Potter, 2008).

Since conventional media like television, newspapers, books, and so has a significantly different character with new media, then the implementation of media literacy was also experiencing the difference. On new media, the presence of the element of participation, interactivity, media content creation that makes a person not just a user of media but at the same time producing media content, the course will make sense and limits of new media literacy to be developed further.

Claire Bélisle (2006 in Martin, 2009: 7) proposed the notion of the importance of literacy that enables a variety of capabilities to be placed in the context of meaning and social action. He identified the evolution of the concept of literacy in three models.

First, the functional model which put literacy as the mastery of cognitive and practical skills is simple, and range from a simple view of literacy as a mechanical reading and writing skills to more advanced approaches (eg. by UNESCO) on literacy as the skills necessary to function effectively in society. Second, the model of socio-cultural practices which take as a basis that the concept of literacy is only meaningful in a social context, and that to be literate is to have access to

the structures of cultural, economic and political community. Third, the intellectual empowerment model which argue that literacy is not only the skills to handle text and numbers in the context of culture and ideology, but brings in-depth enrichment and ultimately requires a transformation of human thinking capacity. Intellectual empowerment occurs every time people enrich themselves with new cognitive tools, such as writing with a new technical device, which has been facilitated by digital technology.

In looking at literacy in a digital context it is known the term digital literacy. The term was popularized by Paul Gilster (in Martin, 2009: 7), who in his book with the same title that describes the ability to understand and use information in various formats from various sources which are presented via computer. The concept of literacy is not just able to read and write alone, but always meant the ability to read with meaning and understanding. Digital literacy has also expanded the boundaries of the previous definition of literacy. Not just a great skill in finding information but also the ability to use those things in life.

Gilster identify critical thinking rather than technical competence as a core element of digital literacy. He stressed the critical evaluation of what is found on the Web, rather than the technical skills needed to access it. He also emphasized the use of relevant skills "for our lives" and not just a skill or competence.

Meanwhile, according to Allan Martin, digital literacy is the awareness, attitude and ability of individuals to be able to use digital tools and facilities to identify, access, manage, integrate, evaluate, analyze and synthesize digital resources, construct new knowledge, to express something through the media, and communicate with others, in the context of certain life situations, in order to enable constructive social action, and to reflect this process. (Martin, 2006: 19)

Just as with the three models of the evolution of media literacy at the top, then literacy can be imagined at three levels. At the first level is the technical mastery of digital competence in the form of skills, concepts, approaches, and attitudes. On the second level of usage of digital applications to consider contextual. Third, at the level of critical reflection that is the understanding of human and social transformative impact of digital action. This model is also suitable for use in the approach to computer literacy that has been developed covering all three levels.

The implications of the definition is that we can only talk about digital literacy at level II or III. Digital competence at level I is a prerequisite for digital literacy, but can not be regarded as digital literacy.

There are something that entirely new in the new media literacy as is the presence of elements such as participation, collaboration, and content distribution. In the conventional media literacy, children easily encouraged to ask questions about the content of media coming into the house. We can not assume that they understand how to respond to and interact with the content of the message, and share with their friends. However, new media literacy is needed to implement the best ways of teaching and guiding youth through the learning process and become experienced in interpreting, using, and sharing the message.

The term new media literacy is often equated with digital literacy or digital literacy for new media can be said to be synonymous with digital media, though not always means the Internet. According to Media Awareness Network (by combining the formulation of the National Broadband Plan Connecting Maerican Section 9.3, Britain's Digital Media Literacy Working Group Section 3.16, and Australia's Digital Economy: Future Directions, p. 44), the definition of digital literacy is already well known are:

> The skills and knowledge necessary to use various digital media software applications, hardware such as computers, mobile phones, and Internet technologies; ability to critically understand the digital media content and applications, and knowledge and capacity to create media content with digital technology.

So, in the definition contained three verbs that are characteristic of digital literacy, namely: Use - Understand - Create. This means that media literacy includes the ability to use, to understand, and to produce digital media. Further explanation about when komptensi is (Source: http://www.media-awareness. ca/english/corporate/media_kit/digital_literacy_paper_pdf/ digitalliteracypaper_part1.pdf):

1. Use - is the technical expertise needed to engage with computers and the Internet. These skills form the basis for the development of digital literacy deeper. Technical skills that are important include the ability to use computer programs such as word processors, web browsers, e-mail, and other communication tools. To develop these skills, people must have access and can utilize the tools and resources with convenient services such as broadband, computers, software, Internet search engines and online databases.

2. Understand - is the ability to understand, contextualize, and critically evaluate digital content media. Individuals should be aware of the importance of critically evaluating the content and applications to understand how digital media can reflect, shape, enhance or manipulate our perceptions, our beliefs and our feelings about the world around us. A critical understanding of digital media enables individuals to reap the benefits - and reduce the risk - as well as participating fully in the digital society. This skill also includes the development of information management skills and respect for the rights and responsibilities against the intellectual property. Individuals need to know how to find, evaluate, and use information effectively to communicate, collaborate and solve problems in personal and professional life.

3. Create - is the ability to produce content and communicate effectively using various tools of digital media. Production of digital media content using not just the ability to use word processing or write emails: but includes the ability to communicate in various contexts audiences; to create content and communicate using various formats such as pictures, video, and voice, and to effectively and responsible use of the facilities of "Web 2.0 user-generated content" such as blogs and discussion forums, a variety of videos and photos, social games, and other forms of social media. The ability to create with digital media to make sure someone is not just passive consumers but contribute actively in the digital society.

Digital literacy model which is developed from the conventional media literacy is like in the picture below.

Source: Media Awareness Network (http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/corporate/media_kit/digital_literacy_

paper_pdf/digitalliteracypaper_part1.pdf)

The above scheme shows the competence of the active person who has the ability of digital literacy, which consists of using, understanding, and producing content. Under the umbrella of digital literacy are a number of interrelated skills ranging from basic awareness and training to encourage citizens to have the literacy skills, critical, creative and sophisticated as the end result. Arrow in the model indicates an increasing trend
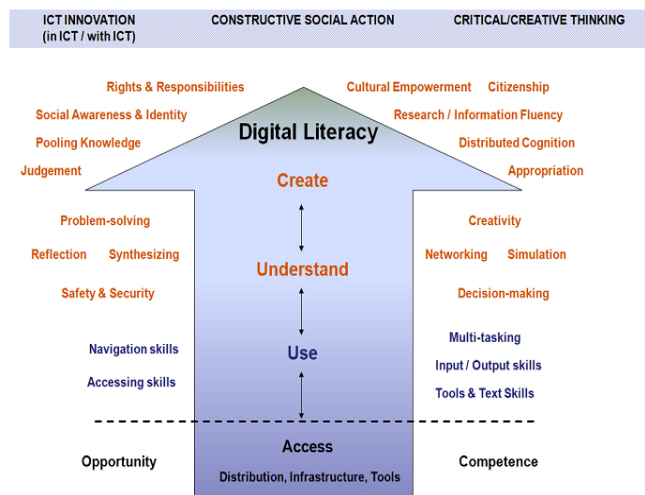
toward transformative though not necessarily sequential because it depends on individual needs.

The concept of digital literacy expands our understanding of the conventional media literacy. Countries like the UK who are an early adopters of media literacy has now launched a digital literacy life skills along with digital and digital inclusion as an essential component to encouraging participation in digital.

On the other hand, the Australian government has now focused on digital media education media literacy. ACMA (Australian Communications and Media Authority) describes the digital media literacy as the ability and skills required for effective participation in the digital economy and promote social inclusion in a networked society.

Infrastructure and physical access to digital tools is the foundation for digital literacy. To maximize participation, investment in infrastructure must be accompanied by investment in training on how to use these tools. In turn this supports the development of practical skills of digital literacy skills are higher that allows users not only participate but to the transformation of the area of innovation, constructive social action, as well as critical and creative thinking.

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Social Play: Social Competence Differences Among Gamers and Non-Gamers in Facebook

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Abstract--In recent years the social media development in Indonesia is very significant. The features of social media complements the individual needs of socialization and enjoyment. One of the facebook feature which has both of these functions is a web browser game. The average owner of the facebook play at least one web-browser game. The purpose of this research is to examine the relationship between facebook-game playing habit with the ability to perform an interpersonal relationships (social competence) in the real world on children and adolescents. Buhrmester, Furman, Wittenberg, and Reis (1988) considers that social competence or the ability of a person's social interaction is very important, because it can determine many things in life. Ability to establish relationships with others can benefit from the affairs of individual work (networking, both with superiors) to personal affairs (having many close friends, have a good relationship with a partner). Buhrmester, et al. (1988) split social competence into five main domains. The five domains are a) the initiation of interactions and relationships, (b) the assertion of personal rights and displeasure with others, (c) self-disclosure of personal information, (d) emotional support of others, and (e) management of interpersonal conflicts that arise in close relationships. The five domains measured using quantitative methods at 13 schools in Salatiga and Jakarta. Comparison between players and non-players performed using a scale of social competence and a few survey questions. The measurement result showed significant differences between a web browser game players (N = 244) and non-players (N = 556) in the ability of self-disclosure dimension. Web-browser game players have a higher ability to open up to others. Significant differences occurred because of the nature of the web browser game that involves team work skill and other players assistance. As a result, children and teens who play web-browser game get used to share personal information to others.

Keyword : Facebook, Web-browser game, Social Competence, Self Disclosure

BACKGROUND

Currently social-media has become a significant part in Indonesian society because various activities that conducted in social-media are capable of meeting the needs of socializing and entertaining. Social-media users can chat, exchange information, share the same hobby in certain things, do the buying and selling activities and even play games online. Social-media can be described like a supermarket, which the feature could be selected to meet individual needs.

One of the social-media which growing rapidly in Indonesia is facebook. From the data www.checkfacebook.com in September 2011 there were approximately 40 million Facebook users in Indonesia. This figure makes Indonesia is ranked two of the world for the highest number of facebook users. Of the total Facebook user Indonesia 50 percent among its dominated by children and adolescents with age range 13 to 18 years. Http://www.socialbakers.com/facebook-statistics/indonesia data showed 13 percent facebook users are children aged 13-15 years, 15 percent of adolescents aged 16-17 years and the rest of its 41 percent aged 18-24 years.

As social media, facebook is considered could make a person more sociable. In previous research has been found that the function of social-media is more to connect with existing networks, rather than to seek out new friends and acquaintances (Ellison et al., 2007). This finding also reinforced by the research who conducted by Joinson in 2008. He argued there are three main motives in using social-media is looking at, looking up and keeping up with people. However, this study reveals that the main motive is to foster relationships that had previously existed.

In general, the social function of facebook is also supported by its features. One of the interesting features to be assessed on facebook is online-gaming, or better known as the social-gaming. As a separate entity, online game is often considered to have more negative impact in child and adolescent. Along with other media such as television, radio, music, print media, as well as movies, online-gaming is feared to have a damaging effect on the development of child psychology. In fact, it frequently associated with the emergence of violence, crime, and offensive attitude (Wartella & Jennings, 2000, Carlsson, 2006). The impact was varied from stereotyping, fear of crime, social harassment, and the biased reality translation (Milwood Hargrave & Livingstone, 2006). One of the study even shows that many of the online-gaming users are people who experience loneliness (Erdogan, 2008). Researches above indicate the two functions of two different entities, but the phenomenon of social-gaming particularly on facebook raises new question, that is how the relationship between social-game playing habits on social competence of children and adolescents in Indonesia.

FACEBOOK GAME OVERVIEW

Since its establishment in 2004, Facebook has undergone many changes. One of them is the added features of the game on its webpage. The games which more often called as social-gaming has become a trend in virtual world community. Currently there are nearly thousands of social-game on facebook. The new games popping up almost every month from different developers. Many of these games are not only can be played on the homepage of Facebook but also in its original form on cd or website.

Basically the categorization of the social-gaming is not much different from the category of video-game that has been there before. The content of both games remain the same. Categories or typologies of games that are considered the most comprehensive comes from studies conducted by Griffith, Herz and

IBM. All the typology sorting games from a different angle. Griffith created a category that was initially more emphasis on non-online Video Game. However a study by Herz sort out the video game based on the contents of the game. Herz category division is better known in the gaming world and has been used as the basis of categorization of games in the United States.

The Herz System, share video games in several categories:

1. Action games - in sub-categorized on the game with shooting activities, games and gaming platforms that use the basic reaction.
2. Adventure games - in this game the player must solve various puzle logic in order to complete the game.
3. Fighting games - this game involves a fight which is controlled either by computer or another player or players.
4. Puzzle games – Example : Tetris
5. Role-playing games - a game where players assume the role into a character or a certain creatures such as witches, fairies, monsters, etc..
6. Simulations - where the player successfully completing a mission when it can re-create certain creations of situations or places. Example : SimCity, managing hotels and restaurants, etc..
7. Sportsgames

Besides of the diverse categorization, mostly facebook game also require its users to interact with other users. It is certainly his return to the nature of the social-media itself, which emphasizes communication and interactivity. Some games emphasize the importance of cooperation with other individuals to complete the mission or to solve the challenge. Although some games do not require players to solve missions in the group, but still give priority to play together, whether it is to compare values or achievements with other players.

MEDIA IMPACT ON CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

Research on effect of online-games in children and adolescents has been done repeatedly. One study that looked at the negative effect that might arise in online-games was conducted by Dimitri Williams and Marko Skoric (2005). The research is related to the use of online-games with aggression. For 1-month, this longitudinal research on 200 respondents found that the aggression that appears varies associated with his long-time play, the type of game, place and instrument playing, as well as age. The longer the time-playing tendencies of aggression will increasingly emerge. In addition, types of games also determine the level of aggression. The agression on fantasy-game will be lower than the first person shooter game. Playing alone at home are also reduces aggression than playing with others in the internet cafe for example.

Besides aggression, another negative concern about online-game is the level of addiction that can lead to psychological problems. John P. Charlton and Ian D.W. Danforth tried to distinguish between addiction with a high attachment on online-games. From the test gauges, both discover that the binding-nature of online-games makes a player to become bound in the minimum scale and addicted in the maximun scale.

Despite threats against the negative influence of online games on child and adolescent development are often found, the positive effect can also occur. In the study conducted by Kevin Durkin and Bonnie Barber (2002) found that playing video-games generally provide positive benefits such as family closeness, activity involvement, positive school engagement, positive mental health, reduce substance use, self-concept, and friendship networks . Even the game players scored more favorably than did peers who never played computer games. According to Durkin and Barber this happens because the game play may be associated with positive features of development, as the games reflect and contribute to participation in a challenging and stimulating voluntary leisure environment. Other studies relating to the use of video games found that playing an action video game can virtually eliminate gender difference in spatial attention and simultaneously Decrease the gender disparity in mental rotation ability, a higher-level process in spatial cognition (Feng, Spence, Pratt: 2007). In addition, video games and online-games is also associated with the pattern of positive learning that can be drawn from the content and required skills on playing games. (Gee: 2002, Gee: 2003, Prensky: 2003, Dickey: 2006).

SOCIAL COMPETENCES

In children and adolescent social competence skills are very important. Children who have low social competence are likely to face problems in the future. Results from various studies such as those conducted by Parker & Asher, 1987; Hartup & Moore, 1990; Rogoff, 1990; Ladd & Profilet, 1996; McClellan & Kinsey, 1999; Kinsey, 2000 - in McClellan & Katz, 2001 showed that the social adaptation and long-term emotional, academic and cognitive development, and life as a citizen is strengthened by the times she had the opportunity to strengthen social competence during childhood.

Pellegrini and Glickman (199) defines social competence in children as "the degree to the which children adapt to school and home environments Their". The ability to adapt in the environment, supported by a set of verbal and nonverbal behavior, as argued by Rinn and Markle (Budd, 1985). This capability was later employed to influence other individual response. The characteristics of children who have good social competence could be seen from several characters such as assertive, friendly to his peers and polite to the parents (Lamb & Baumrind, 1985)

Buhrmester, Furman, Wittenberg, and Reis (1988) also reveals the same thing. They assume that social competence or ability to interact is very important, because it can determine many things in life. Ability to establish relationships with others can benefit from the affairs of individual work (networking, both with superiors) to personal affairs (having many close friends, have a good relationship with a partner). Buhrmester, et al. (1988) social competence split into five main domains are different but have a wide coverage. The five domains are starting a relationship, disclose personal information, expressions of distaste to others, provide emotional support and advice, and manage interpersonal conflict. Domain initiate relationships and expressions of distaste in others is often discussed by researchers of assertive behavior. Then, the domain opening personal information is considered as an important thing in a relationship by researchers in various fields (communications, psychology, marriage). Moreover, the domain provides emotional support and advice refers to a person's ability to soothe or relieve the stress being experienced by friends or acquaintances. Last is

the domain of interpersonal conflict set, the domain is often considered important by researchers because it can maintain its continuity of a relationship.

METHOD

Participants

The research was conducted on elementary school student grades 6 and junior high school students in 13 schools in Salatiga and Jakarta. The total research participants was 800 school students, with a mean age of 15.06 (SD = 2.05). There are 393 male students and 497 female students. The participants was drawn from two cities, Jakarta (N=498) and Salatiga (N=302). Jakarta and Salatiga was chosen to reflect the differing nature of metropolitan capital city citizens and less urbanized city citizens.

This study is a research field that looked at the relationship between habit in playing game-online on facebook with individual social competence. It uses quantitative methods and secondary data from observation and in-depth interviews. Quantitative methods are used to see the level of social competence respondents. The questionnaire contain psychological measurement and behavioral surveys about playing online games. The school students participate in the research by filling out the questionnaire that is given to be filled in class. The questionnaire instructors in class are the authors and several other research assistants. The Research participants do not receive any rewards from participating the research. In addition, observation and in-depth interviews conducted to explain the relationship between the habit of playing games online with social competence that can not be answered through a questionnaire.

Hypotheses

There are differences in social competence among social-game player in Facebook with non-player.

Reliability of the Social Competence Measure

Social competence Measure proposed by Buhrmester, Furman, Wittenberg, and Reis (1988). Original measuring instrument has 40 items and uses a Likert scale (1-5). This measure has five dimensions (8 items each dimension), ie starting a relationship, disclose personal information, expressions of distaste to others, provide emotional support and advice, and managing interpersonal conflict. Scores of each dimension can be added to obtain the overall score of social competence.

The social competence measure (Buhrmester, Furman, Wittenberg, & Reis, 1988) was translated and adapted to Bahasa. Several of its items are adapted to reflect the Indonesian cultural context. Furthermore, the authors only used 2 items from each dimensions to reduce questionnaire length and most importantly, anticipate fatigue effect from the younger school students. Reliability of the shortened and adapted form is reached an acceptable level (á = 0.61).

Findings and Discussion

From the sample, 556 participants reported that they did not play online games and 244 participants reported that they play Facebook games. Not all of the Facebook game players played the same game, the most popular that is reported is 'Pet Society' (10% of the sample). Most of the Facebook game players played once per week (14.3%), then 2-3 times per week (12.0%), 4-5 times per week (1.5%), and 5-6 times per week (2.7%). They played their games mostly in their home (16.80%), then Internet Cafes (12.50%), friends' home (0.8%), and the school (0.4%)

The independent sample t-test analyzed differences in mean for the five social competence dimensions and its total score. There are no significant mean differences between the total score of the social competence dimensions and all its dimensions, except the self-disclosure dimensions (t=-2.37; p<0.05). This showed that there are no differences in social competence between non online game players and Facebook game players, except regarding their self-disclosure. Facebook game players have higher mean score than non online game players. This showed that Facebook game players are more open to disclose their self to the public than non online game players.

Table 1. Social Competence Means

Social Competence dimensions		Mean	Std. Deviation
Initiation	Non online game players	9.40	2.45
	Facebook	9.43	2.44
Negative Assertivity	Non online game players	8.26	3.14
	Facebook	8.21	2.92
Disclosure*	Non online game players	5.32	2.54
	Facebook	5.79	2.58
Emotional Support	Non online game players	9.94	2.40
	Facebook	10.07	2.50
Conflict management	Non online game players	9.71	2.61
	Facebook	9.89	2.72
Total score	Non online game players	42.63	7.40
	Facebook	43.37	7.44

*   =p<0.05

or challenge. Example:

Empires & Allies

Join your friends in Zynga's new game, Empires & Allies! Secure your territory, build up your forces, and team up with your neighbors to defeat the Dark Alliance—or stage an invasion against your friends

Mafia Wars

Join your friends and more than 25 million other players in Mafia Wars, the world's most popular crime game. Build alliances, amass property, and fight mobs of enemies in games of power and deception.

The definition of the two games above shows clearly that a player must be in groups, making allies and cooperate in completing the mission. This demand makes a player should be proficient in opening personal information in order to make others help, for example:..

Saiful needs help to score the Big Heist
Saiful needs the Rob Squad to pull off the Big Heist. Please send, and you'll get the Rob Squad too.

Rizky needs your help.

Rizky is looking for the following items in FrontierVille: Cloth, Hammer, Paint Bucket, Nails, and Hand Drill.

This capability is included to the domain of self-disclosure because the respondents do not have to cooperate with strangers who have not known him but more to the friendship of his own environment. Moreover, self-disclosure skills is also increasing as the player achievements will always be automatically posted on the facebook homepage. Example:

Mission accomplished!
Saiful completed a tough mission in Mafia Wars. Time to ride the coattails of your friend and get a reward.

Environmental factor in playing online games in Indonesia also hone the social competence of children and adolescents. In Indonesia, the environmental factors or peer group is very influential on the individual characters. Respondent have a habit to play game-online simultaneously, both at the same time or in the same place. When playing online games together, respondent's behavior when playing in the cafe is very influenced by friends who play together. Student named T for example, says he feels more comfortable playing together with friends in cafes than playing alone at home. T said playing in the cafe brings pleasure because he can share with his friends, he can exchange an item in the game, get to know new people, and tell stories with friends. This exchange of information directly developed child and adolescent social competence skills.

Although observations and interviews supported the results of psychological tests of social competence, the data can not reveal whether other domains in addition to self-disclosure does not actually increase because of cultural factors that have been embraced by kids and adolescents Indonesia. Basically, social-media function should be able to increase social competence. Therefore, in further research, the linkage between cultures with social competence should be explored. The domains of social competence that does not show significant result can actually be related to Indonesia cultural habit. Indonesian character such as self-constrained for example makes it difficult to start a new relationship especially with strangers in cyberspace. Moreover, Indonesian also inconvenient in expressing displeasure, dissent and conflict.

CONCLUSION

There are no significant mean differences the between the total scores of the social competence dimensions and all its dimensions, except the dimensions of self-disclosure. This showed that there are no differences in social competence between non online game players, game players and Facebook, except regarding their self-disclosure. Facebook game players have higher mean scores than non-online game players. That showed up this game players are more open to disclose their self to the public than non-online game players. The ability to share information are better than other domains because the nature of the social-gaming that emphasizes on cooperation in completing the challenge. We can see significant differences in the ability of self-disclosure may also arise due to the habit of playing online games together, be it in the sense of time or in the same place. Unfortunately, this study did not consider Indonesian human character such as hesitant in making new friends, self-

constrained, and inconvenient in expressing displeasure that could be affected social competence measurement.

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Part B
Ethics, Digital Divide, Cultural Identity

Information Rich and Information Poor: Digital Divide in India

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Abstract-Information and communication technologies have been thought of highly by people primarily because of the volume of change and empowerment. Unfortunately like most of the technological development the fruits of the information revolution have been partially limited to the certain class. It is clear evident in developing countries with low teledensity and use and access of information communication technologies. The present research paper is to examine existing inequalities and problems with the respect of the access and use of information communication technologies such as computer and internet in India from the point of view of information rich and information poor. However today we find the digital divide in terms of information rich and information poor, more prominent than the have's and have not's divide. With in the country some one well connected, educated and access the information communication technologies but same as others doesn't and that will produce information class-information rich and information poor. While majority of the Indian's suffer from low income and few opportunities of education and employment because they don't access and use computer and internet. If we combine information poor with individual's socio-economic and education levels there is a significant divisions in the use of computer and internet along the lines of education, income, location and gender. These barriers mean "Digital Divide" in the country.

A survey was conducted in the region of Karnataka state in South India, and examined the difference and problems of computer and internet usage and access patterns among different age groups, genders, education levels, socio-economic levels and urban-rural. Further the present study is addressed the inequalities and problems of use and access of computer and internet among information rich and information poor in the country.

Key words: ICT, Digital divide, New Media, Information Rich, Information Poor, Internet use, income, education, location, and social divisions in India

Examining the Initiatives Implemented to Bridge the 'Digital Divide' in Malaysia

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Abstract. **Closing the digital gap in any society must be a prime concern of any responsible government. In the third world countries, the rich have access to all the latest technologies ranging from high speed broadband to the latest high-tech gadgets in their palms but the vast majority of the underclass has yet to touch a keyboard. The initiatives implemented by the government, private sector, non-governmental organizations and educational institutions have to achieve the intended target of bridging the divide. This paper examines some of these initiatives carried out by the Malaysian government from year 2000 till the present day. The 10th. Malaysia plan data will be used to examine the outcome of the initiatives, identify the pitfalls and suggest remedies.**

Keywords: Internet, Computers, ICT, Digital Divide, Malaysia

1. INTRODUCTION

As a third world country, Malaysia aspires to be a developed nation by 2020. The three major races — namely Malays, Chinese and Indians — make up the 28.5 million population of the country, which has successfully transformed from an agricultural country to an industrialized nation. Since independence from the British colonialist in 1957, the developing nation is in deep division, politically and economically, on racial lines. The dominant Malays are generally farmers, civil servants and holding the political power where else the Chinese, who are concentrated in urban areas, are involved in commerce and consequently control the economy.

The minority Indians started their lives in rubber plantations and oil palm plantations have remained without any political and economic clout. There is, also, a great divide between urban dwellers and rural dwellers; urban folks enjoying the modern facilities and the rural folks left with outmoded facilities. However, owing to industrialization, much of the rural population has moved to urban areas.

According to Nielson Survey, 70% of Malaysians are living in urban areas now. Industrialization and development of plantations drove the Indians to urban areas. However, the urban life escalated the socio-economic problems. The Indians living in abject poverty are top in crimes, domestic violence, suicide and infant mortality [1]. A great divide also exist in the economic growth of the thirteen states in Malaysia; the state Selangor, Perak, Penang are highly developed and industrialized but the states like Kelantan, Terengganu, Sabah and Sarawak are very much backward where many are living with basic amenities. In essence, the Malaysian society's digital gap in the access and use of technology is evident. The digital divide is evident among the various races, among rural and urban people, among rich and poor, among male and female, among old and young and among the thirteen states.

Though the Malaysian government has taken several initiatives to bridge the gap in the digital divide in the last ten years, the Internet penetration in Malaysia is only 60 percent and broadband penetration reached only 31 percent of households in 2009.

2. WHAT IS DIGITAL DIVIDE?

Since the invention of the first generation of computers in 1946, the digital technology witnessed tremendous growth. "*I think there is a world market for maybe five computers*", Thomas Watson, chairman of IBM said that in 1943 but today computers have become household item for the Information society. At present, contrary to what Thomas Watson said, close to one billion personal computers are installed in the world and it is expected to reach two billion by the year 2015 (Gartner, 2008).

What was known as ARPANET used by scientist, military and education institutions in the 60's stormed the world in the 90's as the Internet. Easy to use browsers, like Netscape, enabled business organizations to adopt the Internet, Email and World Wide Web applications faster. According to International Telecommunication Union (ITU), the Internet users increased from 400 million in the world in 2000 to 1.7 billion in 2009. However, the developing nations make up only 17.8 percent compared to 63 percent of the Internet penetration in Europe [2].

Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and other social networking sites are the communication tools, nowadays. The Internet has provided a new avenue as an alternative media for political activist in the third world countries where freedom of expressions is restricted by oppressive laws that control print media and electronic media. Unlike the Internet and Computers, mobile communications have higher penetration in developing nations as the cost is affordable and knowledge to use cell phones is lesser. According UN Telecommunication Agency, there are 4.6 billion mobile phone users in the world. Sixty six percent of the people in India own mobile phones [3].
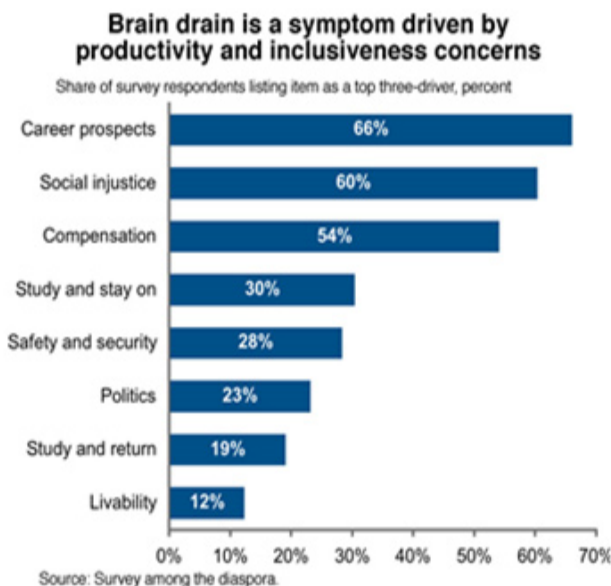
The term 'Broadband' often used when it comes to accessing the Internet. Unlike the dial-up connections, broadband provides high-speed access to the Internet. For the year 2010, 21 percent of the household in the world had broadband access that is 364 million [4]. Undeniably, Computers and the Internet are making major impacts to groups of people in the world. While some groups are able to join the information society and reap the benefits, others left in cold.

These unfortunate groups are either lacking in knowledge to use technology or lacking accessibility to the technology,

which is often termed Digital Divide. The former president of the Markle Foundation, Lloyd Morrisett, puts it information '*haves' and 'have nots*' [5]. In developing countries, the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. Technology is often elusive to the poor.

3. ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

While the global economic outlook is gloomy, the 10th Malaysian plan released by the Malaysian government paints the same picture for the coming year. Malaysia is stuck as a middle-income country and ironically World Bank report finds, "*Malaysia's historical growth is a success story but a vast potential remains untapped*". Forty years ago, the Republic of Korea was poorer than Malaysia but now the country's Gross Domestic product is three times more than Malaysia. To boost the economic growth, the government is implementing projects under the Economic Transformation Program (ETP). Pundits, however, are skeptical of Malaysia achieving high income status by 2020 as the "*implementation of structural reform*" advocated by World Bank has not taken place as planned owing to lack of political will while China, India and Vietnam are surging ahead.

According to Malaysian Human Resource Minister S Subramaniam, 33.8 percent of the 1.3 million labor force in Malaysia earned less than RM 700 (USD $ 234) per month for the year 2009 [7]. This is well below the poverty line of RM 720 per month determined by the government. In addition, Malaysia is losing competitiveness to other regional countries. Manufacturing countries are relocating to other third world countries. Some of the glove manufacturers have relocated to Vietnam owing to the high cost and worker shortages in Malaysia.

4. ICT INITIATIVES & PITFALLS

For the year 2010, the broadband population penetration rate in Malaysia stood at 16.6 percent. One hundred percent of all the schools have radio, television, and internet access [8]. Telecom Malaysia (TM), once a government entity but privatized now, used to monopolize the telecommunication industry. In the case of fixed telephone lines, TM still enjoy the monopoly. However, the mobile communications has been deregulated and Maxis, Digi and Celcom are some of the major players in the industry. The government role in bridging the digital divide is imperative besides the private sector and education

Brain drain is a symptom driven by productivity and inclusiveness concerns

Share of survey respondents listing item as a top three-driver, percent

Career prospects — 66%
Social injustice — 60%
Compensation — 54%
Study and stay on — 30%
Safety and security — 28%
Politics — 23%
Study and return — 19%
Livability — 12%

Source: Survey among the diaspora.

Poverty has recently increased and retains a strongly regional dimension

Share of national poor in 2009, percent

Sabah — 42.9
Sarawak — 12.0
Kedah — 9.8
Perak — 8.4
Kelantan — 6.3
Johor — 4.2
Terengganu — 3.8
Selangor — 3.6
Pahang — 3.2
P. Pinang — 2.0
Perlis — 1.3
W.P. KL — 1.1
N. Sembilan — 0.8
Melaka — 0.4
W.P. Labuan — 0.3

Source: Economic Planning Unit.

The issue of '*Brain Drain*' is also alarming as well. Over one million talented Malaysians left the country. Fifty seven percent of them are working in Singapore and the rest are in Australia, America, Britain and Brunei [6]. Almost ninety percent of the talented migrants are Chinese Malaysians. Besides career prospects, social injustices ranked as the second top reasons for the migration (see Figure 1). For the non-Malays, the career prospects in the government sector are virtually slim. On the other hand, Malays and Indians face the same scenario of discrimination in the private sector, dominated by the Chinese. Overall, poverty in Malaysia has reduced but huge gap exists between the states. Sabah, the east Malaysia state is worse hit; 42.9 percent are in poverty followed by east Malaysia state Sarawak with 12 percent. Interestingly, the state of Perak being one of the industrialized state has higher poverty rate than some of the under developed states like Kelantan and Terengganu (see Figure 2).

institutions. The Malaysian government likewise implemented several initiatives.

4.1. Universal Service Provision (USP)

One of the major initiatives undertaken was the setting up of Universal Service Provision Fund in 2003 to provide Internet connectivity and telecommunication services to rural areas, places where population density is low and places where the telecommunication providers find it unprofitable. Under USP, telecommunication companies must contribute six percent of their annual revenue. By the end of 2010, the USP fund grew to RM 5 billion (USD $ 1.7 billion) [9]. To bridge the digital gap between the rural and urban folks, RM 1 Billion was allocated from the fund to distribute one million free '*1Malaysia Netbook*' computers in the rural areas. Indeed, a noble idea enabling the poor to access technology so that they too can join the information society, just like the rest of the fortunate folks.

Typically, the computer vendor contracted to supply 500,000 Netbooks misappropriated the funds, supplied low quality Netbooks, and many recipients in Sarawak, the second poorest state, sold the computers defeating the very purpose of the program [10]. The Malaysian Anti-Corruption Commission (MACC) is currently investigating the matter.

4.2. eBook: One pupil one computer

Terengganu, a relatively backward northern state, provided free notebook computer for year 5 and year 6 primary school students, aged between 11 and 12, costing RM 24.98 million [11]. Twenty Five Thousand eBooks in 2009 and forty seven thousand eBooks in 2010 were already distributed. This year forty five thousand eBooks are expected to be given out to year 4 as well [12]. However, according to a survey by Malaysian Auditor General, only 18.2% of the students take along their eBook to classrooms. Most of the students find the eBook to be complex when taking notes; they worry about a short battery life, theft, and frequent malfunctions. Very ill prepared teachers, untrustworthy eBook supplier, and pirated software suppliers were the further findings of the survey [12] The Auditor General concluded, "*The utilization of eBooks by the target group was very low and this had adverse effects on the programme's long-term goals*".

4.3. One Home One Computer

The Employees Provident Fund (EPF), a social security institution for managing the funds mandatorily contributed by both employers and employee for retirement benefits of the employee, started a scheme '*One Home One Computer*' for the members to withdraw money from their funds to buy a personal computer.

EPF found that 66.5 percent of those who withdrew from the fund were from low-income group and many did not use the money to purchase computer [13]. The vendors chosen by EPF also misused the scheme charging the customers excessively for a low configuration computer. Later, EPF appointed inexperienced POS Malaysia to handle the computer delivery, which made the situation much worse as they failed to provide effective after sales service. What could you expect from a courier company?

4.4. Telecentres

Using the USP fund and other government funds, several Telecentres were setup — some private companies joined hands with non-governmental organizations (NGO) — that numbered around 2,150 providing free access to the Internet or charging minimum fee [14], [17]. The main issue is the sustainability of these centers' in the long run. From 2002 to 2003, the authorities allocated RM 90 million for the setting up of 173 such centers [15].

Research conducted in 2009 found that, out of 55 '*KedaiKom*' Telecentres 16 of them closed and 12 not operating regularly [15]. In essence, 50 percent of the telecentres were not functioning, a waste of public funds. The same survey found 99.1 percent of the participants were Malays, prompting to question why only two Chinese and one Indian participated in the survey when Chinese and Indians make up half the population of the state. Why were fewer Chinese and Indians using these Telecentres? Will this situation increase the racial digital gap?

4.5. Other Initiatives

In the last decade, the Malaysian government in conjunction with private sector implemented several initiatives such as e-Melaka, e-Homemakers, Eagle's Nest, e-Bario, Jejak-IT, Titian Digital, SchoolNet, InfoDesa, Mobile Internet Unit and Cyber Cafes [16], [17], [18]. All of these centered on providing Internet services for rural citizens by setting up cyber cafes in various states, providing online learning portals, and providing mobile busses equipped with the Internet and Computer facilities that goes around to rural schools. Some of these initiatives do cater for the elderly and single parents.

As a form of incentive, computer purchase expenditures are deductible in the taxable income. Again, this benefits only the rich, not the poor. The poor earnings are well below the taxable income.

5. WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Despite so many initiatives by the Federal government, the State governments, multi-national companies, universities, colleges, and NGO's, the digital divide is still alive among the various socio-economic groups. In fact, the gap is increasing.

5.1. Wipe out Corruption

Corruption is the number one enemy for the failure of most of the well-intentioned initiatives. Transparency International, the global coalition against corruption, has ranked Malaysia 56 in the corruption perception index. The government must take a concerted effort to combat corruption in the society. Award of contracts must be transparent and select only the best vendor who can deliver.

5.2. Implement minimum wages for workers

The poor can barely survive owing to the increase in prices of essential items. How can workers earning below the poverty line afford to purchase a computer, subscribe to broadband, and obtain knowledge to use the technology? Before giving free computers and free access to the Internet, the government must first enact laws to implement minimum wages to workers. Fulfill their basic needs, first. Secondly, the workers must have an opportunity to acquire knowledge and they must see the value in using computers and the Internet.

5.3. Understand Total Cost Ownership (TCO)

Many initiatives to bridge the digital divide failed to make an impact because of the failure to understand Total Cost of Ownership. According to Gartner survey, hardware and software cost are only 20 percent in TCO and 80 percent account for administration cost such as training, maintenance, futz (a term coined by Gartner Inc. for non-official use of computers by employee) , evaluation, upgrades, power consumption, virus, auditing and downtime.

When setting up Telecentres, when providing free computers to rural folks, when providing computers to schools, and when providing free notebooks to students the administration cost were not taken into consideration. A computer Netbook hardware and software cost RM 1,000 (USD $300). For one million units, one billion ringgit allocations but no provision for administration cost. In that case, who will provide the training for users? Who will do the maintenance? Who will pay for the upgrades? In light of the administrative cost, this imitative needs a few more billions.

6. CONCLUSION

Malaysia spends millions to bridge the digital divide but the outcome was greatly disappointing. Political interference,

corruption, nepotism and cronyism were some of the main reasons for the failure of the initiatives undertaken. Achieving a high-income nation will be pointless when a section of the community lags behind in technology. Thus, use taxpayer's money wisely to benefit all citizens irrespective of race and creed for a true egalitarian society.

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Performing Religiosity Online:
The Case of Filipino Migrants in Japan

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Abstract-Religion is a significant cultural marker amongst Filipinos. With the advent of globalization and technology, this is being challenged. Accordingly, the exodus of human capital, including that of the Filipinos for economic development, has instigated a question on whether the aspect for religiosity is still relevant to them. Using textual analysis as the main method to examine two diasporic online communities, this research proves that with the dawn of Internet technology, Filipino migrants utilized the Internet in the performance of religiosity, the backdrop being in Japan. Through online communities for diasporic individuals in Japan, Filipino religiosity was reproduced as a form of long-distance ritual practice and cyber pilgrimage. Hence, it can be said that these cyberspaces have become venues for Filipino migrants to commune and build kinship through faith and religious communications. This study then asserts that religiosity is still a vital component as a cultural marker among Filipinos, whether they are in the homeland or in the host society.

This essay is an offshoot of a research which I conducted on the interface of Filipino diaspora in Japan and religiosity. In this paper, I will only briefly sketch on the how Filipino migrants in Japan used the Internet as a platform to perform religiosity. This essay argues that through the democratizing potential of the Internet, Filipinos overseas are able to articulate one of their identifying markers, and that is being religious. Though outside the country of origin, the cyberspace has become their sites for religious communion and understanding of faith. I begin my discussion with a background of Filipinos plight as migrants. This will be followed by the methods and a discussion of the findings of the analyzed data.

Leaving the country for Filipinos has been a good option may it be for personal or economic reasons. And when they leave, they bring with them their intentions and motivations as well as Filipino practices, attitudes and traditions. This means that they do not arrive at the host society tabula rasa. Their socialization from their home country would greatly have an influence on how they are going to act in another country (Tigno, 2007). Therefore, the norms and practices that they have gotten used to from their homeland, may in a way, maybe not totally, be reflected and manifested as they commence their journey for incorporation in host society.

And one of the most deeply entrenched qualities or traits of being a Filipino is being religious. Religion is a particular component in Philippine society that is ingrained genuinely in the hearts and minds of the Filipinos. So wherever Filipinos go, their sense of being religious remains. This is because, the country's Catholic comprise a big portion of the population (Cannell, 1999). The Filipino religion does not only capture faith in God, rather, it sums up all the rituals and practices of

Catholicism as inculcated by the Spaniards. Four centuries of Spanish colonization has resulted to religious practices and traditions rooted in the Filipino psyche (Cacho 2007; Tigno 2007). Hence, Filipinos have a deep linkage with religiosity and accordingly, inculcates religious involvement and commitment even in migration.

Filipinos have been known to be believers in saints and angels. They are devout Catholics, in other words, that even migrants have a saint. Celebrating Christmas, fiestas and other celebrations and customs are part of being a Filipino. Needless to say, going to church on Sunday is considered an obligation, a commitment for them. These acts perform a significant part in affording the venue for support network and social outlet to Filipinos who are dispirited overseas. It helps in re-creating and maintaining their being Filipino in the process. Therefore, a citizen does not lose his Filipinoness in another country. Rather, it makes him a citizen of one, and a foreigner in another place.

With the advent of new media and technology, Internet becomes a new medium for Filipino migrants to articulate their sense of being a Filipino. The Internet even offers an avenue for migrants to become more interactive in their country of origin and at the same time their local place of worships (Cheong and Pong, 2009). Given this premise, the idea of practicing faith in the new land faces an interesting transformation. Saying a prayer is not only confined inside the church, rather the Internet becomes as a new path for religious communication as well as transnational religious movements (Cheong and Poon, 2009).

In an attempt to find a connection on Internet use and its relation to migration and social capital, a number of studies and literature has been published. Much has been concluded, but the Internet is appreciated for its ability to speed up globalization. As we turn and think global, we rely on new media and technology to facilitate high volume of exchanges and transactions done in a span of seconds.

Not only that, Putnam (2000) emphasizes that the Internet has a dual capacity when it comes to social capital: either it could be a cause for the decline of such or it could reinforce both online and offline ties thereby enhancing social networks. These assumptions of Putnam (2000), spring to the idea that social capital is invariably reflected and articulated at the basic levels of interaction- the community. In this paper, community engagement is investigated in Timog Online where religious interactions and messages abound.

However, in the area of research on the mutual interaction between religion and cyberspace, it is still a small and thriving field (Cheong & Poon, 2008). Nevertheless, previous studies have been conducted on virtual communities (Rheingold, 1993) and the new emerging religions (Dawson & Cowan, 2004; O'Leary, 1996) and the virtual church (Schroeder, Heather &

Lee, 1998). Helland (2007) made an interesting observation when he studied how Jewish and Hindu online forum users link up with the families they have left behind in their home countries. This has led him to discover religious practices, long-distance rituals and cyber pilgrimages. It is then predicted that Filipino migrants who engage in online discussions through Timog Online may live out religious ceremonies and rites with community members. This online transaction can facilitate the formation of human and social capital carved out from the process of computer-mediated communication.

To note, there has been no studies conducted on Filipino migrants in Japan and their usage of the Internet on their practice of religiosity. No literature is available as to how users of Timog Online or with other members of the virtual community or what type of content the site provides for Filipino diaspora users in Japan. It is, therefore, essential to understand online communication patterns of those who participate in online communities such as Timog Online. Based on the interrelatedness of religiosity, CMC and social capital, the following research questions are posed: (1) What types of religious messages are communicated in Timog Online's forum and (2) How is Timog Online used and appropriated to construct and cultivate Filipino migrant's social capital?

To understand the types of religious messages articulated on a migrant forum and its relation to migrant-specific social capital and to meet the objectives of the study, Timog Online's 'religious and inspiration' bulletin board was examined. The best feature of online discussion boards is that it offers an opportunity to observe the discourse and exchange of opposing ideas among its member users. Moreover, the identity of the member could be withheld, as they can create a pseudonym upon their liking. With the practice of anonymity, forum users are able to discuss, debate and join intriguing conversation without the fear of being exposed or identified in the real world.

The messages exchanged among online members were explored and examined through thematic analysis. Through the message on the forum, the author was able to extract themes rather than have pre-existing categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). To do this, data were studied Blumer (1979)'s method of inductive analysis, with focus on "occurrence of its analytical objects in a particular context" (Pernia, 2004, p.18)

Focused on obtaining qualitative data, verification then implies quality (Robson, 2002). As such, verification, and at the same time, validations were achieved through rich quotations from online posters, which poses as a face validity to its readers to evaluate the integrity of themes (Robson, 2002).

For the purpose of this essay, the data were collected from Timog Online forum. Forum is a type of online message board where users can initiate a conversation by posting a new topic, or give comments to previously posted messages. Timog Online caters to Filipino diaspora in Japan. Membership in Timog Online can be described as open, quick and anonymous; 'open' because everyone can join the site, 'quick' because registration only takes a couple of seconds and one can instantly participate in forums, and 'anonymous' because the site does not require identification of its members. A forum moderator maintains the order of the site and keeps track of themes, and is relied on for any questions regarding the site operations. A member can post messages address to moderators.

The Timog.org forum is divided into seven links, namely, (1) General, (2) Community, (3) Living, (4) Recreation, (5) Off-topic, (6) Students and (7) Market. Religious posts are found in the 'Religion & Inspiration' section of the off-topic group. Unless the thread is banned from the site or removed by the moderator, a conversation can get replies and comments from time to time. Therefore, to manage the bulk of messages from the forum, the author has decided to analyze the messages contained therein within a specified time frame.

The units of analyses for this study are the individual messages communicated within a thread (an original post and its responses). Messages posted from January 1 to June 30, 2009 (or the first half of the year) were the subject of the analysis.

Timog Online is a public site and therefore can be accessed by anyone. However, to take part in the conversation and get access to messages, one must log-in. Therefore, a visitor has to create an account with the site and creates a panel name (pseudonym) of his/her choice.

Based on the analysis, this essay reveals that Filipino diaspora in Japan utilizes and appropriates the Internet as a means for religious identity. In the host society where one has difficulty of adjusting and adapting to the new mores and lifestyles, migrants settle to make use of the Internet as a venue for communication and interaction. As religiosity is a genuine part of the Filipino psyche, the Internet becomes the new medium for religious expressions, rituals and practices. These set of connections and networks built in Timog Online bring to the fore the concept of Filipino migrants' social capital. The author believes that through Internet use and appropriation, community building and engagement may be fostered and developed. Hence, this paper yields insights into the importance of religiosity amongst Filipinos abroad, the Internet's potential for transformative elements in their migratory life and the encouragement of social capital.

This paper also finds out that the Internet is now being utilized as a potent apparatus to allow people to link up and connect with activities that were not really possible before. This finding relates to Helland (2007)'s study on virtual connections with sacred homelands. He argues that religious beliefs and practices of diasporic peoples were motivating factors for developing Usenet groups. Involvement can be concrete and tangible despite participants being in different geographical locations. For this reason, the Internet provides the opportunity to reduce and wither space, then fashions a sense of belongingness, intimacy and connectedness with the homeland.

The pervasiveness of the Internet has essentially paved way for Filipino migrants to forge partnership and bond in cyberspace that supports a sense of commonality and camaraderie. As Mitra (2001) posits a member can now begin to (re)negotiate his or her identity in consonance with other members of the community. Since the Internet is becoming an attractive tool amid people, in this case the Filipino migrants, it then becomes a site for different voices to be heard. The ability to have a voice on the Internet is what Mitra (2001) calls as a "gain of capital." It makes the possibility for diverse, sundry voices to be heard. Cyberspace, therefore, can be regarded as a speaker or amplifier – the potential of heteroglossic voices be articulated and be heard. Mitra refers this as the "speaking capital" of the Internet (2001, p.45).

As such, Filipino migrants' interface with the Internet and the formation of online community on Timog Forum in 'Religion & Inspiration' theme is indeed another step forward in building

kinship and cooperative spirit among them. This unity and convergence fostered by religiosity online, and the Internet's capacity for multiple voices to be heard can profoundly influence and impact change for the better, and eventually direct to the development of Filipino migrants' social capital.

This paper provides insights on the intersection of Filipino diaspora in Japan, the Internet and social capital. In particular, it delved into the online Christianity of Filipino migrants in Japan. The exchange and interaction between and among members of the online community, Timog Online, on religiosity and spirituality confirm and configure the pervasive practice of online religion. Having been colonized by Spain which inculcated Christianity into the minds and hearts of the Filipinos grasped that Catholicism is a fundamental part of their lives – whether they are in the confines of the homeland or whether they are abroad. The online Filipino migrants are not self-confessed fanatics of Christianity but they acknowledged the importance of their religion in their survival from displacement. Timog Online facilitated their interaction as they engaged in discussions and discourses about religious ideas, practices and rituals, and contexts.

It should be noted that in this study, the messages analyzed only represent a very small percentage of all the messages posted on Timog Online's 'Religion & Inspiration' forum. The author believes that an extensive and exhaustive exploration of Timog Online's postings would optimistically describe the online religious behavior of Filipino migrant users in Japan and ultimately will help out in providing insights and strategies to benefit the use of computer-mediated interpersonal communication. Timog Online' forums are indubitably creating a space for dialogue and exchange. It is hoped that through these exchanges, migration process at both the individual and community level can effect change for the better.

Filipinos, offline or online, in homeland or host society, recognized the indelibility of Christianity in their culture. The resource and information sharing, religious and inspirational, and support messages manifested on Timog Online are evidences that migrant networks are important sources of social capital. And since religiosity and spirituality are intrinsic to Filipinos, these exchanges of faith messages are significant strands in the fabric of social relations that can influence migration mobilization, and eventually configure empowerment among Filipino migrants.

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Modernity Challenge for Moslem Teens as Digital Native in Social Network

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Today, the presence of new media has change our media landscape as well. Consequently, a new generation of audience has already been born. This new generation audience was equipped with new character, habit, and media use which contrasted them with previous type of audience. Science mentioned them as digital native, namely, a cluster of people who born after 1980s and enjoyed communication behavior based on internet. As addressed by Palfrey & Gasser (2008), this generation wasn't being grouped according to demographic area or certain demographic characteristic. The truth is, they were clustered according to their work and interests. Such kind of atmosphere has posed today Moslem teens with real challenge. On one side, Moslem teenagers became the subject of strict religion rules in term of interaction. But, on the other hand, globalization and modernity has changed everything, including transformed communication mode in a new way. The questions are, how is Moslem teenagers adapted themselves in a new media environment? Being born as part of digital native generation, were there any adjustments to carry out by them—whether it was on purpose or not? Or, was there any special characteristic of them as an Islamic digital native? What kind of values which being contested in this kind of situation? And how they –Moslem teens—dealt with it? Those are the questions addressed by this research. In order to do this research, the author will conduct series of interview and observation to a small group of students from Darul Hikam Boarding School which located in Bandung. A scheduled interview also requested for the principal and mentor of this school for research purposes. Darul Hikam is a school whose curriculum is consisted both national/state curriculum and specific Darul Hikam curriculum based on Islamic values. Such characteristic has fitted students of Darul Hikam Boarding School for this research' purpose.

Keyword: Teenager, Digital Native, Social Network, New Media, Adjustment, Adaptation.

A. INTRODUCTION

Meet Rifka, a-16-year-old-girl. Everyday, at her first awake, the first thing she'll do is grabbing her blackberry. She spot the hour, calculating her time, and after that, preoccupies herself with her blackberry: reading newsfeed, giving comment, updating status, or replying inbox message. Sometimes, changing profile pictures or editing profile information. She spend about five to ten minutes every morning for such occasion, or more than on holiday. Enough playing with her blackberry, Rifka raises herself from the bed, performs Shubuh praying if there's still time to do that, eats and rushes to school. In doing those activities, Beibi—that's how she named her blackberry—is never away from her. Beibi is brought by her when she's taking a bath, consuming her breakfast, in fact, attached on her during her trip to school. Beibi is rarely sounding a loud voice on call. But the light is never dimmed—the small red light is always

blink, signalling a new message, or new comment, or other pieces of information. The administration of Rifka's school forbid students to touch their phonecell or other means of mobile communication during school period. Everyday, before the school begins, students must collect their phonecell on special boxes provided for that. The teachers will lock the box in the storeroom, and save the key. "Bye Beibi... mmmuach!" Rifka waved goodbye passionately to Beibi. She'll meet Beibi again after school is over—approximately, seven and a half hours later.

This is Rifka's world, and so does other teens in general nowadays in the town. World that never far away from mobile communication, internet, and other digital devices. This writing is an extraction of a qualitative audience research dedicated to explore media habit of students in an Islamic boarding school in Bandung, namely Darul Hikam (DH). Students in such kind of school learn in a special environment prepared for them. They are subject of two kinds of curriculum. First, a national education curriculum imposed by the state. And second, a Darul Hikam curriculum specially designed to educate and cultivate students with Islamic principles according to their core belief. So, my study based on assumptions that students in such kind of environment must be live in unique situations: they are faced with this modern reality, meanwhile, they are expected to develop a 'lifeworld' based on Islamic principles which is quite strict compared with other students.

This research seeks to understand any challenges that exposed to these students, and how do they cope with it. As a product of today's Information and Communication Era, this children are cathegorized as digital native. They are avid fans of communication technology, madly in love with their gadget, exchanging and relying interactions more from interactive media than from 'real relationship'. Furthermore, I am interested to explore how they modify or adapted their Islamic principles with their characteristic as digital native in this world as described from their media habit in using new media? What kind of value and ethical norms resulted from the interplay between media values and religion values? To answer those questions, I formulated the research problems as listed below.

B. RESEARCH PROBLEMS

1. What is the media habit being developed by students of an Islamic boarding school?
2. What are ethical norms being constructed by students of an Islamic boarding school concerning the use of new media?
3. How is the negotiation between religion values and new media functions as applied by students of Islamic boarding school?

C. METHODOLOGY

In order to understand more about the dynamic of student being research in using new media, an audience research was designed for this research purpose. Audience research is belong to audience reception studies which seeks to understand the way actual audiences behave when they watch, or read media texts (Thwaites et.al, 2002:213). This research has adopted an ethnographic approach, borrowed from anthropology, and later on is famously mentioned as ethnographic audience research.

Series of interview to several students of an Islamic boarding school was conducted during August 2011. An observation was carried out to a subject being chosen in order to gather more data concerning student's media habit in consuming new media. I do not resist that audience research study is free from debatable research paradigm. But, borrowing Radway's study on audience reading in consuming romance (1984), I'm confident enough to present this study. Commenting on Radway study, Gray has emphasized that qualitative audience analysis is considering valid on the notion of research purposes:

> The most important point here is that her analysis was led by her interview data, not imposed upon it from an intellectual or theoretical perspective ... Her emphasis on the importance of the actual act of reading enabled Radway to suggest that the consumption of such popular genres performed a function over and above the texts themselves .. (Gray, 2003: 136)

D. RESEARCH SUBJECT: THE INFORMANTS

Four teenagers were chosen for this research based on voluntarily agreement. For the sake of privacy, their names were changed. Three girls named Rifka, Anita and Atika, also a boy named Rizky were being interviewed. Their range of age is between 16 to 17 years old. All of them are registered as pupils of Islamic boarding school 'Darul Hikam'. Three of them—the girls—entered dormitory held by the school about a year ago. Meanwhile, Rizky—the only boy—is going home afterschool.

All of them are belong to a family with middle-up standard of living. Darul Hikam is considered as one of best private school for its kind in the province. It costs at least 25 million IDR for admission fee, and more than 1.5 million IDR each month to cover the cost of dormitory facilities.

All informants were came from different junior high school before enlisted in Darul Hikam Senior High School. Two were came from Bandung, the other two were came from different area, namely Padalarang and Cianjur. Rifka is the only informant whose mother is a housewife. The other parents are busily working outside home—both mother and father. Their occupations are vary: lecturer, private worker, state administrative officer, teacher, and enterpreneur.

All informants own a-3G-cellphone and laptop. One has blackberry. Internet access are freely used without being watched. They can access Internet from several spots: school (WiFi), home based Internet, and Internet rental kiosks (popularly mentioned as 'warnet').

E. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: INTERNET IN THE LIVES OF TEENAGERS

Technological advance, especially on communication and information devices, has brought new habit, new cultures, and in turn, new communities.

As globalization reaches new communities, youth identity in both developed and developing nations are being shaped by and expressed through popular culture. This is communicated in several forms varing from traditional such as dance and storytelling, to new media including the Internet and video games. A youth exchange ideas, values, symbols and music through mass media and digital technology, a global youth culture is emerging. (Thompson, 2008:11)

Speaking about these youth, Don Tapscott in his canonical book concerning new media "Grown Up Digital", has classified four cathegories of generations existed nowaday:
1. The Baby Boom Generation (born around 1946 - 1964)
2. The Baby Bust atau Generation X (born around 1965 - 1976)
3. The Net Generation/the Millenials, atau Generation Y (born around 1977 - 1997)
4. The Next Generation atau Generation Z (born around 1998 - now)

Palfrey dan Gasser (2008) in general cathegorized generation born before 1980an as 'digital immigrants', meanwhile those who born afterward are classified as 'digital immigrants' (YPLMA, 2011). Digital immigrants were involved with traditional media at first, before digital media was introduced on their life. For digital native, interactive digital media known as new media is about their life. They were born with it, interacting with those media from the very first time, even as early as toddler. New media shaped their framework of thinking, lifestyles, habit, logic of living, and defined their relationship and means of communications with others.

Another research is worth mentioned here. Kaiser Foundation Research spotted the changing of kids and teens media habit due to the domination of digital devices and mobile communication around them. In 2004, 4 among 10 kids (8-18 years old) have cellphones (39%). Five years later, the ratio became 2 among 3 kids (66%) who own cellphone. In 2009, a significant increase on home based Internet access was spotted from 74% to 84%. Personal access of Internet to kid's room also increasing from 20% to 33%. Laptop (completed with WiFi facility) own by kids are increasing from 12% to 29%. No wonder if in 2010, main activities being carried out by kids and teens through the Internet are accessing social network site and YouTube.

More about social networking sites, anthropologist have speculated that the maximum number of human beings in a stable social network is about 150 people. With the Internet and social networking sites, the average male user on Facebook leaves comments on 7 friend's pages, while the average female leaves comments on 10 friend's pages (Wolk, 2009 in Potter, 2011:213).

In Indonesia, a study carried out by Yayasan Pengembangan Literasi Media Anak (YPLMA) based on initial data provided by TNS "Digital Life" pointed out that 70% of Internet users in Indonesia accessed social sites as their main activities after being connected to Internet. Female users dominated male users. In term of age, 'old' and 'youth' users are the same. Young generation, based on YPLMA survey in several Junior and Senior

High School in Depok, West Java, admitted to engage on Internet activities as early as the end of their primary school. In majority, they accessed Internet using personal computer, and spent as long as 1.5 to 3 hours a day for accessing Internet. As had been forecasted by Kaiser Family Foundation research, Indonesian youth spending most of their time in social networking sites, watching videoclip in YouTube, and downloading everything. Their favorite social sites is Twitter, followed by Facebook. Their level of new media literacy is considered very low: privacy, copyright, cybercrime, cyberbullying were beyond their comprehension. But, in term of accessing skill, seemed there's no problem at all.

F. RESEARCH FINDINGS

1. Informant Profiles and Their Media Habit

The youths being interviewed and observed here belong to middle-up level of economy families. Since they were born, communication gadget and entertainment media had been everywhere. In fact, whole member of their class today owned a laptop—it became a requirement for their study.

Internet came first in their life as early as the age of primary or elementary school. Members of the family—father, mother, siblings, or relatives—have introduced the Internet in their life. It seemed that their first habit were shaped by those family members. For instance, Rizky's first interaction with internet were marked by created social sites account. He inspired to do that after his brother showed his social site account to him. For Atika, having an e-mail account was a privileged enjoyed by her in her first contact with Internet. "Mother and father taught me to do that," she said. Of course, in no time at all, informants developed different habit with their predecessors. They explored more, and mastered the art and skill of computers more than their predecessors. The following table listed informants media habit today.

Table 1. Media Habit in Using New Media

No.	Name	Activity	Duration	
			Weekdays	Weekend
1	Rizky	Chatting, checking twitter and facebook, finding new articles (favorite topic: supranatural, urban legend), reading comic. Downloading songs and videoclip. No online games.	2-3 hours	12 hours
2	Rifka	Chatting, downloading songs, finding materials for school tasks.	2-3 hours	Whole day
3	Atika	Updating information on favorite subject, completing school task (mainly finding literature), chatting, downloading videoclip, application program (such as making sketches, painting, music production, photograph, game, etc.). No online games.	4 hours	8 hours
4	Anita	chatting (by ym), checking facebook, browsing for universities, interacting with friends, chatting, downloading music. No online games.	3 hours max.	3-5 hours

There are two functions of Internet based on this data. First, social interactive function in which Internet is functioned as a bridge for nurturing relationship. That's how social networking sites working for it. Second, individual reference function, by which Internet is used by informants for learning purposes, or for pursuing information to fulfill personal desires. Friendship cirles listed in their forums are dominated by classmates, and then schoolmates or friends in the dorm, followed later on by friends from previous school.

Chatting dominated student activities with Internet. Twitter, Facebook and Plurk became their daily mantras. Yahoo Messenger was mentioned as favorite devices to create chat forum. The topic being exchange was ranging from school task, gossips, and 'unimportant conversation'. Discussion about school task would be intensified during examination week. Gossiping, or rumoring about friends' attitudes became favorite subject, especially after incident emerged over their relationship.

Sometimes we couldn't frankly tell someone that his/ her behavior was unacceptable. Then we use Internet for that purpose. Sometimes, if we still couldn't tell it frankly, we discuss it in the forum, indirectly, hoping he/she will read it, and change his/her behavior as a result. If the degree of unacceptability is so great, I use English language in discussing it. By that way, we can select people who participate in this discussion.

(Atika & Anita)

Internet is considered as one among greatest achievements in our civilization, yet, these student use it for something that they coined as 'unimportant conversations'—what it means? "It means you tell others something not serious. Like reporting or spotting something, such as eating here, or watching something, or spotting handsome guy, or social critic toward environment, something like that!" Still haven't got any clue? Read this piece of conversation found in their chat forum, and decide yourself!

@FarizRHD: Well, they are celebs, aren't they? RT @ mightynaning: Feels like lady diana, w h o a a a a . . . RT @FarizRHD: True, ning, her corpse picture is disseminated everywhere... sooo disgusting those people! RT @mightynaning: Damn stupid, her wife's bloody photograph was displayed everywhere! RT @FarizRHD: Poor saipul jamil!

@ramdhanazdan Try for yourself if you so curious! RT @mightynaning Ever think about whisky and beer? Seemed delicious! Look at foreign people, seemed that they're addicted to it!

(Note. Please read it conversely. The first sentence lies in the bottom of each discussion. This is a type of twitter and re-tweet conversation. By the way, 'saipul jamil' is a dangdut singer who lost her wife in an accident not so long ago).

I try to find a clue toward their Islamic 'lifeworld' that supposedly emerge in their chat. I enlisted their favorite sites and topic, but none of it speaking about religion or something related with that. What I found is merely terms or words which commonly used for Islamic teachings but used out-of-context.

sailormoonkeren: fotonya gitu bikin sirik makanya jangan suka riya gtu!
mightynaning: emang siapa suruh tobat nyong?
kakarizki: tuh kan suka fitnah ih

mightynaning: riya tapi jaim ih syahrini pisan
sailormoonkeren: alhamdulillah ya, subhanallah ya, sesuatu
banget gitu lohhh..
kakarizki: hoeeeekkkkk

What can be concluded from this data? In terms of duration, timing, sites or application being downloaded, or activities of social networking sites as a whole, it is sufficient to conclude that there are no differences between media habit of Islamic students and other students in general. These informants who belong to an Islamic junior high school have spent long hours in weekdays and weekend to access Internet—even in their dormitory. Their nature of conversation, topics being exchanged in forums also showed no differences at all. There's no integration between their habit in consuming new media with their background as students who were being exposed by Islamic teachings more than 'common' students. Internet was merely used for entertainment purposes, not for syiar, da'wah, let alone spreading Islamic messages through this powerful communication device.

2. Norms and New Media

Social action is always followed by ethical norms. Actively engaged in social forums and conversation through Internet is also considering as part of social action which ideally based on norms. From the interviews, only one informant was literate enough to discuss the issue of accessing new media by law, security, privacy, cybercrime, and cyberbullying. Others were lack of comprehension about it. But they admitted that they built a kind of code which limited their action. Now let us see more closely what kind of normative concept applied by the informants in using new media stuffs.

Asking about what kind of actions perceived by them as 'ethical violation on internet', the informants mentioned these actions:

1. Fraud (e.g. Faking data, credit card, etc.)
2. Abduction (especially teens)
3. Fitna
4. Accessing adult content (porn video) .
5. Hacking (but, the hacker were considered great and inspiring!)

The informants admitted that they never do any harm using their personal account of new media. They only use the Internet to justify their action in maintaining relationship with others. Gossiping and rumoring became their tools to correct mistake behavior. Of course, gossiping and rumoring are considered

no boundaries over gossiping and discussing someone. Is it a cybercrime?" a girl responded with giggles.

Despite limitation on any means of communication during the quarantine phase, school administration didn't addressed internet regulation and ethical norms properly both in academic subject and moral teachings. The question is: from where the students inherited their own norms of using new media? I seek the answer by asking them about family regulations imposed on new media use, if there's any.

In general, the family decided new media norms based on limitation of: (1) Legal internet activity; (2) Duration in accessing the internet; (3) Place/location in accessing the internet; (4) Tarifft; and (5) Content. There's no site limit—it means students were able to access or visit any sites as long as the content is considered 'safe'. Safe content means safe from violence and sexual content.

Frankly speaking, Islam didn't address regulation and ethical norms in using new media properly. I found only one literature—extracted from a Friday sermon—which addressing the issue of Internet and new media.

First – Ensure and ascertain the authenticity of the news that we have received before forwarding and spreading it to others.,, If the message is untrue, it is a fitnah. And fitnah has extreme repercussions. Will it not hurt those who are implicated? And hurting others is clearly forbidden in Islam and is against the teachings of our Prophet s.a.w.

Second – Adhere to the ethical guidelines of Islam in interacting with others through social networking sites or personal blogs. Do not use harsh or abusive language towards others.

Third – Observe the boundaries in communicating with the opposite gender, as how we would in normal circumstances, as a good Muslim.

Fourth – Ensure that ourselves and family do not engage in unhealthy activities through the new media. Observe our children from time to time. To do so, we must fully understand what new media is about.

Fifth – Ensure that our activities through the new media do not distract us from our duties and responsibilities, both religious duties, and towards our family. Do not let these activities distract us from our prayers and all other religious activities. Let us ensure that it does not weaken our family institution, or affect our work. Be a responsible user and benefit from it, not be destroyed by it. *(*www.muis.gov.sg*)*

Considering those guidelines, and comparing it with informants attitude, some findings emerge.

First, authenticity of the news was depended on the resources itself. The informant didn't bother themselves to look for deeper understanding, or alternative explanations, or comparing it with others when they extracted information. Wikipedia is their favorite, another sources such as blogs

No.	Informants	Regulation	Sanctions on violation	Special Regulation
1	Rizky	No time limit, no content limit. Tariff limit for Internet access applies.	Paying overlimited budget	-
2	Rifka	No limit at all.	Warning for violations, but no further measure sanctions.	-
3	Atika	Limit on content, timing, and duration.	Warning, or going offline for several periods.	Regulation was imposed until the kids graduated from junior high school.
4	Anita	Limit on internet access location.	-	No warnet!

Table 2. Family Regulation

as un-Islamic behavior. But, "we just can't help it! There's

are considered credible enough. They admitted that information came from a forum discussion, or merely from chat, was not necessarily true. It doesn't matter for them because the subject being discussed also something not really important, such as description of a scary urban legend popularly exchanged among them.

Second, the issue of about harsh or abusive language. These informants, those teenagers, they have their own norms. No harsh language such as 'dog', or 'shit'. But 'monkey' or 'crap' or 'waco, totally waco!' or 'idiot' are common among them. Both gender use it freely. Of course, in Islam, such words are considered harsh and abusive, and couldn't be allowed for any reason.

Third, about the boundaries between opposite gender. This research has found that there's no boundaries between opposite gender. Boys and girls do change conversations freely, they talked everything. It contradict with Islam regulations, where boys and girls must follow certain rules to interact each other, especially when they reached mature phase. It seemed that internet chat forum provided alternative space for them to interact each other with no boundaries. In reality, especially in school, there are norms to follow between boys and girls interaction.

Fourth, the issue on unhealthy activities. In the interview, the informants admitted that the only bad thing ever did by Internet was gossiping or rumoring friends. Again, in Islam, people aren't allowed to embrace rumor. Rumor or gossip will lead to *fitna,* means something untrue. *Fitna is more sinister than murder*—this saying is cultivated on every Muslim from the day they're born.

Fifth, there goes a call to limit Internet activities to some extent that won't disturb any religious obligation. On the contrary, long duration of Internet activities consumed informant's time to do positive deeds, including praying or other work.

After discussing those ethical impacts of Internet activities, let us see more closely on other features of digital/internet activities which raising questionable phenomenon.

From those findings, we can conclude that informants' media habit in using new media has no difference with teens' media habit in general. The uniqueness of Islamic philosophy is not totally and automatically reflected on their ethical norms in interacting with new media. For instance, the issue of performance in public sphere. Islam has strict rules—especially for women—on appearing in public. Responding to that rules, female students is obliged to wear hijab in public. The notion of public (and public sphere) seemed being ignored by these students in term of new media. Several students actively uploaded their photographs on out-of-school activities without wearing hijab. And they did it easily, no further thinking or consideration at all. And the family did nothing about it. Without exact guidelines from the school or families about how to deal with new media in the light of Islamic perspective, some students tried to adapt and translate their principles as reflected on their own ethical norms being constituted for such purposes. Several others seemed failed to do that. As digital native, students being raised in special environment such as these informants, in fact, have developed the same media habit with students in general.

3. Modernity Challenge of Muslim Teens in Using New Media: A Discussion on Religious Norms and Secular World of Media

Religion is not just a set of values imposed on its people. From a sociological perspective, religion is the product of that "world-forming" action of human beings through which they constitute a sphere of the sacred, which is at the same time a realm of superior power (Schluchter, 1990:249). Religion action, from praying to several traditions and rituals being carried out by its follower, in essential are a course of action in establishing a differentiation between the sacred and the profane, or between the superior realm played by divine power and the inferior below inhabited by human. Religion action, however, is a human action—a product of cultural activities. It means that any change in cultural activities, or in the form of culture itself, will automatically affected human action, and also transformed religion action as part of human action.

The course of civilization, from the glory of hunter to a quiet pastoral phase until the revolution of information and communication technology, pose us with modernity and postmodernity debates. The question over modernity has not only

No.	Issue	Rizky	Anita	Atika	Rifka
1	Originality: do they use their own identity? Or merely use other name, construct avatar instead of displaying their photograph?	No. It's important to let people know who's to deal with	No. Use my own identity.	I use fake name and cartoon character as my avatar for a reason.	Using nickname but display my own photograph.
2	Consistent performance	Yup. I don't have any problems in exposing myself.	Yup. I wear hijab in my photograph. Of course!	I don't have any problem in exposing my true identity without hijab. Why shouldn't I?	Sometimes I use hijab, other time isn't. Is it a problem?
3	Greetings norm: general norm vs. Religious norm	It depends	I use religious greetings.	General	General
4	Gossiping, rumoring	God forbid, but sometimes I did it. Especially concerning my friends.	God forbid, and I'm trying hard to resist.	God forbid, but I'll do it anyway. Couldn't help:)	I know it's forbidden, but when we chat, I was failed to know the boundaries.
5	Protecting school/family/neighborhood reputation	Sure	Sure	Trying to, but well, who knows	Don't know
6	Verbal abuse	Not with my classmate. Probably with others.	Never	No	No

addressed on the matter of technology, social, politics, and economy. But also invaded the realm of divine deities—in other word, also affected religion as well. The question over modernity and religion, to be exact, had been coined by Schulchter as well. "What is the constellation within which religious action takes place today? What are the most important characteristics of our contemporary religious situation?" (Schulchter, 1990:249). In order to answer that, allow me to briefly discuss the meaning of modernity.

A historical approach on the concept of modernity has defined that modernity was a product of cultural change in the West.

> Modernity used to mean a process of societal rationalization involving the intermingling of a particular world view and a set of external factors, leading to the industrialization of Europe and of the United States and to market-regulated economic systems in which the state played a complimentary role. (Mowlana, 1990:xii)

We can share endless argumentations over that explanation. But in short,

> ... modernity in it its broad sense meant some form of Occidental rationalism which required the creation of new social organizations to replace the traditional ones, an industrialization of the economy, secularization, and the development of the nation-state in small and large-scale communities... Modernity—and old social models associated with it—is a part of the large picture in the transformation society. (Mowlana, 1990:xiii)

Modernity has changed everything, including transformed the meaning of family, work, leisure time, and religious activities. The definition shared by Mowlana posed us with another concept: secularization.

> Secularization replaced religious values by secular values on the value level, on the otherworldly by innerworldly orientation on the level of consciousness, and the primacy of the religious institutions by that of the political and economic ones on the institutional level... religion today is confronted with alternative world views that it can no longer integrate, thus becoming a matter of subjective preference. (Schluchter, 1990:250)

Subjective preference, as noted by Schluchter, is resulted from fragmentation in modern societies and cultures. Whereas Schluchter blamed functional differentiation for this fragmentation, Thomas explained more:

> Social subsystems follow their own rationality, lifestyles and cultural spheres become differentiated, lifeworlds lose their homogeneity, and normative contexts are relativized by recognized plurality... for more and more people, sectors of reality beyond direct everyday experience appear increasingly opaque... in this much-lamented situation of new unclarity and opaqueness, the media system produces a comprehensive self-description of modern   society. This description has at least partially replaced traditional religious cosmologies in

many ways. (Thomas, 2005:86)

So, the question is, how those characteristics of modernity explaining 'secularized' media habit of these Muslim students?

The first explanation came from the nature of secularization itself which separated the profane and the divine, or divided the religion rituals from practices of life. Secularization has exclusively limited the realm of religion merely in religious matters—the otherworldly domain—which is separated strictly from practices of human beings in their life. Technological advances has succesfully form a new youth global culture which is only enhancing the process of secularization. No wonder if media habit as performed by the students produced the same figure everywhere—regardless their educational background.

Second, there is another dimension of modernity other than secularization. According to Bell, modernity has also characterized by a 'preoccupation of the medium':

> In the last twenty-five years, we have seen a preoccupation not with the content or form (i.e. Style & genre), but with the medium of art itself: with the actual texture of paint and materials in painting, with the abstract 'sounds' in music, with phonology or even 'breath' in the poetry, and with the abstract properties of languange in literature—often to the exclusion   of anything else.   (Alexander & Seidman, 1990:323).

The lack of normative discussion, the confusion in applying certain values on several practices, even the 'broken connection' between one action and the comprehension of its consequence as appear in the confusion and disagreement of norms in Internet activities resulted from the reality that youth these days preoccupied themselves only with the media. Not with the content or form. It is the medium which fascinated them. Not the message. It may sound like a repetition of McLuhanian paradigm. But let's face it. This is actually the real challenge of modernity resulted from student's media habit in consuming new media.

G. CONCLUSION

1. Students from Islamic boarding school developed media habit in consuming new media much in the same way as students in general. There are no differences in term of duration, timing, content of messages, style of expression, and choices of activities being carried out by these students. New media cater their needs for entertainment and social interactive funcion more than referential function.
2. Instead of applying religious principles in dealing with new media, the students used general norms as guideline for using new media. The level of ethical consideration among students are vary—it depends on type of family and their own principle.
3. Modernity has posed religion with several challenges. First, secularization has separated the realm of religion with the domain of human beings practices for life. In this case, media habit was seen as part of human beings practices apart from religion principle. Second, secularization also marked by a preoccupation of the medium—not with the message and the medium as a whole. It is understandable

if disagreement occured concerning ethical consideration in dealing with new medium among students of an Islamic boarding school. The students have preoccupied themselves with the media, not with the content or the form. It is the media which fascinated them, not the message.

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Social Networking and Muslim Minority Identity

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Abstract-The theme of this paper is social networking and Muslim minority identity. Muslims living in non-Muslim majority countries negotiate the secular and religious aspects of identity and community, using various means (Sirin & Fine, 2007). In Western contexts many of the beliefs held by Muslims appear linked to a bygone era and based on societal values that have disappeared in secular societies. Key ideas from secular modernity are coded to situate Islam from a position where it negates these ideas so that Islam and Muslims are seen as illogical, autocratic, and living in stasis (Al-Azmeh, 1996). However, Islam is rapidly growing (Rehman & Dziegielewski, 2003) in countries where its followers are a minority such as the United States (Crockatt 2004) and Australia (Bouma, Haidar, Nyland and Smith 2003). This paper focuses on social networking sites as one method of negotiation between the values of secular modernity and the principles of Islamic religious observance, and asks how Muslims who are part of religious minorities make use of the social connectedness that is coming to characterize communication (Lucky, 2009). It uses data gathered from online interviews to discuss the use of sites such as Facebook and Twitter by members of Muslim minorities in the United States and Australia. It asks how these sites are seen as tools for faith-related practices including networking, overcoming gender inequality, political involvement, and cultural or artistic expression. The paper argues that social networking is seen by some Muslims in Western countries as a way to facilitate the increased involvement of Muslim women with their communities, to reconcile young Muslims' religious and secular identities, and provide Muslims with a political voice. It also explores the concerns that some Muslims in Western countries have with the use of social networking in relation to faith.

Part C
Corporate Communication, Integrated Marketing Communication

Community Responses on the Government's Social Media (Study on Twitter Metro Community Polda Metro)

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Abstract- As a new media, the Internet has grown very fast compared to othermedia, especially with social networking, one of which is Twitter. Not only used personally, Twitter has also been utilised by several agencies to disseminateinformation more easily. One of which isPoldaMetro Jaya who use twitter as a medium of information to reduce the burden of traffic jam conditions, under the name of Twitter Metro Community (TMC) Polda Metro which was established on April, 25 2010. By February 2011 TMC Polda Metro has registered 293.120 followers. TMC Polda Metro isa facility that was established by *DirektoratLalulintasKepolisian Daerah (Ditpolantas)* Polda Metro Jaya, and operated by Traffic Management Center.

Traffic Management Center also known as TMC, a unit at *Ditpolantas,*has developed integratedcomputerisation such as GPS(Global Positioning System), CCTV (Closed Circuit TeleVision), SMS (Short Messaging Service), Internet Service (Website), etc. Allcommunication technology used by Traffic Management Center aim to maximize the function of traffic police officers on their job. The job function include professional management, traffic problems, road accident, alsotraffic violation. In addition, traffic management could not be separated with the managementoftraffic problem.

The study uses quantitative method to distribute thequestionnaires. Respondents selected are the users of twitter account and followers of TMC Polda Metro.The results of this study conclude that the response to traffic conditionsvia twitter TMC Polda Metro is good but it does not give problem solving on traffic jam. Respondents perceive that the TMCPoldaMetro twitter account posses the information about the density of trafficflows, road congestion, accidents, fallen trees, flooding, roadrepairs, also roadconditions which cause delays in traffic flow to a malfunctioning traffic light. However TMC Polda Metro does not provide direction for alternative roads given the situations.

Keywords: Community Responses, Social Media, Twitter

INTRODUCTION

In today's development of information technology and internet network, Twitter is one new phenomenon in social media which has greatly influenced peoples' life style all over the world. Twitter was launched in March 2006 by the pioneering company Obvious Corp. The word Twitter literally means "twittering" as in a bird. Twitter is a website of social network offering the concept of micro-blogging to facilitate the users sendingthe text for updating status with maximum of 140 characters. Based on the data reported by Sycomos website, by January 2010 the usage of Twitter in Indonesia has reached the first ranking in Asia or 2.34%, together with Japan 2.34%, and India 0.97%. Total usage of Asia is 7.74% of total worldwide usage. ComScore website also reported global usage of Twitter reach 240 million users consisting of 60 million users of twitter.

com and 180 million users of twitter community (http://www.republika.co.id/berita/trendtek/aplikasi/10/01/27/102496-indonesiaurutan pertamapenggunatwitterdiasia). Twitter is all about the networking. This community can be brought together for a variety of reasons, and Twitter serves as a terrific way of sharing interests and opinions. It can also be a creative outlet for both professionals and amateurs, all wanting to share a moment's inspiration (Morris, 2010).

The advantage of twitter feature and facility provide convenience to users in obtaining faster and newest information. It is no wonder that various organisations, companies and government offices have established twitter facilities to disseminate information on their availability and services. Among others it is the Traffic Division of Metro Jaya Police Precinct which oversees the operations of Traffic Management Center. On 25 April 2010 the office launched the facility for community network called Twitter Metro Community (TMC) for the street commuters in Jakarta and the greater area.

Traffic jam issues in Jakarta as the capital city of Indonesia is indeed critical. This is due to an increase of commuters and vechiles while it is not facilitated by the construction new roads. Indeed the traffic issues grow to be very serious problems. The problems have raised many negative impacts to the commuters, economy and environment. For all passengers the traffic jam causes stress, and even more during hotdays or inside non-air conditioned vechiles. The economic impact ranges from time loss, and additional expenses for fuel and maintenance due to the time length of stalled traffics. Also the environmental impact caused by the increase of pollution, CO_2 and noises. Rem brakes and gas pedal used alternately will increase pollution and noise from rumbling car machines. And worse, in effort to relieve themselves from stressful condition, drivers will often honk the horns, thus increasing noise pollution.

Such awful traffic conditions give cause to TMC, as the commitment from the Traffic Division, to provide information service interactively for 24 hour period to commuters who are routinely trapped in Jakarta traffic. People may access the site of TMC to obtain information on the current condition of the traffic, bottleneck areas, accidents, also wheather news, since TMC set up a joint operation with Meteorology and Geophysic Agency, and to access reports on security within the vicinity. In addition to the information provision, TMC members may also exchange information on current situation, news on traffic, and sending photo of accidents and other incidents. By February 2011 TMC has registered 293,120 followers (www.twitter.com/tmcpoldametro).

Upon the consideration of the background presented above, the research study needs to discover on how the community response to traffic information exchanged via twitter which is managed by TMC Metro Precinct. Are people satisfied and

fulfiled over the needs of traffic information? The research will use quantitative approach by circulating questionnaires to the whole community registered in TMC followers.

CYBER COMUNITY AND TWITTER

A social network is a social structure established from individual or organisational network, which is bound by one or more of specific type of relationship such as values, vision, ideas, friendship, ancestry, and so on (Abrar, 2003). Social network have exsited since a long time ago, and now it have become living needs for today's modern society. Further, for some people the values of social network may be adopted and internalised onto themselves.

The development of social network has been happening not onlyin real world, it has also expanded to the virtual world giving rise to living community known as cyber-community. In line with the progress of information technology local community has transformed itself globally, it is a world of being transparent on the information flow. The transformation process and technology speed run very fast and significantly impact on human civilisation to the extent that the world is called the big village where the community know each other and address one another (Bungin, 2008). As such, there is hardly distinction between community of real world and that of virtual world. Modern society braces for the two type of communities as part of its continuing existence.

Web community is different than one in the real world. In terms of their social dynamics, physical and virtual communities are much the same. Both involve developing a web of relationships among people who have something meaningful in common, such as a beloved hobby, a life-altering illness, a political cause, a religious conviction, a professional relationship, or even simply a neighborhood or town. So in one sense, a Webcommunity is simply a community that happens to exist online, rather than in the physical world. But being online offers special opportunities and challenges that give Web communities a unique flavor. The Net erases boundaries created by time and distance, and makes it dramatically easier for people to maintain connections, deepen relationships, and meet like-minded souls that they would otherwise never have met. It also offers a strange and compelling combination of anonymity and intimacy that brings out the best and worst in people's behavior. It can be near impossible to impose lasting consequences on troublemakers, and yet relatively easy to track an individual's behavior and purchase patterns—which makes Web communities notoriously difficult to manage (Kim, 2000).

Social changes in cyber-community provide cultural impact vastly and sharply, with global characteristic changes happen very fast so it spread multiplier effects to behavioral changes over both cyber-comunity and real community, thus it has raised potential social conflicts in both communities(Sztompka, 2004). It is worth to note that often the limitation of virtual world cause the cyber members to be unaware of ethical codes applied in real world. For example, it is highly possible to fake identity in virtual world, thus it opens the way todistribute false information and mislead people.Barbier and Liu describing that happen when Twitter was used by protestors in Iran during 2009, the source of some messages could not be veriûed and were deemed to be of no value or even antagonistic (Salerno, 2011).

Twitter is by far the most powerful microblogging service or social media that currently available. Twitter make the new one rules of cyber community. One of the inspirations for Twitter was the idea of combiningWeb-based updates with mobile information. Twitter makes itpossible for mobile phone users to send updates fromtheir handsets,and in some places to receive them on their handsets, too (Comm, 2010).

SOCIAL MEDIA AND TRAFFIC INFORMATION

These days it is no longer unsual that any message may spread unintendedly fast, not only found in casual conversation but also in mass media, and during the last few years we grow familiar with social media. It is more apparent with sophisticated technology of internet which makes it possible to connect with many people from different places at the same time, such technology enable us to disguise or directly communicate, play game with continent-distant friends, and even more the internet greatly revolutionise the world of information because all information delivered within minutes or seconds to all corners of the world (Magdalena, 2010). The power of information distribution via virtual world is significant and cannot be underestimated. The new forces include the usage of social media of internet.

Innovative media such as news website and social media are said to be colorful features no less attractive in communication sector since it has special features not exhibited in other conventional media, especially on the interaction between audiences. Going further audiences or any social media users may accumulate its power by establishing movements for gettting support, pro or cons for the sake of its opinion. This movement cannot be underestimated because with a large number of supporters, they could shape public opinion, attract the attention of mass media and become a power on its own, it is more so with the support of competent public figures (Magdalena, 2010). It is understable that many companies and organisations establish its own social media which represent their image and serve as liason to public at large. That's mean social media used as external relations (external media) for companies or organisations. In other hand the cybercommunity or other schoolar named community memory is quite have different regulation with external media. As Rossman explaination that Community memory is convivial and participatory. A comunity memory system is an actively open 'free' information system, enabling direct communications among its users, with no centralised editing of or control over the information exchanged. Such a system represents the precise antitheses to the dominant uses both of electronic communications media which broadcast centrally determined messages to mass passive audiences, and of cybernetic technology, which involves centralised processing of and control over data drawn from or furnished to direct and indirect users (Lister, 2009).

The contradictive beetwen external media and as community memory may occured on Twitter TMC. If we are about to discuss traffic information, formally included is the center of information system management, traffic communication and vehicles, which involve TMC Metro Jaya whose main function range from controlling center, coordination, communication, data and integrated information, public service, electronic documentation and law enforcement. It could be said that the management of controlling center, information system, traffic

communication and vechicles set the goal to attain security, safe, orderly and integrated traffic service and vechicles (Law no 22/2009 on Traffic and Vechicles). Further the Law says that the task to provide data and traffic information include providing analysis and evaluations on accidents, traffic jam and traffic violations. The tasks and duty to provide traffic information is clearly an ideal one.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research approach is quantitative. The reason in using quantitative approach is because the researcher needs to obtain quantitative information on the community's response on twitter managed by TMC Metro Precinct, which serves as the information media for alternative roads in Jakarta and to obtain statistical data representing the community who follow twitter account of TMC. The sample in this research is men and women who have accounts in twitter and follow TMC, since not everyone has twitter account. In addition, the respondents in this research are active commuters. The areas of location cover commuters who live or work in Jakarta. In this research the sample number is 100 respondents (using the formulation of sample Taro Yamane) from total known population of twitter users and follow TMC which numbered to 293,120 followers in February 2011.

RESEARCH OUTCOME AND DISCUSSION

The questionnaires sent to 100 respondents with a list of 80 questions show that the users of TMC in general feel the benefit. Further into details out of 80 questions there are 41 questions directly involve the product of TMC, in which there are 22 responses or 53% show disagreement (negative response) on perceived advantages of TMC.

INTERACTION AND SATISFACTION IN TMC USAGE

Based on the research it is known that generally65% respondents are aware on the number of followers registered in TMC Metro Jaya, and 35% respondents are in doubt. This shows that the majority of respondents pay attention to other followers. They are aware of each other's participation in twitting process.

However, on the issue of interaction the majority of respondents doubt or express their disagreement over the perceived interaction, in which 45% respondents state their doubts over interaction with one another in TMC Metro. Thirty-six percent respondents state their disagreement that such interaction exists, while 19% agree there is interaction. Similarly, on the questionnaire over satisfaction in interaction, 46% respondents are in doubt, 32% respondents feel satisfied, and 22% do not feel satisfied.

In general the respondents are aware that the usage of twitter and interaction fall into individual interests with 66% respondents agree and highly agree that the interaction in virtual world is solely determined by each individual interest. Twenty-onepercen respondents express doubt and 13% state disagreement.

Serving as the media managed by a government entity, Metro Jaya Police Precinct, the TMC exhibits a language style which is considered too formal, 49% respondents disagree over the statement that TMC has established its own language style. Twenty-seven percent are in doubt and 24% agree.

On the other hand, on the function of TMC as the provider of real time information, more than half respondents or 67% agree over the statement that users are given proper information on traffic condition. The rest 33% respondents highly agree on the statement questionnaire. On the news of events received by respondents from TMC, 69% agree and 31% highly agree. In addition, 68% respondents agree and highly agree on the questionnaire statement that users receive real time information from TMC, while the rest 32% is in doubt.

TMC AS A SERVICE POINT AND NOT A SOLUTION

The research study shows that over half respondents or 55% agree on the function of TMC Metro as the service point for the community, while 25% in doubt and 20% disagree. On the questionnaire statement from TMC Metro over the indication of traffic accidents 54% respondents agree, 30% highly agree and 16% in doubt. In addition, 47% agree and 27% highly agree over the statement of TMC Metro that given traffic information is characterised by way of instruction and forbidding, while the rest 26% disagree. Deriving from these three results it may be concluded that the standard service is functioning and properly delivered.

However, on further analysis, there are several functions that are not delivered by TMC. This is evidenced by over half respondents (58%) disagree on the statement that TMC Metro provide information on road pricing to assist traffic control, while 42% in doubt. Also on the statement that TMC Metro provides education to commuters on the procedure of vechile usage, 42% respondents in doubt, and on the second rank 37% respondents agree, and 21% disagree.

Similarly, on the statement that TMC Metro provides information to commuters to obey traffic rules as the strategy of traffic management, 45% respondents agree, while doubtful respondents differ by only 2% or 43%, and 12% disagree. In addition, 55% respondents doubt over the statement that TMC provide information on the facility how to use traffic signs. Thirty percent respondents agree over this statement and 15% disagree.

On other issues, 57% respondents doubt over the statement that TMC serves as the controller of traffic information system. On the second rank 28% respondents agree and 15% disagree. Similarly on the statement that TMC provide support for quick action on traffic violations, 41% disagree on this statement, 36% in doubt, and 23% agree.

On the statement that TMC provide support for quick action over traffic bottleneck affecting the respondents 38% doubt over the statement, 38% disagree, and 24% agree. Similar responses over the statement that TMC twitter provide guidance such as alternative roads, 44% respondent disagree, 33% in doubt, and 23% agree.

CONCLUSION

Based on the data analysis and discussion which have been previously presented, it is concluded that respondents favor

positively on twitter account managed by TMC Metro Precinct as the information media on traffic conditions. As evidenced in increasing number of followers for the twitter account. The community largely admit that the presence of TMC provide them with assistance on traffic flow especially during peak hours. The information given include heavy traffic, bottleneck, accidents, fallen trees, flood, road repairs, road conditions which cause traffic bottleneck, and disfunctional traffic lights which cause traffic stalled in alll directions.

However, TMC function as analysis and evaluation providerseem to be unsucessfully delivered by TMC management among others is the task of providing information on alternatif roads, This is the underlying reason that the function as traffic information provider as mandated to TMC management by Law no 22/2009 on Traffic and Vechicles is not fully delivered.

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Optimizing The Social Media base on Three Spheres of Involvement Model in Corporate Communication (A Case Study in PT. Telkom Tbk in Unit Enterprises 7)

Abstract-PT. Telkom Tbk, as leading corporate company ICT in Indonesia, have some various problems in terms of communication based on three sphere involvement model. First, there is a lack of internal communication despite Telkom already have an internal channel. Second, the lack of communication with the trusted network in this case is the customer community channel. Third, The lack of single mandatory policy in social media which causing the existing social media account running unmanageable.

The challenges facing global business and the people who lead they are now, more than ever, tangled in the direct empowerment and involvement of customer and stake holders. Through the social media all entities in business shared the knowledge interactively. This phenomenon has also a great impact to the flow of communication among entities in business. This paper describe about the role of facebook group feature as a solution to overcome the problem as aforementioned.

To gain the data the writer doing depth interview to the managers in two divisions that already apply a facebook group as a tool for internal and external communication. The two divisions are Unit Enterprise VII (UNER VII) which covers East area of Indonesia.

As the result, The General Manager in UNER 7 found that facebook closed group is very effective media for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of 5C values of the employees. In line with UNER 7,the Coordinator Area Managers of Divisi Business Service (DBS) in two areas also found thatfacebook 'close, group is very effective and efficient in terms of engaging and maintaining the relationship with the costumer community channel. The Reason of both divisions is clear that facebook'close, group is low cost, borderless, limited members, shareable, user friendly and already common among the Telkom employees all over the country.

BACKGROUND

For a lot of organizations—including business, nonprofits, and governmental agencies—use of social media very often begins in Marketing, public communications, ora similar office or department with a direct connection to customers and stakeholders. This makes sense given that a typical driver for getting involved with social media is a slew of negative comments, a need for "virality," or a boost to overall awareness in the marketplace and especially in the minds and hearts of those customers increasingly out of reach of interruptive (aka "traditional") media. In a word, many organizations are looking for "engagement," and they see social media as the way to get it.

The advent of Web 2.0 and the Social Web is clearly a game-changer, on numerous fronts. Given the rush to implement, and the opening focus on marketing specifically versus the business more holistically, many "social media projects" end up being treated more like traditional marketing campaigns than the truly revolutionary ways in which a savvy business can now connect with and prosper through collaborative association with its customers. As a result, the very objective—engagement, redefined in a larger social context—is missed as too many "social media campaigns" run their course and then fizzle out.

Whether that's right or wrong is another matter, and the truth is that a lot of great ideas have given rise to innovative, effective, and measurable social business programs. But these are still the exceptions, which is unfortunate as social technology is within the reach of nearly everyone. The collaborative technologies that now define contemporary marketplaces—technologies commonly called "social media," the "Social Web," or "Web 2.0"—offer a viable approach to driving changes in deeper business processes across a wide range of applications. There is something here for most organizations, something that extends very much beyond marketing and communications.

Before going any further, we should confirm what mean by "social media". We see a number of characteristic of that distinguish today's "digital social media" interaction from other types of social conversations. First, it enables one – to – many conversation. Second, it features content created and posted by consumers of that content. Third, it easy to use. Fourth, it is highly accessible (everyone), highly scalable (everyone + everywhere), and operates in real time (everyone + everywhere + every time). The last, it is entirely public and transparent. Shortly, social media enables the swift and easy development, creation, dissemination, and consumption of information and entertainment by both organization and individuals.

Social media already has a massive presence and just keeps

growing and evolving. Consider the growth of the most popular social networking sites: Facebook. The challenges facing global business and the people who lead they are now, more than ever, tangled in the direct empowerment and involvement of customer and stake holders. Through the social media all entities in business shared the knowledge interactively. This phenomenon has also a great impact to the flow of communication among entities in business. This paper describe about the role of Facebook group feature as a solution to overcome the problem as aforementioned.

PT TELKOM INDONESIA

Nowadays, PT Telkom Indonesia Tbk still have strong brand because beneficial with the "incumbent" company and the market for penetration still open. In line with the the spirit of democracy in economy government of Indonesia issue the regulation in terms of the market of telecommunication under Undang – Undang RI no. 36 1999. Todays, there are 11 telecommunication provider has operating in Indonesia. That condition triggered Telkom Indonesia to be more innovative. The last transformation called NEW TELKOM Indonesia is a transformation in business, infrastructure, system and operation model and human resource.

The transformation was officially launched to the world in line with the New Corporate Identity TELKOM on October 23, 2009. Today Telkom has undergone changes in Business Tranformation, Infrastructure & System Transformation, Organization/HR Tranformation and Culture Transformation. Regarding the transformation, SGM Information System Center, Judi Rifajantoro said, one of the rationale in Telkom's changes is the newly applied culture. Telkom has new Corporate Value named 5C: Commitment to Long Term; Customer First; Caring Meritocracy; Co-creation of Win-win Partnership; Collaborative Innovation.

The first C, Commitment to Long, means that when we are doing something, we are doing it not just for today, but also for tomorrow and the future.The second "C" is Customer First, in which Telkom put first priorityto customers, be it for internal or external customers. The third C, Caring Meritocracy, provides. rewardsand consequences in accordance with the performance and behaviour of the people.The four C, Co-creation of Win-win Partnership, is about how to treat business partners as equal counterparts. The fifth C, Collaborative Innovation, is to remove internal silos and be open to external ideas.

There are expected behaviorsfrom these five Cs. Commitment to Long Termasks for stretched target, sustainable results, and on-going transformation. Customer First builds good relationship, actively meeting customers' need and a service that is better than expectation. Caring Meritocracy looks for individual feedback, develop others and provide rewards as a consequence of work performance.With Co-creation of Win-win Partnership, an employee must proactive in capturing an opportunity for partnership, be creative in negotiation and active looking for feedback and manage partners' performance. The keys in Collaborative Innovation are distributing the resources, looking for resources from other parties and influencing external environment. All of these transformations is represented within the new Telkom tagline, that is "the world in your hand".

In an effort to realize those values, PT. Telkom Tbk as leading corporate company ICT in Indonesia facing some

various problems in terms of communication base on three sphere involvement model. First, there is a lack of internal communication despite Telkom already have an internal channel. Second, the lack of communication with the trusted network in this case is the customer community channel. Third, The lack of single mandatory policy in social media which causing the existing social media account running unmanageable.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Three Spheres of involvement

One of the central tenets of social media is that it enables people and organization to interact with each other in real time. Of course, this open huge possibilities for companies to gain insight into what kinds of products and services would strike a chord with potential customers – and avoid a lot of expensive and time consuming trial and error while enhancing the chance that resulting offers will have the features and functions customer want. The companies that have been most successful in leveraging social media in product development are those that recognize social media's power to connect not only the people within their organization but also those outside of the company who could serve as rich sources of ideas that could lead to the next big (and profitable) product or service. There are three such "spheres of involvement": Internal, trusted network, and the world.

Figure1. Three spheres of involvement
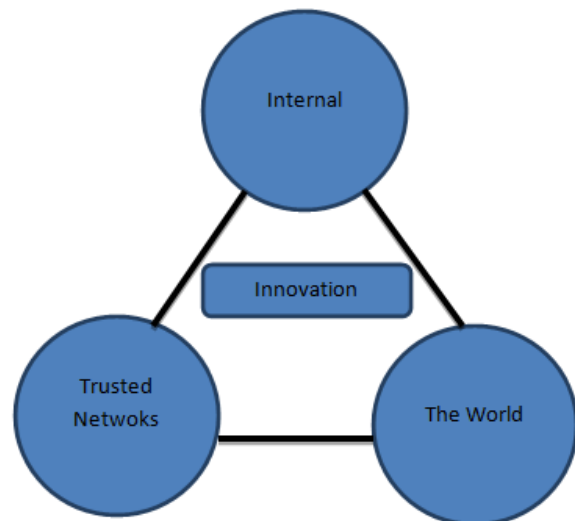
The first sphere is internal. Inside a company, social media can be useful tool to harness the ideas of people around the organization, especially frontline employees who interact with customers daily. Such as interaction – most notably, customer complaints – can be great ponters to new product and service need. Social media can shorten the communication cycle between the bottom and top levels of a company, thus getting an intriguing idea born out of customer complaint to the top of the R&D fuction in minutes. In the past, such as ideas were not likely to climb their way up the corporate ladder quickly, if it all. And, in an era where many companies have diversified

workforces spanning the globe, social media can help bridge the "horizontal" divide. Furthermore, social media can help marketing, service, product development, finance, supply chain, and other expert inside a company to better pool ideas. Domain specialist can be found easily through a company's internal facebook pages or a wiki. Employees also can be a good provider of feedback on new products. A growing number of companies are running internal contests for best new product ideas. Those with a largepayroll – 10.000 – 50.000, or more employees – can become a great source of new ideas test bed for others.

Trusted Networks

The second sphere of involvement social media is something we call the trusted network. A company's trusted networks consist of external parties who advise on everything from product concepts and key materials to prototypes and manufacturing processes. Members of the trusted network can be customers, vendors and stakeholders.

The world

The third type of sphere of involvement that companies can gain through social media is one of that is open to the world. Social media allows companies to reach out the large numbers of outside contributors worldwide – people who can offer ideas on product concepts, test products, troubleshoot packaging and manufacturing problems, and make other contribution of innovation.

Using social media to open up an organization to a world of ideas allows not only to tap concepts from everywhere but also to have a large pool of customers ready to access those ideas. Such early feedback of new product has become crucial: It helps company avoid costly mistakes in products that have insufficient numbers of customers or are markedly deficient in price, features, or other key elements. Social media gives a company real-time customer reaction to new concepts or prototypes.

Tapping the ideas of outsiders has become critical to many companies that cannot afford all the technical expertise they need these days to bring, a new product or service to market.

About Social Media

When you work with social media, use social technologies every day and think and act socially as a matter of course, it's easy to forget that we're actually in a minority of super-users right now. There's nothing more sobering, however, than taking a step back and preparing to lead a client gently into our very social world.

What comes naturally to us may be a mystery to others. The tools we confidently use, link together and employ on-the-fly are viewed with trepidation by some. And at times it can be really hard to explain something that feels so intuitive, we do it completely naturally and spontaneously. It's these clients - the ones who want to know more but don't know where to start, who have few preconceptions and plenty of questions – who can teach us so much. Because they force us to re-examine all over again why we do this.

One of the questions I hear most often is "Honestly, just how important is social media?" Well, the obvious answer is "very", right? It's very important to me and to my business, and to a lot of our clients. I rely on it. But, given that Wisdom London is a communications agency and we are not tied to one medium over another, we help businesses in all kinds of different ways. For some clients, social media simply isn't a priority and in many cases I have no issue with that. Sometimes the reality is simply that other stuff just is more important right now. But what I do know is this:

- Social media is really important if your audience or market are highly social (not every audience is…yet)
- Social media is really important if you need to influence influencers
- Social media is really important if you are about community
- Social media is really important if your business is online (or anywhere near online)
- Social media is changing everything

Some of the most exciting work we've done in social media consulting is for an online brand – a highly emotive brand that appeals to a specific set of communities. Over the past few months, we have led this brand by the hand into social media and to a position of genuine social credibility, high engagement and many, many plans for the future.

But where it has helped me get closer to answering to that question is this: in this client, we have seen confidence in social technologies grow before our eyes, as well as genuine passion and excitement as the opportunities and possibilities of social become clear. We have witnessed the emergence of a genuinely social mindset in our client. And I think that's the bit that's most important for any business.

A social mindset recognises that the world is social, that social technologies will inevitably change the way we consume, do business, live our lives – they are already shaping it. A social mindset is the really important thing, because social is not going away. It has left an indelible mark on the world and it cannot be ignored. For some businesses, social is up close and very personal to us. For some, it feels like a spot on the horizon, far from today's reality. But social technologies do, can and will impact business overall - and in time, each and every one of us. So for that reason, social technologies and behaviours cannot be ignored. And, use them or not at this point in time, a social mindset for business is a must. That's my message to business.

The Facebook

Facebook is a social networking website that was originally designed for college students, but is now open to anyone 13 years of age or older. Facebook users can create and customize their own profiles with photos, videos, and information about themselves. Friends can browse the profiles of other friends and write messages on their pages.

Each Facebook profile has a "wall," where friends can post comments. Since the wall is viewable by all the user's friends, wall postings are basically a public conversation. Therefore, it is usually best not to write personal messages on your friends' walls. Instead, you can send a person a private message, which will show up in his or her private Inbox, similar to ane-mail message.

Facebook allows each user to set privacy settings, which by default are pretty strict. For example, if you have not added a certain person as a friend, that person will not be able to view your profile. However, you can adjust the privacy settings to allow users within your network (such as your college or the

area you live) to view part or all of your profile. You can also create a "limited profile," which allows you to hide certain parts of your profile from a list of users that you select. If you don't want certain friends to be able to view your full profile, you can add them to your "limited profile" list.

Another feature of Facebook, which makes it different from MySpace, is the ability to addapplications to your profile. Facebook applications are small programs developed specifically for Facebook profiles. Some examples include SuperPoke (which extends Facebook's "poke" function) and FunWall (which builds on the basic "wall" feature). Other applications are informational, such as news feeds and weather forecasts. There are also hundreds of video game applications that allow users to play small video games, such as Jetman or Tetris within their profiles. Since most game applications save high scores, friends can compete against each other or against millions of other Facebook users.

Facebook provides an easy way for friends to keep in touch and for individuals to have a presence on the Web without needing to build a website. Since Facebook makes it easy to upload pictures and videos, nearly anyone can publish a multimedia profile. Of course, if you are a Facebook member or decide to sign up one day, remember to use discretion in what you publish or what you post on other user's pages. After all, your information is only as public as you choose to make it!

Groups are oldest and simplest way to build community around your brand orcompany on Facebook. By starting a group, you create a central place for customers,partners, and friends to participate in conversations around your brand. Facebookgroups come with boards for posting discussion topics, photos, videos, and links rightout of the box. You can also easily send news and updates to your group members asoften as you like - messages arrive in their Facebook Inbox. And the best part aboutGroups is you can create as many as you like for free.

Groups are one of the simplest ways to do viral marketing on Facebook. Once embershave joined your group, they can easily invite their friends to join the group via abuilt-in Invite feature. If your members are excited about your group, it can growreally quickly. (Thegroup *1,000,000 Strong for Stephen Colbert* grew from zero to onemillion members in 9 days!) Additionally, your group name will usually appear on yourmembers' personal profile pages until they leave the group. Many people view groupsas "Bumper Stickers" for their profile page in this regard. Because profile pages arehighly trafficked, these links can generate a lot of clicks to your group page.

Create a private space (value – paraphrase) Have things you only want to share with a small group of people? Just create a group, add friends, and start sharing. Once you have your group, you can post updates, poll the group, chat with everyone at once, and more.

Share different things with different people (value – paraphrase) Groups let you share things with the people who will care about them most. By creating a group for each of the important parts of your life — family, teammates, coworkers — you decide who sees what you share.

UNER VII Profile

Unit Enterprise Regional VII is part of PT Telekomunikasi Indonesia tbkEnterprise Service Division.Unit Enterprise Regional VII is a unit managing corporate customers in cluster 1 and 2 comprising eastern region of Indonesia.

Control who sees your group(features)	Share with the group(technical function)	Stay in the know (value)
Secret: Only members can see the group and what members post.	▪ Post updates, questions, photos, and more	▪ Get notified about new posts so you never miss an update
Closed: Everyone can see the group. Only members see posts.	▪ Chat with the group	▪ Connect off Facebook using the group's shared email address
Open (public): Everyone can see the group and what members posts.	▪ Create shared docs	
	Schedule group events	

UNER VII covers 7 area in eastern part of Indonesia, they are Bali, Makassar, Nusa Tenggara, Manado, Palu, Ambon and Papua. UNER VII is led by a General Manager with 6 Manager Area, 3 Coordinator Account Manager, 1 Manager Customer Solution, 1 Manager General Support, and 1 Manager Corporate Customer Care. Total employees of UNER 7 is134 persons.

Largest segment in all area of UNER VII is Government (32%), while Finance and Banking (28%) contribute revenueof 60% for UNER VII.

Business success of UNER VII in eastern part of Indonesia is indicated by market share upto semester I of 2011 comprising 55,3% of total telecommunication expenditures ofall corporations throughout eastern region of Indonesia (Riset Market Share Telekomunikasi, Spire 2011). Main competitor of UNER VII in corporate segment areIndosat, IM2, and LintasArtha whose products and services are very similar with varying performances and competitive advantages. The main challenge of UNER VII is the coordination that needs to be done in an extra best effort because of a wide geographical area. This has triggered the needs for innovative means of internal and external communication internal, which is later conducted via social media.

Figure 2.the structure organization of UNER VII
Source: Telkom UNER VII

Telkom Social Media Account
UNER VIIhave Facebook and Twitter accounts as a means
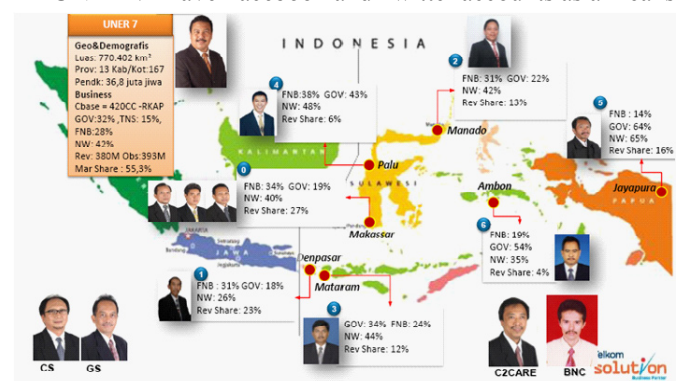
of communicationwith all PIC IT CorporationCluster 1 & 2 in eastern regional of Indonesia.

For external communication to the "Trusted Network" and

"To The World", UNER VII use Facebook and Twitter in order to communicate various offers and to get feedback rapidly. This is in line with one of the marketing principles of the new wave era, i.e. "Connect" and "Collaboration".

Facebook account of UNER VII now have 563 friends, all of them are PIC IT from 123 companies in cluster 1 &2 in eastern region of Indonesia. Customer Base UNER VII in 2011 is 567 corporate customer, meaning that the external communication through Facebook covers 23% of total customer base in eastern region of Indonesia.

Meanwhile, the Twitter account of TelkomUNERVII has 313 followers coming from 67 corporate customers, meaning that it covers 12% of total customer base UNER VII which amounts of 567 corporate customers.

The impact of this social media program is that UNER 7 is able to communicate quickly whenever there is a technology update offered by PT Telkom and also receive feedback from the IT of each company. As a result, there is a mutual collaboration between Telkom UNER VII as the vendor and all of its customers.

Analysis of the social media account based on the model

Unit Enterprise Regional VII is a unique unit because it covers eastern region of Indonesia with very wide geographical area. To overcome this, there is a need for a new method to disseminate information related to the policies and programs of PT Telkom to all members of UNER VII.

The General Manager of UNER VII tried to find a solution for this by using social media as a means of communication with internal and external parties, including IT *engineers*in allcompanies member of cluster 1 & 2 in eastern part of Indonesia.

Facebook Closed Group of Internal Communication of UNER VII

For internal communication, UNER VII uses Facebook closed group. The focus of the GM UNER VII in this group is to internalize the new culture of the company, the 5 Cs. In order to succeed this program, management of UNER VII divides the implementation program of 5C using Social Media into 3 stages where each has its own particular indicator.

Figure 3. Implementation Level of 5C Social Media Program

Stage 1:Socialization Program
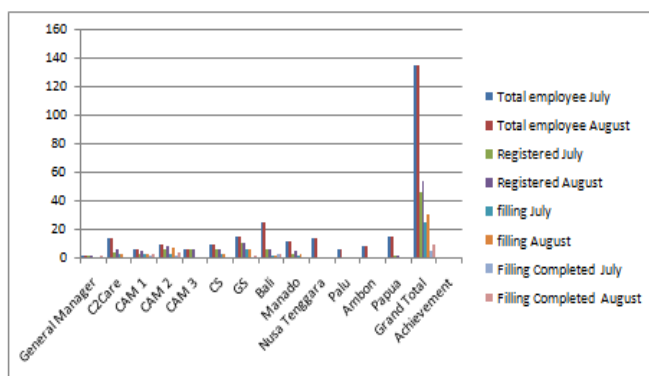
In this stage, all member of UNER VII is expected to be members of UNER 7 Facebookclosed group and to post things related to 5 Cs in their daily company life as much as possible. In this phase, it is expected that all personnel of UNER VII know and realize the culture of 5C in posting in the Facebook closed group completely from C1 to C5.

Table 1.Stage 1 in completed in July 2011 with the following evaluation

Unit	Total employee	Registered	filling	Filling Completed
General Manager	1	1	1	0
C2Care	13	4	3	0
CAM 1	6	3	3	1
CAM 2	9	6	3	1
CAM 3	6	6	1	0
CS	9	6	3	0
GS	14	10	6	0
Bali	24	6	2	2
Manado	11	3	2	0
Nusa Tenggara	13	0	0	0
Palu	6	0	0	0
Ambon	8	0	0	0
Papua	14	1	1	0
Grand Total	134	46	25	4
Achievement		34%	54%	9%

In July, the program is not yet yielding favorable results. By the end of July, there are 46 registered users of 134 total employees (34%). From those registered users, there are 25 users (54%) writing wall posts about 5C in Facebook closed group UNER 7. There are only 4 employees (4%) writing wall posts about 5C completely.

Based on this situation, the management of UNER VII provided a reward system to the most active unit in filling the 5C in the group. The reward was given in monthly basis. This breakthrough yielded a quite significant effect. In August, the number of employees registered as members and the number of employees filling the 5C are increasing.

Table 2.in completed in July 2011 with the following evaluation

Unit	Total employee	Registered	filling	Filling Completed
General Manager	1	1	1	1
C2Care	13	6	3	0
CAM 1	6	5	3	2
CAM 2	9	8	7	3
CAM 3	6	6	1	0
CS	9	6	3	0
GS	14	10	6	1
Bali	24	6	2	2
Manado	11	5	3	0
Nusa Tenggara	13	0	0	0
Palu	6	0	0	0
Ambon	8	0	0	0
Papua	14	1	1	0
Grand Total	134	54	30	9
Achievement		40%	56%	17%

The number of employees registered as members is increasing to 54 users, that means a growth 17% from that of July.

The number of users filling in 5C is increasing to 30 users (56%) from the registered users, meaning that there is a 20% increase from that of July.

The number of employees filling in 5C completely in August is 9 users or 17% of total registered employees.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

PT Telkom UNER 7 used Facebook closed group as a means of internal communication as an adaptation to the three sphere model of communication in product innovation by Alon and Gupta (2011). From the study, it is found that this model is not yet effective and needs improvement in certain areas in order to achieve the target. Nevertheless, the finding of this case study is very important as an input to the perfection of an internal communication tool of PT Telkom, which is still under construction and will be continue to be developed by taking into account all data and finding from this study.

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Factors Affecting the Need for Information in Buying Decision Process by Word of Mouth through Social Media

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Abstract-Nowadays communications technology has changed the way consumers communicate, including the process in making a buying decision. Consumers use a variety of social media to get information about products and did not take anything for granted against various forms of promotion from the company. However, consumers are also selective in evaluating information obtained from others by word of mouth through social media. This study investigated whether factors interact needs, product information, or the credibility of the speaker will be the most decisive factor in process of internal evaluation by consumers prior to buying goods through online communities.

The process for buying decisions are made through five stages, starting from the identifying of the unmet needs; seek information via social media; evaluation process against a number of information obtained; buying decisions, and also ends with an evaluation after a buying is made. The rise of word of mouth through social media as a more credible sources of information than from the company, became the basis of the use concept of word of mouth and social media. There are three factors that drive individuals conducting word of mouth through social media: need to interact with others, seek of information, & assessment of speaker credibility of other members. Research method used is survey and data collection is done by distributing online questionnaires. Data analysis technique used is multiple linear regression analysis using statistical programme on quantitative research approach. Population was all members of online communities Female Daily Forums that join in thread Garnier since December 12, 2007 until study was conducted.

Results showed that information of product based on experience of other consumers to be a major factors in internal evaluation process by consumers prior to buying goods through an online community that their followed. The need to interact with others to be the next determining factor. No significant influence of factors credibility of the speaker reiterated that the conversation through social media is open to anyone without must having a certain level of credibility as the member or to write a comment. The egalitarian nature of social media is also true in the process of making a buying decision not only apply in political and social aspect. Research with the specific characteristics of the respondents like this should be interpreted with caution if the conclusion to be drawn into a more general nature. It was a limitation of this research.

Key word: buying decision process, social media, word of mouth.

INTRODUCTION

Human beings are social beings as well. As social beings, meaning that human being has need to accepted into a group, affiliated, or interacting with others. When need arises, then a man will form or join a community. Community established on the basis of a sense of belonging, equality of its members, and similarities on interests, goals, needs, or other similar conditions. Along with development of civilization and media communications today, formation of community becomes much easier. Geographical distances and time differences are no longer a barrier. Interaction can be done anywhere, anytime, and faster than traditional way. Community members do not need to first get to know each other or be physically present in order to interact with one another. As long as there is a need, interest, or same purpose that supported by media communications technology, then persons may establish or participate in a community interact online. Online communities can be mailing lists, newsgroups, bulletin boards, or web-based forum. Some examples of forums that exist in Indonesia is WebGaul, KafeGaul, Ngobrol.com, and Female Daily Forums.

At this time, development of media communications technology has been facilitate interaction and communication activities performed by humans. It would have also been facilitating people as consumers in obtaining information about a product or service required. Moreover, with the online community at this time transfer and dissemination process of information between consumers no longer need to be done orally again. Word of mouth communication is now done either verbally or visually. This is called by Emanuel Rosen as word of mouth or Buzz (Rosen,2009:2).

When consumer sharing information about a specific product to other consumers, then information about the product will move from the first consumer to other consumer, and so on. Sometimes exchanges process will back and forth between two or more persons and it shows that there has been a conversation between these people. In addition, information can also move from one to thousands or millions of others, as happened when Oprah Winfrey recommends a book to her audience in the show. As reported on September 19, 2009 by Tempo Interactive, one of a new book that debuted at the top five positions are bought and became Best Seller after Oprah recommend it. This can occur because the flow of information about book moves very quickly and immediately spread to millions of viewers or people who are fans of Oprah Winfrey. Academically, this phenomenon has also been proven through research conducted by Chevalier & Mayzlin (2006). Both researchers found that book reviews are conducted online by amazom.com and barnesandnoble.com increase sales of those books.

Another example of the effects of buzz is when there is

dissemination of information on Facebook, Twitter, email, BlackBerry, or Yahoo Messenger, which in turn leads many people to tried, or at least know about those products. Based on these examples, it can be seen that buzz leaving effect on object in question from their audience. Products are not initially known will became famous and salable. Consumers who initially knew nothing about a particular product will turned out. Consumers who initially did not want to buy a product, now be willing to buy the product. Consumers who have purchased will interested and want to buy again.

Seeing this phenomenon, buzz seemed to have a role in influencing sales as well as existence of a person, company or products. Just imagine, how buzz can make a movie, book, technology, or some new artist became a sensation overnight, and how sales of a particular product can be deflating like a balloon, despite being made of expensive marketing campaigns and large-scale companies. This is consistent with the statement of Seth Godin (Boyett & Boyett, 2002:189), "We live in a world where consumers actively resist marketing. So it's imperative to stop marketing at people. The idea is to create an environment where consumers will market to each other".

In the context of this research, the meaning of community is an online community for users of cosmetics in the Female Daily Forums at http://femaledaily.com/, and buzz is about the product Garnier. There are two reasons why choosing cosmetic products as a topic of study. *The first* reason is because of the cosmetic product buying process requires thorough consideration. Moreover, risk that will experienced by consumers is a skin damage if skin does not fit into a particular cosmetic product. To reduce the risk, cost and uncertainty by users, then conversation or buzz about cosmetic products would have occurred among consumers. *Second* reason is because researchers wanted to know whether spread of buzz about cosmetic products in online world is also effective to influencing consumers.

Respondents selected for this study were members of the Female Daily Forums thread located in the Garnier products. The reason for choosing Female Daily Forums is an online community specifically addresses various topics related to women, such as fashion, lifestyle, and cosmetic products. Cosmetic products that are discussed it was quite full and varied. For this study, cosmetic product is meant here is a particular Garnier products.

Garnier is a brand of cosmetic products from L'Oreal. Just like other brands of L'Oréal, Garnier products are also sold in several markets around the world, including Indonesia. Garnier products began marketed in Indonesia since 2007 and according to article in Swa Magazine on first October, 2009, Garnier is a cosmetic skin care with the fastest growth in Indonesia and a serious competitor of Pond's. Garnier though the market is quite new in Indonesia, but its growth has been achieved up to 23% since its launch. In addition, in accordance with the quoted article Kompas.com February 9, 2010, Garnier was one of L'Oreal products are sold in Indonesia. Based on this, interest arises to do further research on Garnier products. Especially in Female Daily Forums, have found the thread that specifically discusses the Garnier products since 2007. Then members of Female Daily Forums consumers and potential consumers of products Garnier will share information about products Garnier through this forum. Information sharing and dissemination activities that occur among these consumers is a process outside the control of the company.

Formulation of the problem are: (1) Whether factor of interaction needs, seek of product information, or credibility of the speaker's will affect internal evaluation in decision process of buying a product?, (2) What factors that will most affect internal evaluation in decision process of buying a product by the consumer?

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Urszula Œwierczyñska-Kaczor on paper that presented on *International Multiconference on Computer Science and Information Technology* (2009) with title "Spreading Word-of-mouth about the brand within the Virtual World", aims to understand a word of mouth process of real brands are performed in Second Life. Second Life is a virtual three-dimensional world where users can freely socialize, connect, and create something using voice and text messages. In Second Life, users create replicas of itself in digital form, or referred to as avatars. Research problems in this study are: How is the avatar voluntarily share their opinion about a company in cyberspace? Are social relationships among avatars causing willingness to share opinions about a company? Survey research conducted in the virtual world Second Life, where respondents (Avatar) fill out a questionnaire posted on site Kochanowski University in January. Survey was conducted on March and April 2009 and 50 respondends fill in the avatar questionnaire in Poland. Results of a survey conducted in Second Life shows that process of word of mouth in virtual world is different when compared with the real world. Process of word of mouth spread in cyberspace does not depend on strength of social relationships among users, but on positive or the negative tone of word of mouth.

In contrast to what happened in offline world where consumers tend to share negative experience that will be passed to other customers, in virtual world avatars tend to be more willing to share positive information than negative news. Analysis also proves that firm's activities in Second Life on the website and offline activity are interconnected.

Buzz term is also known by several other titles, such as idea virus, viral marketing, and evangelism (Boyett & Boyett, 2002:190). According to Rosen (2004:8), in a more general meaning, "Buzz is all word of mouth communication about a brand. Buzz is the amount of communication by word of mouth about products, services, or a particular company at any stage at any given time ". Then Rosen (2009:2) suggests more specifically that, "Buzz refers to all the person-to-person communication - that everything is communicated verbally and visually - among current, previous, or potential customers". Another explanation of the buzz is also presented by Boyett and Boyett. According to Boyett and Boyett (2002:215), buzz is a collection of all communications between individuals regarding the products, services, or a particular company.

According to Rosen (2004:38-47), there are six reasons why people talk and spread a buzz. The reasons are as follows:

1. Programmed to talk sharing information is a survival mechanism that is effective for living things. When one or two crows find food, the bird will return several days later together with family and friends. When a bee find the flower, the bee will return to the hive and tell other bees where to go. These examples illustrate that talking is closely related to some of the basic needs of living things done together with other living beings (Mulyana, 2007:16).

2. Talking to communicate is a human need to build alliances. By talking, someone can build and maintain social relationships with others (Mulyana, 2007:16).

3. To understand the world with increasing number of choices given, then also the more complex decisions or considerations to be made by human. As is true today, when consumers are constantly bombarded with a variety of new and different products every day. By talking and buzz so people can choose better.

4. To reduce risk, cost, and uncertainty, request free info from others can often save time and efficiently compared with having to figure out their own information. When someone needs information about a product and it turns out there is a community that can be trusted to get the information, then by all means seek advice from someone who joined in the community is the right step.

5. Humans have a sense of economic talks can often benefit from talking about a product. Sometimes this happens due to what economists call "network externalities", i.e. the fact that certain products become more valuable as more people use it. Influence of this network is easily seen in the various technologies that influence each other. For example, if there is only one person who has a fax machine in the world, then its value for people is zero. To increase its value, then that person should encourage others to also have a fax machine.

6. To eliminate tension, consumers who feel unhappy or dissatisfied would try to reduce the tension felt by "revenge", which is spreading negative buzz. Especially with the technology and the Internet that gives consumers the ability to tell people more about the negative experiences suffered by the consumer. Tensions are also often arise as a result of the buying process. Especially with the expensive products, consumers may feel unhappy after making a buying.

Rosen asserts that regardless of whatever the motivations, talking is not an activity without intentionally done because someone does not have anything to do. Basically speaking activities are rooted in human need to be able to share with other so that humans need to speak and does not need much encouragement to do so (2009:82). Something behind the spread of buzz should have following two points (Rosen, 2004:109-113): (1). Beyond enthusiasm possessed by a person, energy of time and money spent behind a product. When someone shows spirit and confidence are very high for product, then automatically other party will react. Such energy can be contagious; (2). Buzz credibility will spread smoothly through channels which are built on trust.

In terms of making purchasing decisions, consumer properties differ from each other. According to Lake (2009:29-39), there are five stages in the process of decision making by consumers, which as follows:

1. Need recognition and awareness (requiring identification and consciousness). A requirement can be driven both internally and external. According to Lake, the internal stimulus is anything that comes from within that influence consumers to do something or buy something, such as feelings of inferiority and want to look more beautiful.

2. Searching for information (seeking information). Once needs are identified, the consumer will go through a process of finding solutions to meet their needs. Information search process is initiated internally in advance will ensure that where consumers look for what you want to be able to meet the needs and desires of consumers. After the search is internally done, consumers will seek information from external sources such as friends, family members, advertising, and from the seller.

3. Evaluating the alternatives. From the information has been obtained in the second stage, consumers will process and evaluate options before finally arriving at a final decision.

4. Buying. At this stage, consumers will decide where, how and when the buying will be done.

5. Post-buying evaluation. This stage focuses on the psychological reactions of consumers when purchasing activities carried out, which is glad or sorry.

Based on Figure 2. below is more clearly seen that stages of alternative evaluation (evaluate choices) is the most crucial stage because after this will be followed by actions that have bought a number of payments consequences. At this stage, consumer will do three important processes, such as: consumer will try to satisfy their needs by buying a product; consumers look for what benefits are obtained through buying a product; & consumers will assess whether there are attributes that can satisfy their needs (Kotler & Keller,2006:183). Cosmetic product attributes which are usually sought after by consumers are: It can improve the appearance, nourish the skin (or other body part), reasonable price, and make her look pretty.

Figure 2. Decision Making Process
Source: Laura Lake (2009)

A community discussed in this study is an online community
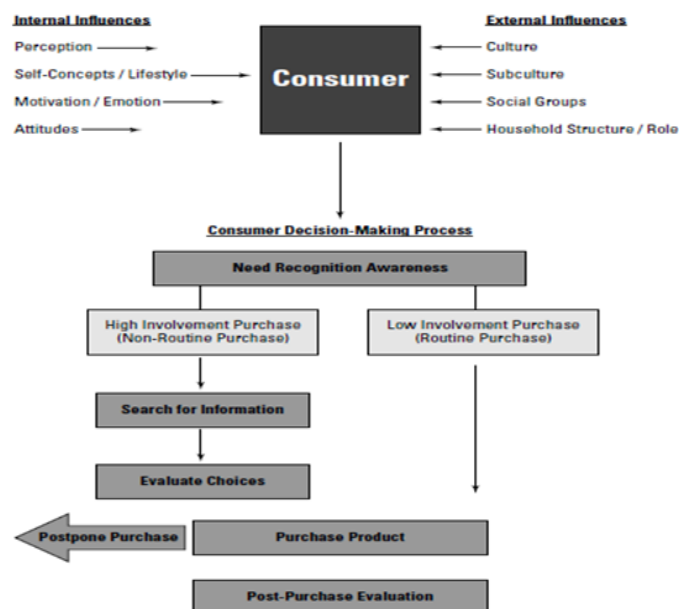
that relating with women's lives so this kind of community is targeted for women. Speaking of women, according to Barletta, it turns out that women differ from men in terms of making decisions. Barletta (2003:100) argues that there are four things that differentiate women with men in making decisions for buying products, are:

1. Women began the process differently — ask. Women seeking opinions and knowledge of the salespeople and others who knew. Women are more interested in getting information from people, while men prefer to get information from

public sources, such as written materials / articles, video instruction, and others.

2. Women pursuing different results — perfect answer. In conducting purchasing decision, men prefer to find a good solution, and after obtained, men would make buying and completion. In contrast, women want to find a perfect answer before buying and completed the process. Women want to consider in detail and carefully of choices that exist until completely satisfied with best solution.

3. Women seeking additional information and investigate extra options — the spiral path. In making purchasing decisions, women want to get additional information about a product, and women will receive additional input from others. During search process of information, usually women will return to earlier stage.

4. The influence of women in sales success does not end with the buying stage — repetition. After making a buying, women will not only stop at that stage alone. There are two considerations that will be done after buying. *First,* her experiences, whether bad or good will tell to others voluntarily. This is where word of mouth or buzz happens. *Second*, women consumers will be loyal in the long term.

According to Brogan (2010:11), "Social media is a new set of communication and collaboration tools that enable many types of interactions that were previously not available to the common person". Forum is a form of social media, the most found on site when compared to other forms of social media. Through forum, a person can stay in touch, ask questions and share information possessed by others who have the same situation with herself. An example is when a consumer has a skin problem and would like to buy a cosmetic product that can solve her problem, then it would be the first consumers to find information and advice from others.

At this time, search for information becomes easier, because people can just join forum to discuss beauty products like looking for online. In the forum, a consumer can find the information shared by other consumers who have similar problems with her, as well as from other consumers who have experience in using a particular product. In other words, forum allows one to obtain information, advice, and more consideration, precisely and quickly, before finally making a decision. According Zarrella (2010:147), "Forums are a modern version of community bulletin boards. The focus of these discussions is kinds of sites. Users will posts to make others respond. Become a valuable and respected member in one of these communities by answering questions and contributing a useful information". The unique characteristic of communication within online community is person who give information did not expect to get rewards either now or later from information provided. Interestingly, provision of information was done by people who don't know each other and don't depend on each other. This is by Rheingold (1993) in Kollock (1999) called A Gift Economy. Then this condition will change the concept of cost & benefits that arise from communication through online community.

According to Bacon in his book entitled 'The Art of Community' (2009:4), "A community is a collection of people (or animals) who Interact together in the same environment." Online community and internet technology currently allows a person do something together and form a community with others without having to physically meet in person. Community

activities were no longer hampered by existence of differences in time and space because everything is done online. In addition, online community also allows a person in obtaining and sharing information more easily and precisely. This because before deciding to join, customer can learn which one is more appropriate or suitable to their needs. According to Rheingold (Thurlow et al, 2004:15), "Online communities are social aggregations emerge from the net when enough people carry on those public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling, to form webs of personal relationships".

Based on the formulation of the problem and the proposed theory, research hypothesis of this study are:

Ho: There is no buzz influence toward internal evaluation by consumer in online communities Female Daily Forums.

Ha: There is a buzz influence toward internal evaluation by consumer in online communities Female Daily Forums.

METHODOLOGY

Research method used in this study is survey methods and data collection was done by distributing questionnaires online. This type of study is explanative research. A population is a collection of all units or cases according to some set of designated criteria. Population in this study were all members of Female Daily Forums online community joined in thread Garnier products since initial formation of the thread, which is dated December 12, 2007 until the last day of scattered questionnaire, which is dated February 8, 2011. Total population of 12 December 2007 until February 8, 2011 is 339 people. Using the Slovin formula and critical value of 5%, the number of samples required in this study was 77.22 Hd 77 people who are in a thread on Female Daily Forums Garnier.

For this study, sampling technique used is technique of probability sampling using simple random sampling method. In this study, an online questionnaire distributed to 339 people which is the population in this study. Every respondent has the same opportunity to fill out the questionnaire and when number of samples to fill out questionnaires were collected by 77 people, then sampling is stopped.

Data analysis techniques used in this study is a multiple linear regression analysis. By using a computer program SPSS version 17. Scale instruments used in this study were Likert scale. Likert scale was developed by Likert Rensis to measure one's attitude. Likert scale is usually used to determine a person's approval or disapproval of a statement (Neuman, 2006:130). In this study, which used Likert scale consisting of five points if the ratings are ranked from strongly agree to strongly disagree (5 − 1). Research introduction (Pre-Test) conducted a preliminary study of 35 women who are users of cosmetic products and also an active internet users. The purpose of these preliminary studies is to look at the validity and reliability of research instruments to be used. Researchers also conduct a normality test to verify that data distribution is following a normal distribution. Results indicate that data is normally distributed so that sample really represents the population. Based on explanation above, then framework of this study as follows :

Figure 3. Research Framework

FINDINGS

Garnier is one of the cosmetic brand L'Oréal-owned

company that produces hair care products and skin care. Just like other brands of the company L'Oréal, Garnier products are also marketed worldwide, including in Indonesia. Garnier consists of various types of products, ranging from products
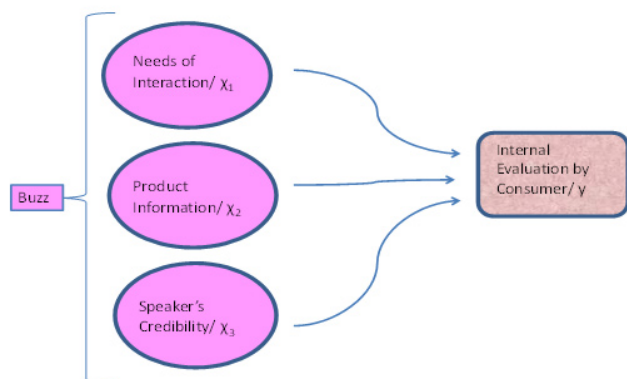
for hair like shampoo, conditioner, hair coloring, and styling products, to products for skin care, such as creams and soaps. In addition to producing consumer products for women's cosmetics, L'Oréal also issued a series of facial care products made specifically for male consumer. However, if the view of many series of Garnier products are intended for women, it is known that Garnier main target is female consumers. Garnier in Indonesia has the advertising slogan "Love yourself". This slogan would like to emphasize that consumers should be really concerned before buying product.

Pre-test conducted on 35 respondents who are women, users of cosmetic products, and should fill in online questionnaire. With the point of significance of 5%, r obtained table is 0.344. Finally, researcher's obtained 10 questions for the variable X is valid and 5 questions for the variable Y is valid.

Characteristics of respondents based on primary data obtained by researchers are: all female respondents, 75% aged between 20-30 years, 14% aged 31-40 years and 11% aged under 20 years of age; by type of work: 52% employee/ self-employment , 32% were student, and 16% were housewives, while the majority of respondents were not yet married (69%). To clarify description of data, then crosstab data carried as follows:

In table 1. below, shows that 50% (majority) of internet users over 3 hours is a woman who is not yet married (38 person). This is maybe related to utilization of a free time that much more can be done by a woman are not yet married. Although the actual figures 25% of Internet users over three hours is married women, not as consider as a small numbers.

When viewed in subsequent data, internet users mostly use their time more than 3 hours (74%) when using an internet, and what's interesting is 38% of internet users is an employee/ self-employment (29 person). It means majority of respondents considered optimal time of internet usage is more than 3 hours. This becomes important when the length of time is associated

		How often do you use internet in a day?			
		< 1 hour	1–3 hour	>3 hour	Total
Status	Married	0	5	19	24
	Not yet	1	14	38	53
Total		1	19	57	77

Table 1. How often do you use internet in a day and with concept said by Carniet (1991) in Kollock (1999), which marital status.

states that relationships that occur through online community is a relationship-oriented mobilization of information and not to maintain a relationship with one another. So time use of internet that takes a long time (more than 3 hours) did not make relationships that exist between members of online community will more closed to one another.

Table 2. How often do you use internet in a day & employment status.

If description above was associated with the data in Table 3. below, it was concluded that women who use internet for more than 3 hours and then interested using Garnier products has a status as employee/self-employment. Given this specific product is beauty products that applied to the skin and have a direct impact on women's appearance, it is no wonder that 52% of women spent more than 3 hours before deciding interested

		How often do you use internet in a day?			
		< 1 hour	1–3 hour	>3 hour	Total
Status	Student	1	5	19	25
	Employee/self-employment	0	11	29	40
	Housewife	0	3	9	12
Total		1	19	57	77

in using this product. Looking at characteristics of its products, beauty products such this included on high involvement products not because of price, but more because of negative impact it may have on its users (Kotler & Keller, 2006)

Table 3. How often do you use internet in a day & interest to product

That conclusion seems reasonable when looking at table 4 that majority (84%) of Internet users in the Garnier community is using the Internet to obtain information about the product (65 people), and the majority of the time used for that purposes takes more than 3 hours (61%). Kotler & Keller (2006) says that buying process starts a long ago before actual purchase has been done. Apparently one of the reasons why people join

		Do you interested to use Garnier products after obtaining information from members of Female Daily Forums?		
		Yes	No	Total
How often do you use internet in a day?	< 1 hour	1	0	1
	1-3 hour	8	11	19
	>3 hour	40	17	57
Total		49	28	77

online communities is because people keep looking for what is right cosmetic products in accordance with the conditions of each before deciding to buy. On the other side, associated with the concept of Barletta (2003:100) in the previous section, the length of time takes is a general characteristic of women before buying a product, distinguishing it from men.

Table 4. How often do you use internet in a day & reason people join to Forum.

Result of multiple regression analysis and test of hypotheses shown in the following table. With Alpha 5% seen that variable of speaker's credibility did not significantly influence internal evaluation in buying decisions process by consumers. While two

other variables that are need to interact with others and needs to seek information provides a significant influence toward internal evaluation in buying decisions process by consumers

		The main reason you became a member of Female Daily Forums are:				
		Seek information of product	Interaction to other people	Use a leisure time	others	Total
How often do you use internet in a day?	<1 hour	1	0	0	0	1
	1-3 hour	17	0	2	0	19
	>3 hour	47	2	5	3	57
Total		65	2	7	3	77

(significance value of 0.000 and 0.017). This also indicates that Ho is rejected and Ha accepted. Based on coefficients, influence of variables 'needs to interact with others' (0.366) is smaller than effect of variables 'needs to seek product information' (0.627) toward variable of internal evaluation in buying decisions process by consumers.

Although based on tests of variable simultaneously (ANOVA test result), it is evident that these three variables together give effect to variable Y significantly. This implies need to interact with others, seek of product information, as well as the credibility of speaker has become an important factor for consumers in buying decision process for Garnier beauty products through online community.

Table 5. Multiple Regression Analysis

DISCUSSION

Every human being has a needs and when one needs are meet, then the man will attempt to meet the needs of the next level. This also applies to members of the Female Daily Forums at online community, which are mainly consumer cosmetic products. Needs mentioned above will eventually encourage consumers to communicate and share information about a product to other consumers. When there are communication

Model	Number of question	Unstandardized Coefficient		T -test		Anova Result	
		B	Standard Error	Value	Sign.	F	Sign.
Constant	-	0.329	2.649	0.124	0.901	24.987	0.000
X1	4	0.366	0.150	2.445	0.017		
X2	4	0.627	0.112	5.610	0.000		
X3	2	0.398	0.219	1.820	0.073		

Note: Confidence level with 95%

activities among consumers about product, then consumers have played a part in spreading the buzz about its product.

Cosmetic product is a product that can provide new benefits for its users, but products must also comply with the needs of users or skin conditions. In addition, cosmetic products, including as a product of personal experience. Which means someone's personal experience after using these products must important for others who also want to use the same product. Consumers want to seek information about the safest cosmetic products to use so that consumers can reduce the risk of unsuitable when using a particular cosmetic product.

Consumers will respond to buzz delivered by members of online communities Female Daily Forums in the thread Garnier because members who are in it have the power of information, her experience in using Garnier products. Thus, buzz about the Garnier products will be accepted and digested by the consumer. In this research note that the buzz about the product in the online community Garnier Female Daily Forums have a positive tone on product usage. That is, more conversation that occurs about Garnier products in online community Female Daily Forums, it will lead to increased influence on behavior of consumers who are seeking information about the products. Traditionally, consumer product information came from two sources i.e. personal sources (family, neighbors, friends) and public sources such as mass media, advertising, or corporate news (Kotler & Keller, 2006:182). Public sources are useful for providing details of product functionality while personal source useful to legitimate sources information from public sources and process of evaluating all information ever obtained. However, presence of Internet technologies make the most effective information now comes from sources as online communities because it can provide information about usability of products as well as evaluation of use these products through story based on experience of others.

In other words, the greater the influence of buzz , the greater the changes that will caused by internal factors on consumer behavior. Once consumers buy and use Garnier products, consumers will then perform post-buying evaluation. If the results are below expectations, then consumers who are dissatisfied will most likely convey a negative buzz about the product on a colleague and family. If the result exceeds expectations, it's likely that consumers would recommend the product to friends and family, or in other words, spread the positive buzz. Thus, the process of decision making by consumers will continue and spread buzz about products Garnier will start again by consumers proficiency level.

CONCLUSION

With interest to know direction and influence of buzz generated by members of online communities Female Daily Forums toward internal evaluation in decision process of buying a product, then researcher conducted these studies. Here are a few conclusions derived from research that has been done: (1). Factors affecting internal evaluation in decision process of buying a product are need of interaction with others, and need of seek product information. Influence of credibility of speaker, still affect internal evaluation in decision process of buying a product but not on the significance level. This reinforces the view that communicate through online world can be done by anyone because one of its characteristic is credibility of online media put on the message not to the messenger. The consequences if people do not like a message delete it instead of erase messenger's name from the list. Direction of buzz generated by members of online communities Female Daily Forums on consumer behavior is positive. (2). Most affected factor for internal evaluation in decision process of buying a product by the consumer is needs of seek product information. So the more discussion about product (with positive tone)

that occurs in online community Female Daily Forums, it will cause an increasingly greater influence on the behavior of consumers looking for information on Garnier products in that community. That is called as Buzz of product Garnier in online community Female Daily Forums play a greater role to change a motivation, emotion, perception, and knowledge that is owned by the consumer. Finally, Internet would expose all falsehood or lies made   by the company through the products offered to consumers. Limitations of research related to formulation of issues to be addressed in this study because it used a very specific population that is member of online community Female Daily Forum so that these conclusions apply to different groups should be done with caution.

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Social Media in Corporate Communications: Indonesia BUMN's Case Study

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Abstract-Communications world is currently experiencing an increasingly dynamic development. The need to communicate not only as a matter that is important for individuals as social beings, but also a major requirement for corporate organizations to develop their organizations. Currently, in Indonesia, Corporate Communications and Government Public Relations is not only communicating through traditional media, it turns out that technological advances is growing greatly affect the effectiveness of a PR. Why? Because communication is currently in the hands of PR, that is how the PR is able to build a conversation through social media, especially the rise of Facebook, Twitter, Plurk, blogs, Wikis, youtube, that forced the company to improve the way the original one-way communication and two-way symmetrical into all directions. In the midst of the phenomenon, the term social media marketing & Public Relations now appear everywhere.

For corporate communications, in the era of Web 2.0 today will certainly change the way companies communicate to consumers, changes in consumer behavior towards adapting the technology to make the company should be more observant. In the era of the all digital consumers are more easily connected to each other through social media. Easily access facebook and twitter via mobile devices will make it easier for consumers connected to each other. Social media device is an effective tool that can be used for campaign media marketing company. Consumers with a variety of technological facilities at their disposal allowing them to find product information, product shopping, socializing with fellow users of the product, access the latest news and so on. With Google they can find the information they want, with their facebook can find recommendations from friends, with their twitter can also find information about competitors' products. Everyone can access information from their mobile devices from anywhere and anytime. Of behavior change that is why corporate communications should be observant utilize social media as part of business activity being undertaken.

With the social media will be easier and saves time and cost for a public relations / corporate communicators to deliver a message to the public. Social media can also be promotion tool products that are very influential and also economical, as compared to using conventional media to promote or advertise their products such as television and print media. Social media is something very interesting to follow its development, is very easy to access without having crushed by space and time and we can access it anytime and anywhere. Social Media is an effort to exploit commercially the company to promote the corporate activities and campaign for their programs and events through various social media channels. But on the other side, social media can also give negative impact to the public, both internal to the external public.

Therefore, this research that researchers want to lift this time to see and know how some of BUMN in Indonesia using social media in introducing their corporate and campaign the programs and events to their publics.

Part D
Political Participation

News Social Media and Social Movement : A Study of "Cicak vs Buaya" Movement in Defending KPK

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Abstract-After facing relentless pressure from civil society, the Police and Prosecutors finally stop the prosecution of two Indonesia's Corruption Eradication Commission (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi - KPK) leaders, Bibit Samad Rianto and Chandra Hamzah. Two KPK leaders were facing charges that vary from the beginning. Starting from the allegations of accepting bribes and eventually charged with abuse of power. Public perceptions believed that the case was engineered to weaken KPK. KPK, a successful anti corruption commission with investigation and prosecution authorities, had imprisoned many high level state officials in corruption case. The success of KPK then became the threat to the political elite.

Civil society movement against the weakening of the KPK named "Cicak vs Buaya" (Gecko against Crocodile). This phrase was quoted from a controversial statement of The Police Chief Detective General Susno Duadji. He said that police is smarter and teach KPK. KPK was a stupid gecko while police was a crocodile. The metaphor then used to name the campaign to defend KPK. People were associated as a gecko KPK that dare to fight against corrupt crocodile (police).

Beside using "traditional" social movement methods, such as petition, demonstration, press conference, the Cicak movement was the first social movement in Indonesia using new social media, particularly Facebook. The support for Bibit and Chandra on Facebook Page was successfully attracted support up to 1.4 million of facebook's user. Movement through Facebook shown a big impact that most of the Indonesian people were against the criminalization of Bibit and Chandra. What happened in facebook was also reported by traditional media such as newspapers, television, internet and so forth. The support was culminated when both of KPK leader were detained by the police.

Because of public pressure, finally Bibit and Chandra were released from the police detention. Moreover, President was established an independent team, named Tim 8 to investigate and scrutinize the prosecution by the police. The Tim 8 then recommended to drop the case. Finally the police and prosecutors to stop the case by "deponeering" mechanisms to stop the investigation for the sake of the public interest.

The success of social movements to resist the criminalization of Bibit and Chandra was a new phase for the significance of new social media in Indonesia. After that movement, a variety of other social movements such as the "Koin Prita" and various other public campaigns were using new social media as a medium of campaign and advocacy. The rapid spread of information and more easily garner support make a new social media becomes an important tool. The research question to be answered in the research is whether the new social media like Facebook and Twitter can be a means of garnering support and encourage social change? How far the effectiveness of new social media to promote social change in Indonesia?

The research finding showed the presence of a new social media is very influential in social movements, particularly the movement that categorized as a New Social Movement. This movement is characterized by the organizer not a political party but a loose coalition of civil society organizations, do not aim to take over the power but only influencing for the public policy changing and rely on mass media to garner public support.

The study recognizes that new social media plays a major role to disseminate information and mobilize support in cyberspace. However, new social media can not stand alone but must be supported by traditional mass media in order to create a greater impact for society or policy makers. In addition there are various other preconditions that must be met before a new social media can be used to mobilize support. Structural strain theory by Neil Smelser that adopting economics added value concept, consider new social media as an important tools in mobilizing action. Before that, there should be a various precondition such as the existence of common problems that affected people at large or a case that can garner public concern. The existence of a group or organization that is able to formulate clearly and simply what the problems are, is a very important pre conditions.

Digital Democracy in the Making: A Critical Discourse Analysis on Verbal and Symbolic Violence in Indonesia

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Abstract-According to the 1945 Constitutions, every citizen has the right to speech. Freedom of speech is a fundamental right in a democratic nation. In a democratic nation, government work closely along with the citizen and society. The close relationship between government and its society takes process, and this partnership will form a stronger democratic society and nations. In the New Order era, there are limitations for Indonesian citizen as well as media in the context of freedom of speech, in the contrary, the Reformation era creates an euphoria of freedom of speech for citizen in any medium of communication, such as mass media. Mass media also believed to be the trigger to this euphoria.

Political economy of mass media—Indonesia context—clearly discribed the practice of democratization that are closely related to violence. The term violence in this research defined as verbal and non-verbal violence. For example, television news often criticized government using satire form of joournalism. Strong and tendencious statements within the work of journalism, as well as visually, television news often provides viewers with anarchism, and this phenomenon seem to be the answer to this euphoria of freedom of speech in the media, eventhough I believed the role of media gatekeeper should play a bigger role to prevent this euphoria to go unintentional.

As the reformation era continues, the rise of new media in Indonesia creates a new public sphere for citizen to take part in the democratization process. This research aims to find out how the face of democracy in the context of new media in Indonesia. This research underlined the question upon anarchism in new media, if there's any, how is it different to anarchism that are discribed in television news.

The method of this research is critical discourse analysis. Data observation based on Yahoo and Google users responds on political issues in Indonesia (July-August 2011). The hypotesis of this research found that symbolic and verbal violence also appears in the internet users' opinions concerning political issues in Indonesia.

A. BACKGROUND

Democracy drawn a magical word that symbolizes the perfect world of relationships between society and its government. Great Britain for instance has been in the stage of finding their own form of democracy and for over the years in the search of its formation, ruling parliament has finally in the decision-making process. As in the end of the war against France, the British parliament played a bigger role than the King itself. In the context of United States—18th century—social movements marked the public participations in the new ruling government, and have come to a conclusion to waive aside the monarchy system, and formed the new social-life procedures. This, reflected in the preamble of United States' constitution as "We, People.."

The search of democracy formation takes time, and many countries still struggling in the phase of finding the ideal formation, Indonesia for example. According to Markoff (2002), this also occurred in some countries that are experimenting with a democratic political system that has no historical pillars within their system. As in Indonesia, the 1945's Independence Day marked the search of democratic formation. Clifford Geertz (1975:311) stated that ever since 1945, Indonesia has experienced revolution, parliamentary democracy, civil war, presidential autocracy, mass killings, and military government.

The 1945's Independence, marked the opportunity for a democratic scheme—freedom and expectations of freedom of living. Society deserves to condemn freedom to rule the country, their lives, as well as freedom of speech. The 1945 Constitution, section 28, assured and ensured the freedom of speech in Indonesia. Independence, guaranteed the freedom of association, this then awakened various political preferences. Sudarsono (2001:18) underlined that democratization guaranteed the access and participation of every elements in the society to take part in the existence of a nation.

Democracy is a process. The fall of Soeharto's regime in 1998 marked the Reformation Era. The waves of demontrations, anarchism, primordial conflicts, and riots happened in almost every level of the local society, as well as in the national level. The tendency of "over-whelmed" spirit of freedom marked the Reformation Era, and this conditioned the definition of democracy in Indonesia. The problem then, this "over-whelmed and over-reactions" of freedom has grown simoultanously and in fact was out of control. Almost all the acts of violence, riots, looting, and even mass murder, were never considered as unlawful acts nor defined as the act against human rights violations. (Markoff,2002).

This then formed the image of Indonesia, that can now be viewed as *"Negara yang Mangkrak"*, defined a State in which, being unable to find a format that fits the political character of its people, then consistently changing from one institutional discovery to another (Geertz, in Schiller, 2003).

B. MASS MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY

In a democratic stage, mass media should provide not only reliable informations to identify the problems in the society, but media should served as the medium of deliberation. In the context of media studies, media believed as "the watchdogs" for the ruling governments or power. This ideal function of mass media in a democratic society ensured that mass media plays as social control and surveillance of the society. Curran (2007:28) noted that the watchdog role of the media is important, it is perhaps quixotic to argue that it should be paramount. This conventional view derives from the eighteenth century when the principal "media" were public affairs-oriented newspapers.

By contrast, media systems in the early twenty-first century are given over largely to entertainment: even many, so called "news media" allocate only a small part of their content to public affairs-and a tiny amount to disclosure of official wrong doing

The extensive and effective function of mass media as a social control is believed to be the ultimate power of the media (Rivers,Jensen, Peterson, 2003:38). The principal democratic role of the media, according to liberal theory, is to act as a check on the state. The media should monitor the full range of state activity, and fearlessly expose abuses of official authority. (Curran, 2007:27).

Curran (2007:131) also stated that There would usually be an uneasy balance between the ideal of editorial independence and the political reality of (sometimes direct) powers over finance and appointments. In some countries, the organization itself was highly politicized: appointments of political affiliates were commonplace (Belgium), channels were carved up along party lines (the legally sanctioned lottizzazione in Italy) or interlocking directorship existed between broadcasting organizations and political parties as part of the political communication culture (the 'pillari' of the Netherlands).

The access to informations would determined the formed of democratic society. The citizens should make a responsible and informed choices, rather than acting out ignorance and misinformation. The relationships between the government, media and society remain vital in a fully functioning democracy. (Center for Democracy and Governance, *Technical Publication Paper*, 1999)

C. VIOLENCE, DEMOCRACY AND MASS MEDIA

Violence often used to drawn attention in the formation of media production, especially regarding informations (news). P.Lardellier (2003) defined violence as a principle of action based itself on the power to compel the other party without consent. Sophie Jehel (2003) stated that violence consists set of element of domination against the other parties in its various forms: physical, verbal, moral, psychological or through pictures. The logic of violence itself defines the logic of death because it could hurt the body, psychological hurtful, harmful, and could be a threat to personal integrity. (Haryatmoko, 2010). Sunarto (2009) classified the form of violence into physical, psychological, financial, spiritual, and functional. Francois Chirpaz (2000) defined violence as power and with no rules in such a way that hit and injured both soul and body, also, violence is can caused death either by separating people from their lives. Through the results of suffers or misery, violence appears to be a representation of crime that affects humans but can also be done to others. (Haryatmoko,2007).

In this research, we underlied the concept of symbolic violence. Haryatmoko (2007) explained that symbolic violence as the violence of the most difficult to overcome. It called symbolic because the effect typically seen in physical violence does not seem to appear in this type of violence. The effects of symbolic violence usually targeted the physicological aspects, ways of thinking and affections (Haryatmoko,2010).

Mass media have tried to format—then presented—violence as a commodity by forming an extraordinary hegemony, therefore the public emerged into false counciousness upon false justification. The problems arise as if the truth shown in

the media in a form of violence, then believed to be an ultimate truth by the audience. Yves Michaud (1978:51) as cited in Haryatmoko (2007) explained that violence is often associated with the media's depictions, this conditioned the possibility that the images can be weakened, this then create a dialectical banalism and sensasionalism. The images of violence portrayed in the media then be arranged to become a common and normal spectacle. This effects will then create the sense of audience's numbness.

Larderllier (2003) explained that the presentation of violence in the media usually aesthetically formed. The concept of "double-faced" coercion will then put enjoyment in the encounter between beauty and death (Haryatmoko,2007). Violence appears in the movies, fiction, television, and advertisements become part of the culture industry which aimed to pursue high-ratings and market success. Programs that contain violence tend to ignore the particular aspects of education, ethical, and the effects of traumatism to audience. Alas, specific dimensions of art in the presentation of violence cause difficulties in the separation of realities, and either programmes is to educate or else harmful to audience.

The negative effect of violence in the media, in which then should be our common concern is the legalization of violence created by the media, is in fact real social phenomenons. According to the study of television violence in the United States, Sophie Jehel (2003:124) quoted Haryatmoko (2007) found that: *first*, violence presented in TV programes increases aggressiveness; *second*, violence impressions shown repeteadly will lead to insensitivity to violence itself and their victims; *third*, the image of violence can increase fear,this will then create audiences' self-representation of world as a dangerous place.

Presenting with the excessive danger of violence in the mass media, communication ethics should be a fundamental support of politics of mass media in the preseverance of audiences' interests. In particular, steps that can be taken into consideration by doing children and teenagers mentoring, in which these two groups are still vulnerable to the influence of television. Second thing that can be considered, is the process of education and training for media workers concerning the production of informations provided for the public. Third, media regulation on media productions that exploited violence as commodity.

This circumstances will then formed the solid synergy between the responsible media, critical-thinking society and government regulations.

Susan Blackburn (in Mariyah: 2001: 287) suggests that democracy includes 3 (three) fundamental elements. *First*, the existence of competition between individuals and groups in a healthy and open (meaningful and extensive) for strategic political positions that can be obtained with no-violence approaches. *Second*, inclusive political participation in the leader's election and policy-making process in a reasonable and fair mechanism without neglecting the elements of society. *Third*, the existence of civil and political policies, in particular freedom of expressions, freedom of press, freedom of associations—in which those elements will guarantee the integrity of competition and political participation.

Farm House Dialogue – Africa Leaderships Forum in their Reports on "The Media in Democracy" believes that media's contributions is paramount to the following essentials of democracy that can be identified as follows :

1. Free choice – ensuring that the proper atmosphere exists for

fostering free choice of societal leaders through elections and the expression of individual's ideas and beliefs.

2. Respect for the rule of law and for equality before the law in practice.
3. Defence of human rights under the law.
4. Sustaining political communication to promote trust and confidence amongst the rulers and the ruled

As an embodiment of the democratization process, critics concerning roles and functions of mass media are still fundamental. Agenda-setting of the media seem to be more inclined to the profit of media owner rather than taking side upon audiences' needs. Pseudo-democracy, best-described the role of today's media. This conditioned reflected on the growth of new media phenomenon and its remarkable responses from Indonesia society. Data gathered from Effective Measure—a firm based specializes in internet statisctics—shown that the internet users in Indonesia approaches 39.100.000 users, and this results put Indonesia as the world's 8th largest internet users and number 1 in Southeast Asian region.[1]

As the flow of informations production and disseminations emerged, the formation of new media and audiences' participation in regard of democratization and the elements of free of speech, especially in the media, symbolic violence appeared to be part of democratization process in the public sphere created by the new media. The formed of symbolic violence in new media will be discussed in this following article.

D. SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE IN INDONESIA'S DIGITAL ROOM

The development of communication technology and informations emerged the creation of public sphere especially in the *cyberspace*. This understandings then will put into considerations of the democratization process which allowed audiences' participations in the creation of interactions between state, media and society. The accessibility of the *virtual community* and *online discussions* will be beneficial to the formations of democratization itself. As this research aimed to followed the discussions of Yahoo News discussion board related to Indonesia's political news. The new media and concept of freedom of speech create a unique phenomenon, that then be viewed as a process of democratization, but as the process continues, this research found that symbolic violence also appears in the *virtual discussions* upon news articles posted on Yahoo News portal.

Mardimin (2002) explained that the quality of democratic governance, measured at any level, must be visible from reliability to minimize the use of violence in conflict management. Regardless of how the institutional developed and procedural design maintain the diversity of interests, democratization is to minimize the use of violence. After the fall of Soeharto's regime, Indonesia was hit by 'fever' of democracy. The problem is that after more than 30 years of being restrained, the rise of the freedom took off disproportionately, as well as the dimensions of solidarity. The euphoria of democracy appeared to perform negative excesses: Anarchism. The term comes from the word *anarchism*, which means that political theory that government laws are undesireable. Anarchism formed from the word *Anarchy*, which means the absence of government or control, disorder, confusion. Anarchism associated with brutality and thuggery of religion, race, group interests, with violence (see AS Hornby, Oxford Anvanced Learner's Dictionary of Current Home).

In the context of a state, anarchism arise effected by the ignorance of their people (citizens) against the law enforcement, also due to weak control of government. At that time, state violence is at point zero. The state can be said in the stage of weak state, and in contrast, the people power in a strong condition (strong society). This type of conditions should be in an immediate response to be normalized or scaled in avoidance the inhabitance of the democratization process. Violence is fairly familiar in Indonesia. The case of terrorisms that shook the country, such as the Bali bombings and various other bombings in various regions then rises many questions whether the formations of dissatisfactions regarding certain policies should be manifested by the acts of anarchism

E. RESEARCH METHOD

This research based on qualitative approach and the method used is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). *CDA* has the basic framework of Althusser's theory of ideology, Mikhail Bkhtin's genre theory, Gramsci's philosophical tradition and the Frankfurt School. According to Antonio Gramsci, the political structure of a society depends on the specific combination between civil society and political or institutional. Majority agreement can be achieved bye maintaining the pressure used by the political community in order to form political collectivity.

This methods have several different sources, which is quite well-known and widely-used for research and academics analysis. As a discourse analysis, we based our arguments on Teun A Van Dijk and Norman Fairclough approaches. Both of these scientists presented quite different discourses, although set out in the same paradigm, which is critical discourse. Critical discourse viewed discourse as the paradigm of historical interaction. Van Dijk see discourse as a social cognition. The method developed by Van Dijk used in this research based on arguments that this method will be used to elaborate the elements of discourses properly. According to Van Dijk, research on based on text, not only can be used to analyze the course, but this method will provide the linkage to the practices of discourse production. (Eriyanto, 2009)

Fairclough provided the same point of view in analyzing text Fairclough examined text in a holistic manner, such as taking the text which is then connected to the micro-macro society. Basically Fairclough has a model of discourse analysis based on the relationship with the tradition of social and cultural analysis, in which text then be analyzed and combined with the wider community relations. Fairclough then see that language is an exercise of power.

In this study, we also used Fairclough's discourse analysis. Fairclough analysis also come from the root of the critical tradition, but in his explanations, combining text analysis with socio-cultural tradition, which has the tendency involving power relations at the macro and holistic wider, contrast to the method proposed by Van Dijk. Basically, Fairclough data analysis using the principle of three-dimensionals they are text, discourse practice and social practice (sosiocultural). At the level of text analysis form and content. Although separated in definition, both are a single entity, in which content is made by a particular shape, as well as vice versa. At this level, the analysis is more focused on phonology, grammar, vocabulary and semantics.

The Practical level of discourse rely on the relationship between text and social practice. This relates to socio-cognitive aspects and interpretations of the text. At the text level, social practices can influenced the formation of a text, and then generate interpretations based on textual elements. The third level of the practice, sosialcultural, associated with different levels of social organization, the situations, the institutional context, social context or larger groups. In this case the principal themes of power, thus power and ideology can affect the contextual level.

The relations between the 3 elements can be seen in the excerpt below (Eriyanto, 2009).

At the text level, text can be analyzed through three stages, namely representation, relationships and identity. Representations portrays the individuals, groups, activities shown in the text. Also at this level as already highlighted above, are not immediately found two dimensions in the text, the first is the vocabulary, and the second is the grammar. At this stage of relations, we can explain how the relationship between the
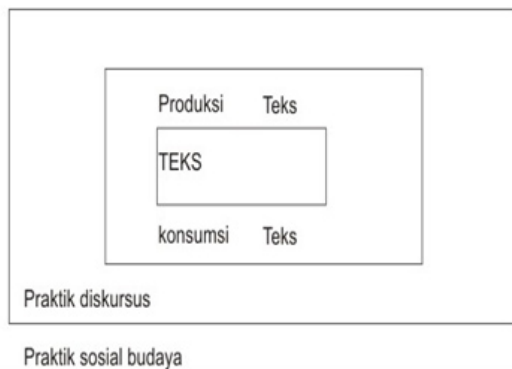
participants within the media and how the participants described in the text. Identity level will then described how the text-making positions, frequency level, and on how users positioned his identity and reacted to the the attitude given.

F. RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The *virtual world* has become a part of everyday life. Interactions and relationships shown in the *virtual world* best described as our daily basis routines. Individuals tend to use (new) media – *virtual spaces—*to present their personalities, therefore they are likely to underlie the concept of their self-existance. In other word, *virtual world* embodied the self-identity and self-existance provided by the development of the new media. It can be argued that cyberspace has become a necessity in today's modern society.The real social world provided individuals—through various processes of socialization—the ability to communicate, intereact and presenting themselves in such a way in society. Cultural and social environments affected one person's attitude and behavior. As in Indonesian culture, one person's attitude still can be judged by the modesty attitudes and the choices of spoken word. The portrayals of individuals regarding the value of politeness in public spaces will be used as a reasonable value to assess indivual's characteristics towards others. Cultural norms still then be viewed as the guidelines regarding individuals' way of speech and attitudes, although, the norms itself has evolve in Indonesian society.

The *virtual world* appear to be another way of communicating amongst invidivuals, therefore it formed the new way of

interactions. However, there are differences in the communication patterns between the *real world* and *virtual world*. In a form of interpersonal communication, internet evolved the concept of face-to-face communication. The possibility to interact without the feeling of closeness as in our real world is not a necessity. Individuals' self presentation over the *virtual world* sometimes can be viewed either as alter personality or hidden-personality.

As if in real world interactions, the *virtual world* creates their own ethics to govern how ones' should communicate. *Virtual world* provides no system of public control into the assessment of individuals' norm and way of life. In other words, whether someone is polite or impolite, inappropriate or appropriate, those factors have no accordance with any particular Indonesian cultures. In the context and formation of verbal communication that occurs in *virtual world*—shown in some commentaries excerpts below—will then described the variety of verbal communications shown by Indonesia's internet users.

Excerpt 1.
Liputan6.com Jakarta, **23 Agustus 2011**. *Belum Dikabulkan, Nazaruddin Menolak Diperiksa*.

- This coverage regarding Muhammad Nazaruddin (suspect cases of bribery Pensions Athletes SEA) to be transferred from the Mobile Brigade Detention Mako Kelapa Dua Depok, West Java to Cipinang Penitentiary. Nazaruddin—former Treasurer of the Democratic Party's General Committee on Ethics Commission, then refused to be examined due his appeal has not been granted by the Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK).

- In the end of this news coverage, Yahoo News then provide users to give their commentaries. We noted there were 13 comments, as follows :

Lumenta 56 menit yang lalu
"kok belom 'di-apa-apa-in' sudah banyak mau-nya yaaaaaaaaaaaa....... padahal udah banyak berbuat aneh-aneh bahkan sampai merugikan negara..... LALU... di mana kekuatan HUKUM para aparat yang bertanggung jawab..... kenapa bisa seperti ini yaaa negara-ku ini.... siapa yang harus bertanggung jawab.......

Robert 2 jam yang lalu
Kemungkinan besar Nazarudin lebih lihai dari KPK, atau dianya rada2 linglung atau terlebih
dahulu akan menerima undangan dari komisi Hak Azasi Manusia PBB yang direncanakan
bersidang pada tgl 15 s/d 18 Oktober 2011

Rakyat biasa-biasa saja 52 menit yang lalu
Hai, burung Nazar, jangan lagu2an eloe, kalau nggak mau tunduk pada hukum Indonesia, pulang aja ke negeri nenek moyang kau, disana terserah eloe mau berbuat apa!!!!

MATIUS sekitar 1 jam yang lalu
KPK JANGAN TEBANG PILIH...!!!! NAZARUDIN INI ADALAH KRIMINAL ALIAS BANDIT, JANGAN DIIKUTI KEMAUANNYA MUNGKIN DIA MAU DITAHAN DI HOTEL BINTANG LIMA KALI....???? MALING AYAM AJA TIDAK BISA

MEMILIH2 TEMPAT DIA DITAHAN, MOHON KPK JANGAN IKUTI KEMAUAN BANDIT BESAR INI, KALAU PERLU HARUS DIPAKSA DENGAN...
Lainnya
http://id.berita.yahoo.com/belum-dikabulkan-nazaruddin-menolak-diperiksa-082900526.html

Yoyo sekitar 1 jam yang lalu
hebat kali koruptor satu ini, dipaksa aja kenapa. sdh dicekoki kali sama pengacaranya utk trik2 selanjutnya shg kalau KPK bertindak tegas diadukannya lagi melanggar HAM

Ariphrp sekitar 1 jam yang lalu
hebat yah bisa nawar

SUDRUN 2 jam yang lalu
koru[ptor tercengeng dan terbrengsek di indonesia

Bayu Hartanto 2 jam yang lalu
Baru kali ni ada tersangka yang milih tempat ditahan. Entar korupsi juga ah, kalo ketagkep minta di tahan di JW Marriott.

Daeng Kulle 2 jam yang lalu
Emang Indonesia ini diatur dan ditentukan Nazaruddin,klu dia tdk mau memenuhi panggilan bagaimana klu ybs. diseret saja,enak saja hoooooiiiiiiiiiiiiiiiii

Edy Cahyono 2 jam yang lalu
Kok bisa ya.. apa enggak ada cara untuk maksa? Manja amat!!!

Putri Karmila 2 jam yang lalu
azab dunia di rasa gimana ya .....??????

Ardhi 2 jam yang lalu
Klo da dipotong tangannya baru cocok kali yah... Lmayan guat modal ngemis dia dijalan.... Klo ngga mau bikin miskin terus lempar kejalanan... Klo ngga transmigrasiin kaga boleh ada yg transaksi ama dia.. Klo dia mau makan harus nanem sendiri dan usaha sendiri....

Part of the commentaries above probably would not be seen in the old-media such newspapers, radio or television due to the role of *gatekeeping* system and the power of a*gatekeeper* that will asses the level of *appropriateness* in the public display. From *Excerpt 1.*, we argue that the screening process of the old-conventional media will not be able to provide such commentaries. As Matthew, commented 1 hour the news was uploaded, showed that the use of *capital letter* indicates that Matthew was so infuriated by the act of the subjects in the news. The use of *interjections* that many times in a row and *question mark* implied individual's temper when he was writing the message. Apart from that, the choices of word, such as *bandit*, *criminal*, described banalism in the public sphere. This indicates the spirit of freedom of speech that has been contained with the act of anger, then reflected in the commentaries. As for Indonesian culture, this type of *verbal abuse* will not be tolerate in the context of real-world interaction.

Another verbal language used by Sadrun *brengsek*, this harsh words best described describe the behavior of someone who is very contradiction to the existence norms in the society. In everyday language, one would normally use this word when he was in a state of emotion. Daeng Kulle also reflected the use of verbal abusive words *diseret (dragged)* and *dipotong tangannya*, indicate the acts of anarchism. Indonesia rule of law provide sanctions for this type of anarchism, but in this these commentaries showed and suggest that the logical aspect of anarchism that should be given to Nazaruddin.

Excerpt 2.
INILAH.COM, Jakarta. Bagi SBY, Surat Nazaruddin Prioritas.

- This news showcast Partai Demokrat's assessment and response regarding immediate response given by President SBY upon Nazaruddin's letter. Partai Demokrat believed that this would be an appropriate steps in the process of Nazarudin's corruption cases.
- We noticed there have been 17 commentaries regarding this news coverage, as follows :

gagak hitam 18 menit yang lalu
Bp.Presiden, yang diawali dibaca didepan umum, kala masih perjalanan ke Sekneg langsung ditanggapi·
oleh Dipo Alam Sekretaris Kabinet, kemudian keterangan ke Pers oleh Staf Khusus Deny membosankan...!!!

poppy 31 menit yang lalu
Pak Plato...selamat datang dinegara yang aneh Pak... makin hari makin ajaib....

Plato Copernicus 33 menit yang lalu
HALO BUNG DEMOKRAT KAMI RAKYAT BODOH TAPI TIDAK LICIK APALAGI PICIK SEPERTI PEMIKIRAN KALIAN KAMI TIDAK PERMASALAHKAN PRIORITAS ATAU BUKAN KARENA ITU RELATIF MENURUT MASING MASING TAPI TERJADINYA KOMUNIKASI LEWAT SURAT MENYURAT ANTARA PRESIDEN SEBAGAI KEPALA NEGARA DENGAN PELAKU TERSANGKA KASUS...

poppy 38 menit yang lalu
hayoooo..itu presidennya siapa??????? hayooooo siapa yang milih.....???????????????

irwan sekitar 1 jam yang lalu
saraf,,surat sekolah rubuh, rakyat pada kebingungan harga sembako mahal dan tdh terjangkau, petani kebingunagn mencari pupuk yang menghilang,,prseiden edan,,,gonggong,,,gonnggong,,,,

wahyudi 2 jam yang lalu
Negara semakin nggak jelas. Karena setiap keputusan selalu dipelintir, dipolitisasi lwt para politikus yg terus haus akan kekuasaan. Dan setiap hari mereka selalu berkoar-koar atas nama kebenaran versi mereka sendiri dan golongannya

akhfi shinju 2 jam yang lalu
elit2 DEMOKRAT terus membela kebijakan yg ngawurr

, ,
apa coba prioritas, klo mau prioritas langsung hukum mati ajah para koruptor . itu baru prioritas besar , , ,

Bangsawan Raden *2 jam yang lalu*
Presiden Sableng,wong surat gitu aja di balas dasar edan...................

Andrea *2 jam yang lalu*
Goblok....surat koruptor jadi prioritas masih banyak masalah yg lebih penting dinegara ini
EDAN

Rokhmat *3 jam yang lalu*
Presidenku Gembeng...

Nur Hasanah *3 jam yang lalu*
kasian rakyat indonesia... pemimpinnya lebih memperhatikan koruptor daripada nasib rakyatnya.

Imade Yudana *3 jam yang lalu*
sby bagaimana kabanya kasus bank century?katanya mau bongkar korupsi sampai detik ini belum ada beritanya malah bu sri keluar negeri,boediono jadi wakil presiden,sby janjimu palsu

Imade Yudana *3 jam yang lalu*
sby selalu mengutamakan kepentingan partai,karena nasarudin bekas demokrta maka diprioritaskan,takut borok demokrat terbongkar

PT *3 jam yang lalu*
berarti rakyat indonesia cuma Nazarudin aja yak? bukannya presiden milik rakyat indonesia??????? trus ngapain rakyat dikejar2 bayar pajak??? bodohhhh.... sampe mati gw gak akan ikut lagi

TAGOR *3 jam yang lalu*
ngeliatnya pake kacamata PD sih...

Susnoisme *3 jam yang lalu*
jadi, menurut SBY (versi R. Pohan), dibandingkan Kasus HAM Semanggi, kasus Nazarudin ini lebih prioritas... (soalnya menyangkut Partai Demokrat....hihihihi! bang Pohan bisa aja.....kalo kasus yang tidak terkait dengan nama baik Partai Demokrat, ntar dulu ya....hehehe!?!?!)

From the *Excerpt 2* showed there were several forms of sentences that *inappropriate pronounced*. For instance <u>Irwan</u>— posted 1 hour after the news uploaded, he used the words *saraf (nerves)* that can be widely understood to describe a person's with a nerves breakdown syndrome, therefore that intended person can not behave and think as a normal person should be. Similar to the previous word, *edan (crazy)* has become another used of verbal language to describe mental illness. This specific word was intended towards Presiden SBY, concerning his immediate respond regarding Nazzaruddin's letter. This user also used the word *gonggong (bark)* to give notion towards President's action as the language of a dog. Dogs on Indonesia's Muslim community considered as forbidden animals. Equating a person to a dog can be understood as giving the equivalent

meaning that is considered the lowest moral value in Indonesian culture.

We found that most of the commentaries given above have intentions of moral degrading that pointed out to particular person. The abusive verbal language such as *Presidenku Gembeng, Presidenku Sableng*, and others described above have the emotional tendencies that only can be displayed in the *virtual world*. The commentaries reflected the ignorance towards local social and cultural approaches in the sense of verbal speaking and written language, based on the premise that this type of action still can be tolerate as the *virtual world* hasn't provided with particular regulations concerning this type of verbal abusive violations.

G. CONCLUSION

This research examined a number of news provided on Yahoo News portal, we then presented 2 examples on how the type of Indonesian internet users' behavior in commenting specific issues. We underlined the spirit of freedom of expressions in the media as a tool of democratization. We take into considerations that most users must be familiar with the concept of freedom of expressions, but the lack of understanding in the term of symbolic violence that for instance appeared in the choice of words and the use of punctuation marks. The lack of understandings towards the role of public commentaries played a bigger portion in the spread of symbolic violence that lead to abusive behaviors that then followed by other commentators.

Media, in this case Yahoo News portal, has given the chance for users to participate and interact in the public sphere arena, but the fact that they didn't provide with specific regulations and minimized the role of *gatekeeper* emerged the spread of abusive commentaries. From our point of view, Indonesian users' is still in the long and on going process of understanding the role of democratization in the *virtual world*, based on the arguments that most of the commentaries were not specified commenting on the news itself, but in contrast the comments tend to abuse the subjects of the coverage by using particular vocabularies that some are inappropriate in the context of Indonesian culture and social way of living.

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Orality and Inappropriateness in the Computer Mediated Communication: Mapping the Political Discussion in the KASKUS Online Forum

S KUNTO ADI WIBOWO

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Abstract-The primary feature of social media is conversation. There are social media conversation practices in Indonesia that hinder the formation of public sphere that characterized by free and deliberative discussion. One of the problems is the inappropriateness of conversation in the discussions. KASKUS as the largest online forum in Indonesia also face the same problem. The inappropriateness in the form of flaming, spamming, and trolling become obstacles to foster a healthy and rational debates especially in the context of political discussion.

The objective of this paper is to mapping the relation between inappropriateness in the political discussions in the KASKUS online forum with orality tradition by critically review the orality concept in the context of Computer Mediated Communication and bring into play the orality concept to analyze the texts of the political discussion in the KASKUS online forum.

From the literature review, the inappropriateness in the Computer Mediated Communication that embodied in the form of flaming is a product from the fusion of orality and literacy. However, there are debates whether Computer Mediated Communication is a secondary orality or residual orality. From the critical review of the orality concepts, in the form of writing texts or as long as the technology can't produce sounds, CMC is categorized under residual orality tradition. The residual orality is characterized by orality habits of thoughts and expression even the communication using written medium.

The findings from textual analysis show that inappropriate communication in the online forum can be traced from residual orality tradition. The orality tradition in the form of spontaneity, communality, agonistic, situational, redundant, and additive saturated the political discussion in the KASKUS online forum. With those characteristics, residual orality obstructs the formation of deliberative political discussion that we hope will be fostered by social media.

Keywords: political discussion, orality, residual orality, inappropriateness, online forum.

BACKGROUND

The vision that hopes the Internet will become an arena of free and equal access to political deliberative discussion is one of the reasons political discussion in online forums became one of the pivotal study in the CMC. The supporters of this vision assume that Internet technology can be exploited to make the political process more inclusive and consultative (Albrecht, 2003: 1). On the other hand, those who have skeptical view said that Internet technology cannot be universally accessible or the *digital divide* indeed existed (Papacharissi, 2004: 260; Albrecht, 2003: 1; Freelon, 2010: 2). Besides the issue of unequal access

to the Internet and online forums, some researchers examined the practices of political discussion in online forums of impropriety concept that often appears in political discussions on the Internet.

Scholars who examined Internet and democratization in Indonesia shared same optimism. Some examples include the study of Hill and Sen (2005), Lim (2003), and Nugroho (2011) about the Internet and cyber-space in the process of democratization in Indonesia. However, they noted some obstacles on the democratization processes in the Internet. In the sub-chapter of his book, Nugroho (2011) states that there are problems between the *real engagement* and *click activism*. Merlyna Lim (2010) photographed in the social activism of social media in the case of Bibit-Chandra and Prita Mulyasari. In Indonesia, Bibit-Chandra and Prita Mulyasari cases are monuments to the social movements in the *cyber* world. The movement of 1 million Facebook users supporting Bibit-Chandra in the criminalization case of those Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi leaders and the "coin for Pritha" movement for collected funds to pay the fines imposed on Prita in defamation cases is a portrait of strengthening civil society by using information technology and communication.

Papacharisi (2004) stated that one of the skeptical view towards democratization in the Internet is a form of impropriety in the online discussion is called *flaming*. *Flaming* itself according Papacharisi (2004) is *"That ones frequently induce fragmented, nonsensical, and enraged discussion."* (p.260). Von Arx (2002) refers to orality and literacy awareness issues that gave rise to new hybrid forms of communication, partly oral and partly written (p.72). Avgerinakou (2002) says that one of the factors forming flaming in CMC is the fusion between orality and literacy (p.284). Besides van Dijk (1996) says

> *... Virtual communities are Unable to make up for a 'lost the public debate'. They are still rather exclusive in social composition and the quality of discourse is poor because a real dialogue is missing. Most Often, the discourse does not exceed the level of an exchange of separate distant voices on a central board. "(Van Dijk 1996: 59)*

To examine how the practice of political discussion in online forums, this paper will first examine the concept of orality and literacy appointed by von arx (2002) and Avgerinakou (2002). They refer to the work of Walter J Ong (1982) primarily on the concept of secondary orality. Critical examination of the concept of secondary orality and its relation to the political discussion in online forums are expected to map out the phenomenon of online conversations in Indonesia.

Later in the second part of this paper will be the mapping of the political conversation in an online forum KASKUS based on

the concept of orality that has been in the studied critically. The mapping is expected to provide insight into the form and shape of political discussion in online forums in Indonesia.

The civil movements explained above mainly use Facebook as a medium to raise support and funds. Besides Facebook, the online media that often used in social activism in Indonesia is an online forum KASKUS. KASKUS is the largest online forum in Indonesia. The forum had a sub-forum called 'News and Politics' that contains posting about political news, political casual conversation, and political discussion. This sub-forum will be the focus of examination in this paper, related to the practice of political discussion in the Internet in Indonesia.

ORALITY CHARACTERISTICS

The main characteristic of orality is *Sound* (sound). Unlike the writing that could leave a trail, the voice, though able to remember but cannot be sought anywhere. The sound has no focus and no trace. Ong stated, *"They have no focus and no trace (a visual metaphor, showing dependency on writing), not even a trajectory. They are occurrences, events* (Ong, 2002: 31) ".

There is no way to stop the sound and own it. We may freeze the motion picture and then choose one picture in a screen. But if we stop the movement of sound, we do not have anything, just silence, or no sound at all. Because based on sound, and without text. The voice is without a trace, and the characteristics of orality arises from the problem of how then call back a "sound recording" or how the sound into something that is *"organized material"?*

Ong (2002) who borrowed the concept from Havelock replied:

> *"The only answer is: Think memorable thoughts. In a primary oral culture, to solve effectively the problem of retaining and retrieving carefully articulated thought, you have to do your thinking in mnemonic patterns, shaped for ready oral recurrence "(Havelock* in Ong, 2002; 33).

When there is no trace, because there is no text, orality develop ideas with mnemonic patterns; any technique that intends to restore the memory. Mnemonic techniques usually have certain expressive formulas such as rhythmic, the balanced pattern, and many repetitions. Fable/story is a form of mnemonic, but the tale ultimately put us in another story, and to the larger story and ultimately to the whole culture of networking[1].

However, should be underlined that the problem of mnemonic and the expressive formulas are ultimately not only related to memory, but also the notion of thought in the orality culture. So it is worth noting here that what Ong is contemplating, actually not only to distinguish how the writing and orally, or how to configure orality in modern technology, but the bigger problem: the problem of civilization. Mnemonic awareness influences the mode of thought and the way of expression in oral community.

With these basic assumptions, Ong then suggest some ways of thinking and expression styles in oral society (full detail in Ong, 2002: 36-56), which is described briefly in this paper;
1. Tends to *additive* rather than *subordinative:*
   Walter Ong compare the same verse in the Book of Genesis (1-5) from *the Douay* version (1610) and the *New American*

version (1970). In *the Douay,* the word "and" is used nine times, while 'and' in the *New American* only used 2 times because the others translated into 'when', 'thus', or 'while'. The narrative take form in a sentence become sub-ordinate of the other sentences.
2. *Aggregative* rather than analytic:
   Oral cultures usually call *"the brave soldier"* rather than *"the soldier", "the beautiful princess"* rather than *"the princess"*. Orality usually more *aggregative,* adding properties for granted, without having to analyze, whether in fact *"the princess"* has the property *"beautiful"*. It is possible, because this aggregative feature is important for memory.
3. *Redundant* or *copious:*
   Path demands continuity. In the writing, continuity is maintained with the text. Orality, on the other hand, has short continuity therefore redundant. In the Oral culture repetition is what to keep the speaker and listener in the path of conversation. This repetition is also possible when speaker faces with a large audience.
4. *Conservative* or traditionalist:
   The absence of writing, make people in oral culture devote all his energy to constantly repeat/conserve what in the story. Story/fable is knowledge, and knowledge is expensive. To serve this purpose there are important actors or figures to rule the stories and knowledge. Ong believes writing in the beginning is to conserve. He follows the Oppenheim's idea that the Sumer texts at first are to conserve laws in the early Sumerian period.
5. Close to human life
   Without an elaborate analytical category, oral cultures must conceptualize and verbalize all their knowledge with more or less close reference to the human lifeworld. Different from the culture chirographic/writing and even typography/print that can make distance, by denature even humans, to register such things as names of leaders and political divisions with an abstraction. Ong said that Primary oral culture is little concerned with preserving knowledge of skills as an abstract, self-subsistent corpus (Ong, 2002: 43).
6. The tone tends to *agonistic*
   By keeping knowledge embedded in the human lifeworld, orality situates knowledge within a context of struggle (Ong, 2002: 44). Oral culture tends telling stories in the tone that reflect those struggle of life or agonistic. Even in the secondary orality, the television and cinema still use this agonistic tone in the visual orality.
7. Empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced:
   In orality learning or knowing means accepting closely, running empathy, and communally identify what is to be addressed or *"getting with it"*. Writing separates the knower from the known and thus sets up conditions for 'objectivity', in the sense of personal disengagement or distancing (Ong, 2002: 45)
8. Homeostatic
   Communities in oral culture usually live very much in the present and always keeping it in the equilibrium. With orality, they will usually always cut the memories that are no longer relevant to their present. While print culture has found dictionaries where the word has many meanings.
9. Situational rather than abstract

Oral Culture usually use concepts in situational. The situation is a practical *frame of reference* that has minimal abstraction, so they remain close to the human lifeworld. Ong cites Havelock, which shows that the thought about the law in the pre-Socratik was conceptualized operationally rather than formal (Ong, 2002: 49).

After outlining briefly the explanation above, we can see that Ong's assumption of orality and literacy founded on the basic argument of material/sensory: orality has voice as a base while literacy has a base of sight.

Ong seems to focus on the human body or sensory as a technology in civilization. Civilization based on orality utilizes hearing senses for the medium used is sound. While civilization based on literacy / writing utilizing the senses of sight because of the media used is visual. Words, it is not viewed as a *'sign'* as in semiology. The words as long as used in writing according to Ong is a visual sensed through sight, a form of *"secondary modeling systems of thought"*.

SECONDARY ORALITY AND SOCIAL MEDIA TEXTS

Many scholars pointed out that the communication mode in the Internet and digital media is a form of secondary orality. Von arx (2002), Avgerinakou (2002), Fernback (2003), and Kibby (2005) among others stated that the text on the Internet is secondary orality phenomenon. Whether it is a video, picture, sound, music, or text, the scholars categorized as secondary orality.

In his article entitled 'Orality, Literacy and the Modern Media', Ong (1982) states:

...[W]ith telephone, radio, television and various kinds of sounds tape, electronic technology has brought us into the age of "secondary orality." This new orality has striking resemblances to the old in its participatory mystique, its fostering of a communal sense, its concentration on the present moment, and even its use of formulas (p. 69).

Ong said the form of orality built by telephone, radio, television and electronic equipment with high technology is the secondary orality. It is called secondary because the existence of the orality in the high technology equipment is very dependent on the existence of writing (Ong, 2002: 10). Secondary orality is when orality use technology, which relies heavily in the writing, for its distribution.

Moreover, Ong stated,

"When I first used the term" secondary orality, 'I was thinking of the kind of orality you get on radio and television, where oral performance produces effects somewhat like Those of ' primary orality, 'the orality using the unprocessed human voice, particularly in addressing groups, but where the creation of orality is of a new sort. Orality here is produced by technology. Radio and television are 'secondary' in the sense That They are technologically powered, demanding the use of writing and other technologies in designing and manufacturing the machines the which reproduce voice. They are thus unlike primary orality, which uses no tools or technology at all. Radio and television Provide technologized orality. This is what I originally Referred to

by the term 'secondary orality.[2]

Ong often refer to the term 'technology' to identify what he calls a secondary orality. However, it is reckless to categorize everything that use technology into secondary orality. Ong main problem is not the use of technology, but rather how the system of writing (writing) which became the foundation of technology can modify themselves, and appeared as orality; how writing (technology foundation) as something that is visible and can only be perceived with the senses of sight, now performed by using sound elements (which is an element of orality), and then how orality that based on voice which never leave a trace, with technology of media, now has a footprint like writing/writing.

From above explanation about Ong's assumption on orality and writing we can conclude that secondary orality is a system of writing that brought to oral. However, as long as the technology fail to bring voice as the main element of orality, it cannot categorize into secondary orality. Thus, written status on the Facebook, article or comments in blog, textual chatting in social networking, posts on Twitter, and written comment or posts in online forum are not secondary orality.

Ong himself stated that,

I have also heard the term 'secondary orality' lately applied by some to other sorts of electronic verbalization the which are really not oral at all-to the Internet and similar computerized creations for text ... Computerized communication can thus suggest the immediate experience of direct sound. I believe that is why computerized verbalization has been assimilated to secondary 'orality,' even when it comes not in oral-aural format but through the eye, and thus is not directly oral at all.[3]

To understand the phenomenon of non-oral (not based on sound) in the Internet, we must return to the initial Walter Ong's assumption of orality and writing. According Ong (2002) orality and writing are different system at all. However, writing –with the help of technology, able to apparent in oral manifestation (secondary orality). While orality as the origin of language absolutely able to manifest in writing, and Ong calls it as *"secondary oral residue"*.

Ong directly pointed to the phenomenon of oral characteristics found in the writings. Ong then suggested that this is not the reconstruction of oral residue awareness of oral communication because the literacy but,

Habits of thought and expression tracing back to preliterate Situations or practice, or deriving from the dominance of the oral as a medium in a given culture, or Indicating a reluctance or inability to dissociate the written medium from the spoken. (Ong, 2002b, 314)

We can find oral residue in the textual conversations in the social media. However, when the conversation using voice in the social media, we can call it as secondary orality.

ORALITY IN THE KASKUS POLITICAL DISCUSSION

Political discussion in KASKUS is an online informal discussion forum. According to Graham (2010), informal political discussion forums are not bound to any formal

predetermined agendas such as e-consultations (p.27). Graham added that the informal forum have primary purpose is to provide simply a communicative space to talk (Graham, 2010: 27). What happened in the online informal discussion forum is political talk. Graham stated

By political talk, I am referring to everyday, informal, political conversation conducted freely between participants in these spaces, which is often spontaneous and lacks any purpose outside the purpose of talk for talk sake, representing the practical communicative form in the communicative action. (Graham, 2010:27).

Habermas thought on public sphere inspired researchers to examine public sphere on the Internet. Habermas proposed normative conditions for the communication action in the Internet. Graham (2010) cited four of them for the most common conditions of deliberation. The four normative conditions, according Graham (2010) is:

1. Rational-critical debate, that participants provide rational claims, which are critically reflected upon.
2. Coherence, and continuity are the conditions needed for the rational and reflective conversation.
3. Reciprocity requires participants listen and respond to each other's questions and arguments.
4. Discursive equality, according to Graham (2011) aimed at maintaining equality among participants during the deliberative process. First, the rules that coordinate the process cannot privilege one individual or group of individuals over another. Second, it requires an equal distribution of voice. That is, one individual or group of individuals should not dominate the conversation. Finally, it requires that participants respect each other as having equal standing thereby prohibiting abusive and degrading communicative practices (p. 103).

In the discursive equality condition, some researchers suggest a gloomy account (Albrecht 2006; Papacharissi 2004; Graham 2009; Hagemann 2002; Jensen 2003). Flaming, inappropriateness, and aggressive form of communication somehow dominated the political talk in online deliberation discussion. Von Arx (2002), Avgerinakou (2002), Gurak and Antonijevic (2008) linked the inappropriateness and aggressive form of communication with the notion of secondary orality or fusion between orality and literacy. In the first section, this paper demonstrated that the writing text in the Internet is not secondary orality. However, we need to examine how residual orality in the online forum shaped the political discussion.

This paper focus on online informal discussion forum KASKUS. Specifically, this paper examined a thread with new parliament-building topic. The new parliament building became headline in mainstream media and drawing public attention. This discussion located in the sub forum *News and Politics*, a sub forum that dedicated for discussion and conversation on the hot news at a given time and political issues raises by participants.

The discussion about the development new parliament-building plan contained on the thread titled **[merged] All of the Parliament Building Development Plan**.[4] There is a tag [merged] that means all the posts about the development new parliament-building plan were collected into one thread. The threads started on April 1, 2011 then briefly placed in an important thread with the sticky tag, which means that the thread is important and the web-master put him above all the threads so easily found and revisited.

From April 1, 2011 to date April 28, 2011 there are 4936 posts in the thread. This thread began with news about the statement of Chairman of Parliament Marzuki Alie about the public backlash against him. The news was quoted from Detik.com a news portal in Indonesia. The News entitled "**Marzuki Alie: Tolonglah, Saya Ketua DPR, Jangan dizalimi"**[5] (Marzuki Alie: Please, I am Chairman of the House, Do not tyrannized). In this news, Marzuki Alie as the Chairman of the House defended himself from criticism. He'd doing so by said that the issue of development of parliament-building plan was not common people business. Marzuki Alie added that this matter is academics and intellectuals concern.

With the news in the first post of the thread, the commentaries were dominated by insult and criticism to the M Alie statements. Instead of rational discussion about the budget, decision making process, or the policy itself, the thread become full of cursing and scolding directly toward M Alie, the House of Representative, and the political party from which Marzuki Alie elected. The participants use harsh and vulgar languages that even too vulgar to quote in this paper.

The first 323 posts or comments contain insult and criticism to Marzuki Alie. They are only commenting the news in the first post. There weren't any engagement between the participants. In the post #324 there was a post from a user with nickname *oldcurse* gave comment on the post #260 from *beretekyunior*.

Figure 2: post #324 comment from *oldcurse* on *beretekyunior* post[6]

The first post from beretekyunior use satirical tone by agreeing Marzuki Alie, who he called 'juki', by exaggerated M Alie quote in the news. The post by *beretekyunior* also uses an emoticon *lol* or lot of laugh. The *oldcurse* comment was a reaction to post by beretekyunior that also use satirical tone. He wrote that beretekyunior comment is excellent (cool). The next sentence is "check the refrigerator boss, there is a gift from me". The post also uses emoticon; "guy blue brick" is defined as throwing a bad reputation in KASKUS online forum. Throwing brick has meaning as reducing a user reputation in the forum. User like *oldcurse* with more than 5000 posts has the privilege to adding or reducing someone reputation.

The post above is a form of conversation or engagement in social media, as a comment on the commentary and continuing the talk not only of two users but also by other users. However, there was no other users who involved or commenting on the

conversation. This make the conversation became a very short conversation and agonistic reactionary nature.

Comment from oldcurse is a punishment for the defiant, in this case is beretekyunior. Sense of communality that became main objective in orality culture still leaves its residue in online forum. Nearly all users post or comment in the same cause and tonality for the sake of commonality or similarity as a group. They are who dare to be different will be punished, in this case is reputation reducing for user who violated the group.

From the case above, political conversation in online forums KASKUS was dominated by residual orality even when the media used is the medium of writing. Orality residue is characterized by spontaneity forms, such as scolding, insults, obscenities, as well as non-standard forms of language are often far from the grammatical rules of language or verbal forms of language that emphasizes the connection or relation of the truth.

Another form of residual orality is situational properties that become the focus of the talks. Almost all comments focused on the Marzuki Alie statements instead of substantial issues on the parliament-building plan. The situations created by Marzuki Alie statements draw the users attention. Thus, the users additively and redundantly insult and criticize Marzuki Alie as the main antagonist actor or figure.

CONCLUSION

This paper critically examined the concept of orality from Walter J Ong and can be concluded that the form of political discussion in online forums is a form of residual orality and not secondary orality. Writing, in this case, comments or posts in forum are literacy mode of communication. Orality is just a residue or sediment in the practice of online forums.

The residual orality manifested in the politics discussion in the KASKUS online forum, in the form of sense of communality as the main characteristic of orality culture. Spontaneity also clearly seen in the informal politics discussion by taking form of scolding, insults, obscenities, as well as non-standard forms or informal use of language. Indeed, these two characteristics also shared with the secondary orality.

Moreover, residual orality in the online forum heavily shaped the political conversation. Comments or posts were agonistic in their tone, situational and in their focus of conversation, additive and redundant in their expression. This residual orality characteristic was also indicated by lack of deep analytical and rational commentaries.

It is far from Habermas vision of online public sphere. Virtually, there was no new insight or knowledge from this politics discussion on the parliament-building plan. However, emotional, humor, and satirical commentary role in the political discussion need to further examined especially in the online informal discussion forum. Like the harsh and vulgar commentaries that we couldn't see in the mainstream media become one of the unique if not genuine in the political discussion within social media setting.

This paper has perspectives and data limitations, so it is not possible to deduce more about the future and the prospects for political discussion in online forums. However, based on a skeptical view of democratization on the Internet, this paper can be used as the initial referral to see if indeed a rational and healthy discussion happens in the political debate in online

forums with highly viscous residue orality in the new media writing in Indonesia.

ENDNOTES

[1] See http://www.jpwalter.com/machina/?p=5 Retrieved March 20, 2011

[2] Kleine, Michael, and Fredric G. Gale. "The Elusive Presence of the Word: An Interview with Walter Ong." Composition FORUM 7.2 (1996): 65-86. Retrieved March 20, 2011 from http://ongnotes.slu.edu/?p=190

[3] ibid. p.80-81.

[4] http://www.kaskus.us/showthread.php?t=7847282

[5] http://www.detiknews.com/read/2011/04/01/182216/1606750/10/marzuki-alie-tolonglah-saya-ketua-dpr-jangan-dizalimi?9911012

[6] http://www.kaskus.us/showthread.php?t=7847282&page=17

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Facebook and Social-Political Activism in Local Context (Closing the digital divide: How social are social media?)

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Abstract-Social media have a great role in today's society. It comes in many forms, i.e.; Facebook, Twitter, Friendster, MySpace, and many others like Wordpress and Blogspot. Facebook as one of social media and networking website has been widely accepted and makes an important impact in today's life. As a variant of its predecessor's website (like MySpace or Friendster), Facebook brings so much more into our (virtual) social life. Facebook presence also affects so much aspect in our society, including social and political activism, although there are a different result and outcome if we look in different places and context. This paper will discuss the use of Facebook in socio-political activism based on the case of sociopolitical movement in Salatiga (Forum Perduli Benda Cagar Budaya- Salatiga or known as FORBED BCB). The analysis method will be emphasized on the theoretical aspect along side with the facts of the use of social media and its influences. By observing, involvement, reflection and other social fact sources that available, this paper will analyze the link between the use of Facebook with the reality of social political activism in local context. This paper will show (through the debate between neo-Luddite on one side, and Technophile in other side) that in every use of new technology, human being as users needs to be more aware in finding a balance in using it. This paper also would like to describe the tension and closing between social reality and virtual social reality, and conclude that there is a whole new social sphere, which sometime doesn't really connect with social reality. Finally this paper will show few impacts that Facebook (through Internet) could bring within local politic action context, and recommend further research topics.

Keyword: Social Media, Internet, Facebook, Local Politics, FORBED-BCB,

A. INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of the 21st century, the development of information and communication technology (ICT) grew rapidly. There were several important discoveries related to ICT that brought relatively rapid changes including telephone, television, computers and the Internet. Nowadays, each of these discoveries has an irreplaceable role in the dynamics of human life (although it hasn't completely available in every area). The development of ICT has entered the stage where ICT is used for various purposes including socio-political activity.[1]

In the development of ICT, especially the Internet, websites such as Facebook, Friendster, MySpace, and various blogging

platforms (including micro blogging) come with an offer to connect people all around the world. They also provide relatively wider room where people can freely express their ideas and opinion.[2] Recently, those social network sites are also used for social and political activities. Among all of the sites, Facebook (FB) is the most popular social network site worldwide. Within the last five years, Facebook has experienced rapid development and has considerable influence in the lives of ICT users. In its development, FB is used for various purposes from marketing to gaming and from social to political activity.

However, the development of such technology doesn't exist without pros and cons. There are sharp debates about the effects brought by such new technology such as FB. To fully desribe and explain the effects and the role of FB, we need to examine case per case of the different user, especially in the context of socio-political activity.[3] Therefore, this paper will discuss about the use of FB in the social and political activities focusing on one case/certain context. It focuses on the movement of Community Forum for Heritage Building Preservation in Salatiga (abbreviation in Indonesia: FORPED BCB) in opposing the idea to change the function of heritage building into shopping mall.

At the beginning of the paper, we will tries to unravel the nature of political and social activities related to the citizen participation. It is considered important to be discussed because there is an explanation about the history of social and political activities which existed long before the presence of ICT. Moreover, it can be said that human nature is social and political with or without technology. In the second chapter, this paper reviews the development of the social world in the ICT-based media, particularly Facebook. This section also raises the debate between Neo-Luddite and Techophilia in react to the pace of ICT development. In relation to social-political activism, the tension of the two opposing groups continues to exist and becomes a sharp debate about pesismisme and hope brought by ICT.

In the third chapter, this paper describes more specifically about the story of FORPED BCB and the use of FB in it. This chapter explains the political context of social movements performed, and to what extent the role and function of FB in the movement. At the end, this paper tries to analyze and make conclusion base on the whole information and description given. Therefore, it is expected to have an explanation (although it can not be generalized) which may explain the relationship between the presence of FB and other similiar sites with socio-political activity. Further, it is expected to raise more research issues from another discipline, which aims to obtain a more adequate

explanation about the relationship between political and social activism in the social network based sites such as FB.

B. SOCIO-POLITICAL ACTIVITY (AN OVERVIEW)

Socio-political movements or activities performed by the citizens (civil society) continue from time to time accompanying the course of history. In both grand narrative and small narrative history, we know that public participation in social-political dynamics have become an unseparable part of human life anywhere and anytime.[4] One classical study (philosophical foundation) about public participation in social and political matters can be traced back from the thought of Aristotle.

For Aristotle, individuals can not be separated from the political community (polis). This opinion departed from his view towards the human nature. According to Aristotle, human is naturally a political being. Therefore, their participation in the political world becomes the highest realization of such nature. Even further, he stated that any activity within the political community is considered as the highest forms of human activity that can facilitate human efforts to develop their life. Aristotle explained that the ultimate goal of a political community (polis) was to be able to articulate ideas and make them into reality and to give them a good life. It means that a polis (socio-political community) exists for the purpose to have good quality of life. A polis is considered good, if it is directed for the public interest. It is considered bad when it is only directed for the rulers interest and need. It implies that being ethical person is almost the same as being "political" and "practical". Humans perform ethical values in their entire activities in their social life, especially while participating in the policy making and its implementation. Therefore, it is said that there is a very close relationship between ethics and politics. Through the self-realization of human ethical actions, we can achieve an optimum happiness. Any relationship which can affects the whole society's interests (public interest) is basically a political relationship. Any action that allows a person to take part in the public interest is a political act.[5]

From Aristotle point of view, we can interpret that every person can take a political stance and act politically. We also can examine that there is a political power struggle in the society. If we see it from the positive perspective, that power struggle can be used to realize the public interest. In this case, Aristotle emphasized participation to be important and valuable. Being a good citizen means to actively participate in the public debate, agency, official institution, and critisize the policy. Civil society should be involved in a collective action as a free and equal citizen. The aspects of collective action and participation are very important and meaningful. There are two reasons for that. First, according to him, people tend to be wiser in parts of group than individuals. Second, people can see and understand politics better in a group or institution than in an individual decision maker. He used a simple metaphor saying that "whether or not a pair of shoes is fit, it is determined by the wearer, not by the shoemaker".[6]

Through Aristotle's ideas, we can get normative ethical basis of human action in the political and social activities. The word 'political' has already contained social and ethical dimensions. It is also important to note that citizen participation can be understood as a form of ethical virtue directed to the objectives of people's good sake. In other words, participation becomes a form of ethical discourse arena.

In the development of further social and political thought, the Aristotelian notion of participation was radicalized through Karl Marx's ideas (although   Marx's ideas were not greatly inspired by Aristotle). Marx once wrote, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it.[7] At that time, Marx critisized Feuerbach' thoughts. Marx was annoyed by various philosophical reflections created by the philosophers, who seemed to be satisfied only by giving the explanation of the various social phenomena through a profound reflection. In the end, history records that Marx later generated his own thoughts on the possibility of social changes which always include conflict among classes. Related to this point, Marx described every man as the main agent forming the future and the history of life. For Marx, human beings are not primarily individuals, but *social beings*. Consequently, people make history in the various social formations which constitute humankind as a species-being. Revolution and emancipation (which later became the keywords in Marxism) can possibly exist only through this kind of awareness. From this view we can get an important idea, that human being play an important role in socio-political activity as subjectus and agent of change.[8]

If Aristotle emphasized more on the participation in the republican setting (Res-Publica), then Marx's thought emphasized more on the revolution of oppressed classes. The northworthy explanation we can derive is that the politics of social activity are always accompanied by the dynamics of the society. It involves social as well as political aspects where human is equally treated either as an individual or as an agent with an important position or role. Both Aristoteles and Marx considered that the politics of the social activity deal with how people can contribute themselves to realize the social transformation.

After examining the philosophical view of socio-political activities, we will look into the analysis of its practice or realization. In his essay entitled From Interactions to Outcomes in Social Movements, Charles Tilly noted that a political social movement consists of:

> *a sustained challenge to power holders in the name of a population living under the jurisdiction of those power holders by means of repeated public displays of that populations worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment. At a minimum, social movements involve continuous interaction between challengers and power holders. The claim-making usually engages third parties such as other power holders, repressive forces, allies, competitors, and the citizenry as a whole.[9]*

It shows that in every citizen's political-social activity culminated in a joint-movement always contains some elements functioned as complement and presupposition. The issues raised in the social and political movement always pit the interests of the stronger party (in this case it can be the ruler or government) and parties that fight for the people sake and wellness. Socio-political movements have various forms, started from the rough to the peacefull way (method). However, in our opinion Tilly was more directed to examine the social movements in the peacefull way. In the same essay, Tilly stated that in recent versions, the displays of social movements thus identified include public meetings, demonstrations, marches, the creation

of special purpose associations and coalitions of associations, mass media statements, pamphlets, petitions, the posting or wearing of identifying symbols, and the adoption of distinctive slogans.[10] In fact, there are socio-political activities that use the rough ways or methods such as vandalism, damaging public property, physical violence, and armed conflict.

Further Tilly also mentioned that in the social and political movement, there are four important elements that support the success of an action or movement. Those are *worthiness* (sobriety, propriety of dress, incorporation of priests and other dignitaries, endorsement of moral authorities, evidence of previous undeserved Suffering), *unity* (uniforms, marching or dancing in Unison, chanting of slogans, singing, cheering, linking of arms, wearing or bearing of the common symbols, direct Affirmation of a common program or identity), *quantity* (filling of public space, presentation of petitions, representations of multiple units (eg, neighborhood associations), direct claims of numerical support by means of polls, membership inscriptions, financial contributions, and *commitment* (persistence in costly or risky activity, declarations of readiness to persevere, resistance to attack). These four elements are combined to produce the power to encourage the success of the social and political movement. Tilly formulated those four elements into: strength = worthiness X numbers X unity commitment.[11]

But now through the presence of ICT-based social media, social and political movements are facilitated by the new form of media in achieving their goals. It seems that theory proposed by Tilly didn't count the social media into account. In the formulation described by Tilly, we can know that the media described was still the conventional media before the presence of ICT. Even Marx and Aristotle could never have imagined that one day people do revolution and participated in politics by the the terrain using a new tools called social media or social network such as Facebook.

C. FACEBOOK (DEVELOPMENT AND DEBATE)

This era is often called cyber era in which all human activities on earth can not be separated from the cyber world called the internet. At this level, almost all of the social interactions and relationships are built through ICT. Among the facilities provided by ICT, social media or networks such as Friendster, Blogs, Facebook, and Twitter are the most widely used sites in the world including people in Indonesia.[12]

Nowadays, the presence of the social media is not merely a facility but it also has become a need, or even an urgency. Consequently, the presence of the social media such as Friendster, Blogs, Facebook, and Twitter become a primary need in people's life, ranging from young people to the elderly. Among those social networks, Facebook is the most widely used site used by people in Indonesia and it has a very high prestige in the eyes of Indonesian people.

Facebook had already existed in the early 2004 in America, but it was only in 2006 was opened for public access. Later, it eventually spreaded all over the world. Within a relatively short time, Facebook has experienced an unexpected increase in the

number of very large users. Indonesia is in the second ranks in a matter of the use of Facebook. Facebook users in Indonesia grow rapidly and become the second world's fastest growth of Facebook user worldwide. Indonesia is under the USA position which is also the world's largest Facebook users. This fact can be obtained a survey conducted by eMarketer. Based on this survey, the number of Facebook users in Indonesia raised 1,431,160 million users until last month. The increase was observed from the data which showed that the users increased from December 1, 2009 to January 1, 2010. On December 1, 2009, eMarketer noted that the number of Facebook users in Indonesia was 13,870,120 users, while on January 1, 2010 it was 15,301,280 users. Therefore, Indonesia is only one rank below the USA with 4,576,220 increasing users in the same period (from 98,105,020 to 102,681,240 users).

Although Indonesia is below USA's position, the increasing percentage in the number of Facebook users in Indonesia was twice as many as America. Indonesia increased 10 percent, while the USA was only 5 percent. The significant 10 percent increase including the world's highest percentage growth. Apart from Indonesia, some countries which were able to reach 10 percent increase in the percentage of the FB users were the Philippines and Malaysia.

Table 1[13] Top 10 Countries, rangked by Gain in Facebook Users (Desember 2009 & January 2010)

The data above showed a fantastic fact about Indonesian people who use Facebook. The number of the users in Indonesia is higher than Japan, which is famous for its technology. Another data shows the use of Facebook for Indonesian community, from the data below we can see the top 30 of countries which have Facebookers (see Table 2).

These data showed a fantastic fact about Indonesian people who use Facebook. The number of the users grow from year

Top 10 Countries, rangked by Gain in Facebook Users (Desember 2009 & January 2010)					
	December 1 2009	January 1 2010	% change	Change	% penetration
1. US	98,105,020	102,681,240	5 %	4,576,220	33,6 %
2. Indonesia	13,870,120	15,301,280	10 %	1,431,160	6,7 %
3. Philippines	8,025,420	8,805,300	10 %	780,880	9,7 %
4. Turkey	16,327,880	16,961,140	4 %	633,260	24 %
5. Italy	12,993,120	13,500,300	4 %	507,180	22,6 %
6. India	5,174,200	5,658,080	9 %	483,880	0,5 %
7. Mexico	6,211,620	6,671,560	7 %	459,940	6,3 %
8. Spain	7,401,620	7,827,180	6 %	425,560	17,0 %
9. Malaysia	3,837,920	4,236,960	10 %	399,040	15,3 %
10. Argentina	7,187,360	7,526,920	5 %	339,560	18,9 %

to year. It implies that social media is able to attract people's attention. Facebook it self can be seen as a part of ICT development. As mentioned earlier, there are two important inventions in ICT development this century. Those inventions are computer and the Internet. Those new technology and their development have long triggered the real pros and cons. Generally, there are two main views which have the opposite ideas: Neo-Luddite and Technophiles.

For the Technophiles, the invention of such technology is an effective medication that can cure many human problems. Technology such Facebook is considered as the product of ICT development which is could be very useful in humans life. This opinion is based on principles and ideology of those who view

Rank	Country	Number of Facebook users Sep 2008	Number of Facebook users Sep 2009	Number of Facebook users Sep 2010	12 month growth %	24 month growth %
1	USA	32,931,680	84,596,240	138,660,280	64%	321.1%
2	UK	12,637,540	20,228,480	27,279,920	34.9%	115.9%
3	Indonesia	322,840	8,786,920	26,870,640	205.8%	8223.2%
4	Turkey	4,566,660	13,996,380	22,689,280	62.1%	396.9%
5	France	3,381,220	12,032,020	18,875,380	56.9%	458.2%
6	Canada	9,991,260	12,667,220	17,050,280	34.6%	70.7%
7	Italy	1,035,920	10,903,620	16,589,460	52.1%	1501.4%
8	Philippines	233,020	4,832,040	16,492,880	241.3%	6977.8%
9	Mexico	1,174,920	4,731,700	15,132,080	219.8%	1187.9%
10	India	806,680	3,980,260	13,612,360	242%	1587.5%
11	Germany	815,840	3,875,800	11,119,240	186.9%	1262.9%
12	Argentina	939,080	6,036,060	11,118,120	84.2%	1083.9%
13	Spain	1,076,740	6,314,220	10,908,540	72.6%	913.1%
14	Colombia	3,227,760	6,488,200	10,725,740	65.3%	232.3%
15	Australia	3,655,680	6,591,640	9,169,220	39.1%	150.8%
16	Malaysia	592,740	2,619,040	8,187,460	212.6%	1281.3%
17	Taiwan	90,140	2,257,340	7,109,140	214.9%	7786.8%
18	Chile	3,491,200	5,465,740	7,060,020	29.2%	102.2%
19	Venezuela	1,462,500	4,223,740	6,857,980	62.4%	368.9%
20	Brazil	155,400	1,541,380	5,860,740	280.2%	3671.4%
21	Egypt	836,440	1,896,120	4,025,280	112.3%	381.2%
22	Sweden	1,358,460	2,587,300	3,835,160	48.2%	182.3%
23	Belgium	833,620	2,557,000	3,553,600	39%	326.3%
24	Hong Kong	1,109,200	2,350,460	3,383,440	44%	205%
25	Poland	113,920	732,000	3,348,980	357.5%	2839.8%
26	South Africa	1,022,000	1,899,600	3,123,260	64.4%	205.6%
27	Peru	208,200	1,206,620	3,089,100	156%	1383.7%
28	Israel	661,460	1,782,700	2,965,000	66.3%	348.3%
29	Greece	641,260	1,858,620	2,898,180	55.9%	352%
30	Netherlands	283,900	1,362,420	2,863,540	110.2%	908.6%

Facebook Usage Statistic by Country

technology as if it is a perfect lover. Therfore, there will be no worry to face the future if we live with technology.[15] Their main idea is the ideology of technology.

The ideology of technology rests on how the technical problems can be solved and possibly developed in the future. In other words, the process becomes the concern, while the value of the aims wanted to be achieved (can be) abandoned. When the Internet began to be developed, qualified people drowned in their effort to continually improve the technical issues and develop it. The challenge to continue improving the technological superiority becomes the goal, regardless the consideration of a much wider aspects (the impact of ethical, psychological, social, and legal aspects).

This opinion is contrast with the opinion of the Neo-Luddite.[16] The Neo-Luddite who is famous for its anti-technology movement thinks that the presence of technology will destroy people's life. Their movement was begun with anti-industrialization movement in England in the early 19th century. They thought that the presence of the machine is a decadence in a civilization. It can take over the workers' positions (hand skil /art) and mass-producing products using human labors.

In line with the development of the ICT, Neo-Luddite also provides a massive assessment and prediction about the growth and rate of information technology development. For instance they makes predictions about the adverse effects of the new ways of doing various things, including reading printed books will

become obsolete and replaced by the e-book, personal face-to-face communication through will extinct. They also assumed that the future generations will be the computer geek and there will be social isolation intensified when individuals live in their own fantasy world, a world known as cyberspace (virtual world).[17]

While in the political area, the tensions of the two opposing views continue. There are some parties who argue that the presence of the Internet can help the development of democratization in the society and bring new expectations (utopian). It is a kind of optimism through the use of the internet. However, some other parties think that the presence of the internet only will further facilitate supervision (panoptikon) in every aspect of human life, and no more then a trendy tool of life, in other word they tend to be pessimistic.

In the context of democracy and democratization, the optimistic view argues that the presence of technology is able to solve the problem of participation. ICT (including social-network based media such as Facebook) is often seen capable to facilitate the involvement of the citizens by reducing the communication difficulties. It's said to be able to to transform the political system or policy. While the pessimistic view sees it from the opposite side, they assume that the transformation in the society will lead to the social fragmentation and isolation, which can cause the deterioration of democracy.[18]

Issue and this debate might have no way out, because ICT still continue to evolve after all and we have to accept its influence. However, the role and the benefit of those innovations of technology must be evaluated and critize. That is why we need to look at how this kind of technology used, especially in socio-political area. The following section of this paper will discuss the use of Facebook for social and political activities of Community Forum for Heritage Building Preservation (Indonesian: Forped BCB) in Salatiga

D. STORY OF FORPED BCB AND THE USE OF FACEBOOK[19]

Salatiga is a town in Central Java province with less than 200.000 inhabitants. The town is located next to Semarang regency. Salatiga is located 49 km on the South side of Semarang City or 52 km on the North side of Surakarta, and is on the road that connects Semarang-Surakarta. Salatiga consists of four districts such as Argomulyo, Tingkir, Sidomukti, and Sidorejo. The town is on the East side of Merbabu Mountain, and it makes

the town used to have cool weather.[20] In this relatively small town, there is a building that used to be a Head Quarters of District Military Command *(Kodim)* 0714 Salatiga[21], then the office was moved because the owner of the building would like to change the function of the building (the owner is a private company).[22]

Thus, the building was abandoned. It is vacant and unoccupied now. In fact, it was a building of Blommstein Hotel on 100 years ago. A history practitioner and writer: Eddy Supangkat recorded in *Salatiga: Sketsa Kota Lama* (2007) that Blommstein was one of three hotels in Salatiga during Dutch colonialism. Blommtein supposedly existed before the town was established in June 1917 as a Municipal/*Kotapraja* (*gemeente*) which led by a mayor. Blommstein is a hotel with Dutch architectur, which was accesible not only by white people (*Kompas*, 31/12/2009).

Community Forum for Heritage Building Preservation (Forped BCB) has been established from a discussion on the existence of the building. If we refer to the Law.No.5/1992 about *Benda Cagar Budaya* (Cultural Heritage Objects.), the building was included in a category of cultural heritage building. The meeting was held after some people of Salatiga read news written by a journalist from one of famous newspapers in Indonesia (Antony Lee from Kompas Central Java desk). The news at that time highlighted the demolition of the building, and has a status of Cultural Heritage building which is going to be functioned as a mall (shopping center).[23] Then on January 6th 2010, a student of Satya Wacana Christian University (Yodie Hardiyan, he is now a journalist of Harian Jogja) took an inisiative to ask some other friends to conduct a discussion about the reconstruction of the building.

On the first meeting in Kampoeng Percik[24] (11/01/2010), it was attended by 11 people from some elements of the community. There were lecturers (including us), students, journalists, NGO activists, common people, and a history practitioner of Salatiga: Eddy Supangkat who was appointed to be the coordinator of Forped BCB then.

The reason to establish a Forped BCB movement was triggered by the indignation against the government of Salatiga. It was because the government did omission toward the decisions taken by businessmen, who would like to demolish the building and change it into a mall. Further, there is even an issue that the government has given them a permission to do that. According to Yodie Hardiyan, as the habitant of Salatiga he was not willing to have his city ruined and follow the development model of other cities. Moreover, when the case is discussed, a fact was revealed from a media that the average number of cultural heritage building being demolish in Salatiga is seven buildings per year.[25]

Furthermore, in the Forped BCB meeting, we discussed that Mall is not the only solution for development and progress achieved by a town. There are some other alternative ideas which are able to wrap various aspects of development, for example cultural park. By a cultural park, we are able to be a competitor for consumerism, as well as facilitating public space. In accordance to maintain Cultural Heritage Objects, the cultural park can be designed to support economic aspect. Considering a context of Salatiga, a cultural park model can be developed to have its own beauty. However, the more important thing is to discuss this kind of alternative ideas together with some elements of the community, and then to make a kind of synergy

between various kinds of needs by expanding perspective. Unfortunately, these initiatives and alternative ideas are lack of concerns from the government. Instead of thinking about those ideas, the government fully supports the businessmen.

On his essay titled *Kasus Eks Kodim 0714 Salatiga: Antara Pelecehan Kultur Kota dan Identitas Kota,* Yodie Hardiyan writes that the demolition of ancient building on behalf of capitalism, estetics, functions, and modernity often trick us, by raising a logic of short term development, not the long term one. He uses a term of " urban culture abuse" -quoted on an essay in *Pembangunan Berwawasan Lingkungan* Budiharjo and Sudanti (1993)- to explain his perspective toward the demolition of this building. He further noticed that shopping excitement with high consumerism will replace the history learning sites. If the building succeeded to be reconstructed, it will arrogantly provide a space to mourn, to regret, and cry for Salatiga, which was known to be the most beautiful town in Central Java. The exotism and romance that used to be there, now is changed with the narcism of modernity.[26]

Related to this problem, Salatiga actually has a beautiful example of refunctioning heritage buildings such as; *Polantas* office, the office of *Bank Central Asia*, a shop named Omah Mode and Tempo Doeloe restaurant. The examples above is an evidence that ancient buildings (moreover those which are identified as Cultural Heritage Objects according to the Law. No. 5/1992) is not just a building without economic value, but it has economic value. Unfortunately, the examples hasn't been role models for the government and the bussinessmen, those who are willing to demolish the building of ex *Kodim* 0714 just for building a mall.

The things above encouraged a starting point of Forped BCB movement. And it is a manifestation of concern toward the future of Salatiga. Therefore, people do small movement to fight against the intention to demolish the building of ex headquarters of *Kodim* 0714. The movement considered as important because it reveals critical responds toward the government's policy, in which the government do omission toward the demolition. On the interview that we have done with Nick Wiratmoko[27], he stated that at the beginning, the mass media is able only to report the event of demolition. Therefore, the movement brought a fact found by journalists into a concrete action and then get them to be involved to report the movement. It is expected that on the future, the movement will be wider and will be able to get the people of Salatiga to be involved in the movement.

On its first press relase, Forped BCB asked the government of Salatiga to keep its commitment, which is to make Salatiga as an ancestral town. The commitment must be followed with an effort to conserve historical things/building which is included in the criteria of heritage buildings as regulated in the Law.No.5/1992. Further, Forped BCB also stated that the government of Salatiga should arrange a local regulation about Cultural Heritage Objects to protect historical building from modernization. Forped BCB also emphasizes the importance of people's participation at controlling public policy arranged by the government. Therefore, we need collective awareness that Salatiga is not on the hands of elite politicians but it is on the public space where people are allowed to express their aspiration related on how to manage the building, which should take people's aspiracy into account.

In achieving their goals, this community used various strategies including creating public opinion, distributing

pamphlets, making press releases, media coverage, doing action or demonstration, and arranging meetings with the government agencies (lobbying). In gaining people attention and support, this community used Facebook social network as a medium to share information and to communicate. Through Facebook, they created a group called "We refuse the reconstruction of Dutch collonial building ex *Kodim* Salatiga" (*Kami menolak Pembongkaran Bangunan Belanda eks Kodim Salatiga*).[28]

The main role of Facebook in this movement besides providing a medium to share information, is also to distribute the invitations of discussion and action more easily. Group members are also welcome to post comments, stories, or photos about heritage buildings in Salatiga. There were 1,609 members in this group, and most of them live in Salatiga. It seemed like there was a great resistance from the group members on Facebook based on the number of members who engaged in the discussions and posted news and events. However, they were just active

on Facebook. In fact, there were only 11 people who attended the first meeting out of 35 people who gave confirmation to attend the meeting on Facebook.[29] In the first action on 12th January 2011 it was only attended by 6 people (including us) out of 54 people who gave confirmation to attend the action on Facebook.[30]

The second action emphasize more on buiding the citizen awareness who saw the action and people who read the newspaper in the next day towards the issue.Before the second action, the discussion and the activity of the group's members were quite active on Facebook but it seemed to be unequal with activity in the direct action. Thus, there were more people joining the second action than the first action although there were less members of Facebook group who took part in the action, this was because TUK[31] members joined the action. The number of members joining the real action was far different from the number of people joining the discusion on Facebook.

Regardless the reason described above, the lack involvement of the community members in the direct action showed that the active discussion and participation in the FB group was not positively correlated with reality. Luckily, although this action was attended only by a few people, the mass media were still willing to publish the news related to it regularly and blew it up because the issue was considered quite attractive. Therefore, this issue remains preserved until the process of changing heritage building into mall is completely stopped, even though the building had been partially ruined.The movement hasn't been considered as a successful movement when the succeed measurement is the succeed to encourage the government to reconstruct ex *Kodim* 0714 while the building is partly demolished. However, the movement is able to show that either the government or the businessmen can't do arbitrarily decision on each development plan. Therefore, the movement can be considered successful up to this point, as at least the plan to build shopping mall is temporarily stopped to be reconsidered, and it is instructed to renovate the building as it was (even though it is very slow).[32] Until right now, the group is still on Facebook, however, the group's activities have been decreased after the stopped demolition. Forped BCB right now in the middle reconsolidation phase to arrange its future strategic planning. We expect that Salatiga in the future will be able to maintain its special characteristics and will be able to develop at the same time.

E. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

The rapid rate of Facebook users in our community right now tends to bring impacts on the community's life, one of them is on the action of communication. More people right now might use indirect communication more often than direct communication when they must communicate and interact with friends and relatives as well as in other busssiness (such as social and political activities). Discussion that used to be done directly on the meeting room right now can be discussed by a group via facebook. However, if it regularly continued, people would ignore physical interaction (direct meeting) at one point. Indeed, one of the benefits brought by ICT such as facebook is breaking the pysical limit. However, it is governed only when there is a distance. On the case of using Facebook by Forped BCB, group members who are physically located in Salatiga don't show the same commitment in the meeting and direct action when they had confirmed their involvement. In fact, from approximately 1000 members, most of them are located in Salatiga.

On the other hand, Facebook does help much in terms of collecting and distributing important information for the Forped BCB movement. Facebook gives a chance for people to get faster information on the movement. They don't have to wait for any newspaper published on the other day to get the information, and of course the information is free from editing by the editors, who are in charge of deciding which information should be published. The spreading of ideas runs very fast by comments or notes. The movement finds it easier to express itself and it has a space to have followers from the Facebookers. It can be seen from the postings in wall group and its comments. However, the information is often defined without real essence; it means that the persons involved as followers in facebook is sometimes don't have a real intention to be directly involved on the real movement. A person might express his/her agreement and he/she will be involved in the cyber movement without being commited to the issue in the real world. When they are involved by Facebook, it seems as if they were fully involved. Further, by being in the group and writing status about the movement, it seems as if the facebookers were doing a movement and be involved in the movement. In fact, it is only in cyber space. The problem is: if the government often doesn't pay attention to the real movement in the real world. Then, how could the government pay attention to the movement through the cyber world? Fortunately, Forped BCB is supported by some conventional media such as newspaper.

From the explanation above, there emerges a dicotomic problem between cyber world and the reality; online and offline. It is because through this social media, people experience changing between a real world to the cyber world, in which all activities done by the cyber space. Cyber space is defined as a space in a non place dimension but it can be felt. This space is not in a real world (means that it is not bounded with most of physical laws), but the space can be filled out with various activities and interactions, therefore the space looks as if it was a real thing.

Cyber space, regardless whether we are aware or not, is formed by real things, not cyber things. Computers as well as its microprocessor inside, cables, optical fibres, and interconnected communication satelits are real things. People operating the computer is also real. These should lead to an understanding that cyber world (must) goes along with real world. Ironically, things happened in the cyber world often don't go along with the real world. Cyber world is able to create cyber reality which is not consistent with the real world. People can be drifted to the cyber world and then they for get that the important thing is its reality.

When we look back at the essence of social political activities, then we see that people play big roles. People's participation in real ways in the social political world can be a means for ethical discourse. In fact, we need subjects or agents who are able to do struggling to make a movement, as we have discussed above that social political activities is related to how to make contribution toward social transformation reality. Then, there are some reflective questions: Does Forped BCB movement through Facebook at that time hadn't been able to activate people's awareness to bring the cyber movement into the real world's movement? Or, does the issue raised is not important and urgent for people in Salatiga? Or, do people have apathetic feeling toward problems related to the city? Is it influenced by personal individual's characters or is it influenced by other factors? These questions should be passed as materials for evaluation of Forped BCB movement, as quoted from Tilly, that one of the elements of succeed for a movement is the more people involved in it. The challenge then is to build a chain of equivalence from many people to achieve an articulation point in a social-political sphere. It means that when there are more people who think that the problem is also their problem, then there will be bigger opportunity to make change. The truth of social political activities deals with how to change coordinate of real situation in its real sense.

Social political activities contain also a dimension of both subjectivity and collectivity. It means that political activities can only be understood and experienced by subjects (persons) who have certain mission(s), and then the subjects achieve common

goal to enter a common discourse at facing the problems. It means that social political activities are always be started and be ended in a real condition in the community. On the context of Forped BCB, the movement which has been done so far is actually hasn't been able to connect the Facebook group's potentiality into the real field movement.

On the case of Forped BCB, the existence of Facebook as one of its media still needs to be equipped with some other elements. The brief description presented above shows that Facebook is only one of the four important elements for social political activities as explained by Tilly. Facebook as a social media is actually not as social as it has been imagined before, as human social dimension has politicaldimension at the same time and it menas that there should be active participation, which is a participation that has direct correlation with the reality in the community. Facebook plays only as a connected media because the real struggling is not in Facebook. Therefore we need to conduct a deeper research on what are socio-political changes that happened because the use of Facebook in various ways, including a research on psychosocial and psychopolitical aspects.

If the relationship between human and technology has an analogy of the relationship between spider and its spins, then we can say that it is human who created technology and they live together with the technology and indeed human can't live without it. However we need to realize that human is the master of the techonolgy. Therefore, they should value technology and should have awareness on the consequences brought by each new technology. The debate between Techophile and Neo-Luddite should be rethought by each technology user. Finally, even though there is no clear distinction between reality and virtuality but the desire for something in real hasn't beee decreasing. Thus, a virtual community such as Facebook wouldn't be a full substitute of a real community. Human will always need physical touch and well-rooted community to experience it as something real and it is human who should create a balance between virtual and real world.

ENDNOTES

[1] For the context of Indonesian study done by Merlyna Lim and also Yanuar Nugroho, is such a new perspective in this point of view. See Lim, Merlyna, *@rchipelago Online, The Internet and Political Activism in Indonesia*, TSD- University Of Twente, Enschede, the Netherlands, 2005 and Nugroho, Yanuar, ***Does the Internet transform civil society: The case of civil society organisations in Indonesia,***University of Manchester, 2007.

[2] See, Balkin, Jack, Digital Speech and Democratic Culture: A Theory Of Freedom Of Expression For The Information Society, N.Y.U. L. REV. 1 (2004).

[3] As Lim suggested; "The debate over the Internet, as a revolutionary facilitator of democracy or as a growing menace to civil society and democracy, has no resolution in the abstract. Insights into these issues can only be drawn from historical experiences rooted in specific local context." (Lim, 2005, 2).

[4] Giugni,McAdam,Tilly (editors), How Social Movement Matter, University of Minnesota Press, 1999

[5] See Aristotle, The Politics, 1252-1253b, Translated with an Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by Carnes Lord, University of Chicago, 1984

[6] Ibid

[7] Marx,Karl, Theses on Feurbach, Marx/Engels Selected Works, Volume One, Translated by W. Lough, Progress Publishers, Moscow, USSR, 1969, p. 13– 15

[8] See, Marx, Karl, Economic & Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, Translated by Martin Mulligan, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1959

[9] Giugni,McAdam,Tilly (editors), How Social Movement Matter, University of Minnesota Press, 1999, p 257

[10] Ibid, p 260

[11] Ibid, p 261

[12] The term **Social Media** refers to the use of web-based and mobile technologies to turn communication into an interactive dialogue. Andreas Kaplan and Michael Haenlein define social media as "a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content." Social media are media for social interaction, as a superset beyond social communication. Kietzmann et al (2011) argue that "social media introduce substantial and pervasive changes to communication between organizations, communities, and individuals", enabled by ubiquitously accessible and scalable communication techniques. See, Social Media at Wikip edia, last accesed Sept 1st 2011

[13] See, Wow... Indonesia Ranking 2 Pertumbuhan Facebook Tertinggi di Dunia – Kompas, January 13th 2010, last accesed Feb 18th 2011

[14] See, Facebook usage statistics by country, last accesed Feb 18th 2011

[15] Postman, Neil, *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology*, Vintage Books, New York, 1993, p. 5

[16] The term was raised by Ian Boal on his book *Resisting the Virtual Life: The Culture and Politics of Information*, City Lights, San Fransisco, 1995. Wendell Berry, author of *Why I Am Not Going to Buy a Computer*, *What Are People For?*, North Point Press, San Fransisco, 1990 is also one of followers of Neo-Luddite. In his book, he defends a right to use old technology as well as raises about how ro reduce negative effects caused by new technology.

[17] Graham, Gordon, *The Internet:// a Philosophical Inquiry*, Routledge, London, 1999

[18] The debate is discussed further by Lim, in Lim, 2005, particulary on the chapter II

[19] In this section, besides our own involvement in Forped BCB, we also want to thank Yodie Hardiyan, Nick Wiratmoko, dan Yakub Adi Krisanto for their helps. They was willing to be interviewed and gave many materials they had. These three people were the motor as well as the initiator of Forped BCB.

[20] See, Profil Daerah Kota Salatiga, last accesed August 30th 2011

[21] Kodim is the abbreviation of *Komando Distrik Militer*, also see, Komando Distrik Militer at Wikipedia, last accesed

August 30th 2011

[22] See, Tanah Markas Kodim Salatiga Diminta Pemiliknya~ Suara Merdeka, January 8th 2007

[23] See, Bangunan Cagar Budaya Akan Dijadikan Mal– Kompas.com, 31 Desember 2009 (last accesed 30 August 2011).

Antony Lee is one of journalist who was intense in writing about the problem at that time and wrote ficer in the same newspaper entitled "Kopdar" Facebook demi Cagar Budaya ~ Kompas, 21 Januari 2010

[24] PERCIK is the abbreviation of *Persemaian Cinta Kemanusian*, one of NGOs in Salatiga, which concerns in social researches and democracy and social justice issues. Also see, http://percik.or.id/

[25] See, Tiap Tahun Tujuh Bangunan Bersejarah Salatiga Hancur ~ Kompas.com, December 21st 2009

[26] Hardiyan, Yodie, *Kasus Eks Kodim 0714 Salatiga: Antara Pelecehan Kultur Kota dan Identitas Kota*, unpublish, Salatiga, 2010

[27] Nick Wiratmoko is the member of advocation division in PERCIK who is also involved in Community Forum for Heritage Building Preservation (Forped BCB).

[28] http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=253732681640&v=wall This group initiated by Agus Sulistiyo Salatiga inhabitant who lives in Jakarta. Then, in its development, the admin istrator of this group started to be involved in Community Forum for Heritage Building Preservation (Forped BCB), such as Yakub Adi Krisanto

[29] See, http://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=242834023599

[30] See, http://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=242834023599

[31] TUK is a community involved in the issue s of environment. They joined this movement because they thought that the presence of mall would add environmental problem in Salatiga.

[32] Rekonstruksi Eks Kodim Lambat ~ Kompas, May 21st 2010

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Deliberating Public Conversation: Reexamine Deliberation Quality of *Suara Warga-*Suara Merdeka Cyber News[1]

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Abstract-This paper examines discussion proces occurring in *Suara Warga* online discussion forum facilitated by *Suara Merdeka Cyber News*. Based on the idealization of deliberative model of public sphere as suggested by Jurgen Habermas, this study is aimed to evaluate the quality of deliberation reflected in both forums. The deliberation quality of both forums is measured by quantitatively analyzing the extent to which the entire of 2032 messages posted to those forums during the period of 1 January 2009 to 31 July 2009 on the political topic, reflects dimensions of deliberativeness. Besides that, this paper is also aimed to identify the impact of online anonymity on the quality of deliberation reflected in the forum. In general, the findings of this study suggest that there are some potentials as well as constraints of the forum in terms of deliberation quality.

Key words : discussion process, online discussion forum, deliberation quality, public sphere.

INTRODUCTION

The increase of Internet popularity in Indonesia since first introduced in 1990s has raised public hope for the formation of ideal buffer zone in the context of contemporary Indonesian political communication. A number of studies surrounding the existence of the Internet in Indonesia showed very clearly that the hope has been answered.[3] The Internet has played an important role and served as catalyst to the transformation of the Indonesian political system. In this sense, the Internet has enabled direct global-contact without the intervention of state's apparatus.

One of public domains which are influenced by the political liberalization occurring since 1998 is Indonesian press system. The end of restrictive policy did not only influence Indonesian press in terms of political dimension but also in terms of technological dimension. While during the period of 1995 to 1998 there were just two newspapers, namely *Kompas* and *Republika,* which applied the Internet to diversify their publication versions, in line with the political transition most of recent Indonesian press diversified their publication into cyber version. Coinciding with this improvement, some of Indonesian press also provided moderated discussion forums in which their audiences can interact with journalists as well as other audiences.

Different from previous online discussion forums circumvented by Suharto's restrictive policy, these discussion forums attracted more Indonesian public to be involved particularly in the topic of current political affairs. Recently, sensitive issues in terms of politics, which rarely could be discussed openly during the reign of Suharto, can be found more easily in those discussion forums.

Guided by the assumption that cyberspace has the potential to revive the public sphere, this research aims to evaluate and identify the extent to which communication pattern of online political discussion forum provided by *Suara Merdeka Cyber News* in its *Suara Warga* mainly during the period of the Indonesian General Election 2009 held to vote for Indonesian president, reflect deliberativeness dimensions as the requirement of the formation of public sphere. This period is chosen by regarding that the political participation of Indonesian public increased significantly in terms of quality and quantity during that consecutive period. In this case, tabular content analysis will be employed as the method of research particularly to evaluate and to identify the exchanged message content.

Suara Warga is chosen on the basis of its consistency in providing online discussion forum[4]. Although this discussion forum is moderated by the editorial team and the discussion topics are based on the current topic, the participants can develop those topics according to their interest. So far, there are 54.900 member of this forum.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: ONLINE DISCUSSION FORUM AND PUBLIC DELIBERATION

Conceptualizing the Normative Principles of Public Deliberation

In general, the term of public deliberation can be defined as the process by which public participate in talking about community or general problems that are important to the public itself. Closely linked to the definition, James Bohman underlines that the core of public deliberation is thoughtful conversation through which participants discuss public issues voluntarily and freely.[5] At this point, public deliberation is expected to lead to the establishment of a point of view from which public could view, criticize and endorse public claims. Therefore, it can also be understood that recently public deliberation is often regarded as an ideal model of political communication.

However, at the level of implementation, there are a number of normative principles required to embody public deliberation. Before further conceptualizing the normative principles of public deliberation, it is fruitful to start out by refering to Jurgen

Habermas's idea of public sphere particularly because of the parallelism between the idealization of public deliberation and the normative notion of public sphere.

In short, Habermas's ideas of public sphere can be found more completely in his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Spheres: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1989), which was first published in the German language in 1962.[6] In this book, public sphere that emerged in eighteenth century is described to function as the bridge connecting private interest and public interest.[7] In other words, public sphere is aimed to outcome conflict of interests and finally to stimulate the formation of consensus.

In order to exemplify the manifestation public sphere in the public life, Habermas mentions a number of social institutions providing information such as newspapers and journals. Public sphere also manifested in certain forums in which public can discuss art, literature and political issues in face-to-face groups. In this context, Habermas exemplifies the salons in France, the coffee houses in Great Britain, and the *Tischgesellschaften* (table societies) in Germany.[8]

Regarding the institutionalization of public discussion in these physical forums, Habermas notes that it signified particularly the period of which individuals and social groups started to have bigger opportunity to articulate their own interests, to form public opinion and at the same time to influence political practices.[9] In this sense, the institutionalization of public discussion had stimulated the rise of political awareness of society in criticizing traditional and hierarchical forms of feudal authorities embedding for centuries. Therefore, it can also be understood that Habermas underlines the strategic potentials of public sphere to mediate between the private domain in which private interests are recognized and the political domain in which state performs its authority through domination.

In line with the idealization of public sphere, Habermas identified a number of institutional characteristics of the discussion forums, which potentially can be used as the normative principles to embody strategic potentials of public sphere in the context of political communication.[10]

Habermas's description of those institutional characters can be summarized basically into four key-points. First, the whole system of communication should be discursive in the sense that all participants have opportunities to exchange information, talk about it, form option and participate. It also means that there should be unlimited opportunities for further discussion. Second, there is disregard of social status. By ignoring social hierarchy, anybody is regarded as having equal opportunity to articulate his or her idea. In this regard, , the authority of ideas exchanged in the forums is not considered based on the social status of the communicator but particularly on the extent to which these ideas represent better arguments. Closely-linked to the second character, the third one is rational debate. It means that anybody is welcomed to question and criticize arguments of others as well as to defend his or her own argument. The extent to which certain argument is better than others is measured by considering the extent to which the argument represents public truth and public interest. The fourth character is universal access. Similar to the first and the second characters in the mat-

ter of equal opportunity provided to anybody, this character represent the principle of inclusiveness. It means that anybody have right to access that which is still being discussed in the forums as well as right to participate in the discussion. In short, those institutional characters of public sphere can be classified into two main normative principles, namely inclusiveness and rational debate.

At this point, by regarding that the idealization of public deliberation is parallel to the normative notion of public sphere in the sense that the communication pattern of public deliberation is also aimed to embody rational discourse, it can be stated here that Habermas has also provided a valuable contribution in the conceptualization of normative principles of public deliberation it self.

In particular, the normative principles of public sphere are reflected in a number of deliberativeness dimensions formulated in several empirical studies on the deliberation quality of discussion forums. Although the researchers of these studies emphasize different dimensions, most of these dimensions are derived from or at least overlap extensively with the normative principles offered by Habermas. In general, they also regard that the desirable feature of discussion forum centers on the strength of well-grounded argument provided in an open forum, rather than authority, tradition, ideology, power or prejudice.

The parallelism between deliberativeness dimension suggested in these empirical studies and Habermas's ideas can be simply tabulated in the following table:

Table 1. Dimensions of Deliberation

JURGEN HABERMAS	ANTHONY G. WILHELM[11]	STEVEN M. SCHNEIDER [12]	MARKUS SPORNDLI[13]
Inclusiveness	Opinion Homogeneity	1. Structural Equality 2. Diversity	-
Rational Debate	1. Reciprocal Acts 2. Critical-Rational Debate	a. Reciprocity b. Quality	1. Level of Justification 2. Respect 3. Constructive Politics

As well as deliberation dimensions mentioned above, the normative principles of public deliberation formulated in this research is also inspired basically by two main principles of public sphere suggested by Habermas. Besides that, it must be admitted that, some of them are derived from deliberation dimensions suggested by Wilhelm, Schneider and Sporndli. Those normative principles will be used to measure the deliberation quality represented in the discussion process occurring in *Suara Warga*. In particular, those normative principles are:

Equality. This principle refers to the condition of which opportunities for everyone to take part in discussion process are evenly distributed. This principle will be measured by calculating the frequency of each participant in sending their message. There are five subcategories included in this dimension, namely very frequent, frequent, occasional, infrequent, and very infrequent.

Reciprocity. This principle refers to the degree of which participants of discussion respond each other in terms of criticizing. In order to statistically analyze reciprocity, this principle will be operationalized in three subcategories regarding the leaning of each message's content. These subcategories are to redefine, to reestablish, and to stand alone posting, respectively.

Constructiveness. This principle refers to the extent to

which communication order of each discussion forum is aimed to motivate consensus and find common ground. The degree of constructiveness will be identified from the proposed argumentation expressed in each message. There are two related aspects of this dimension. The first one is suggested frame, which will be operationalized in two subcategories, namely problem posing and problem solving respectively. The second aspect is problem identification. This category is particularly aimed to explore whether participants identify the discussed problems based on their own interest or based on common interest. Therefore, it will be operationalized in two subcategories, namely common interest and partial interest respectively.

Rationality. This principle refers to what reason each proposed argumentation supported by. As the operationalization of this dimension, there are three subcategories, namely legal reason, scientific reason, and primordial reason.[14]

THE POTENTIALS OF ONLINE DISCUSSION FORUMS AS THE VIRTUAL PUBLIC SPHERE

In recent time, the acceleration of the development of new information and communication technologies (ICT) has also stimulated the strengthening of a public debate revolving around their capabilities for the practice of democracy. At least there are two categories of competing point of view involved in the controversy over the possibilities for electronic democracy.

The first category encompasses basically pessimistic views. Those views are based generally on the assumption that the structural features of information and communication technologies such as anonymity, limitation of access, and socio-economy asymmetry are diametrically opposed by the democratic principles such as accountability and participation. Therefore, it can be understood that according to those views the structural features of information and communication technologies would be barriers of political communication.

The second category particularly consists of optimistic views, which are based particularly on the assumption that the innovation of ICT generally promises new possibilities for political participation particularly in large and complex society. In this sense, the capability of ICT to provide citizens with comfortable, unfiltered, and universal access to political information and occurrences will automatically lead to the improvement of modern democracy. Closely-linked to this regard, most of the optimistic views underline the presence of online discussion forum as the embodiment of virtual public sphere.

By correlating each assumption of those competing views to the normative principle of public deliberation described previously, it must be admitted that both views are reasonable.

On the one hand, there are a number of Internet's potentials on which optimistic views are often based. In terms of inclusiveness, the presence of the Internet promises the possibility of cross-border communication and non hierarchical communication. Regarding the possibility of cross-bordered communication in the context of online discussion forum, the appropriate advantages can be seen in the opportunities to access the forum itself and to gather information from unlimited sources. This possibility also means that anyone from different geographical areas can communicate and exchange political information. As well, regarding the possibility of non-hierarchical communication, the advantages can be seen in the equal treatment and opportunities given to anyone to participate in the forum. In this sense, participants' words would carry more weight than their socioeconomic status. Besides that, the Internet also promises freedom from the intrusion and monitoring of government.

Furthermore, in terms of rationality, interactivity as the most distinctive feature of the Internet will be adequate precondition for reciprocal acts. As stated previously, reciprocal acts refer basically to the interactively communicative actions to exchange ideas and to criticize each other. By regarding that information stream in the computer mediated communication is faster and more interactive than other form of mass communication, it was apparent that the Internet can be ideal medium through which reciprocal acts can be facilitated. At this point, the presence of Internet as represented particularly in the online discussion forums seems to represent the democratization of public space idealized by Jurgen Habermas in his concept of 'bourgeois public sphere'.

However, on the other hand it must also be admitted that although the Internet has potentials in supporting democratic system of communication, it does not *eo ipso* guarantee the embodiment of public sphere. As reflected in the pessimistic views, there are a number of structural features of the Internet, which are often regarded as the comparative advantages of the Internet but at the same time will potentially prevent the embodiment of the essential principle of public sphere.

The first one is the limitation of access. In particular this feature is related to the concept of digital divide suggested by Pippa Norris.[15] There are three distinct aspect encompassed in the digital divide. The first aspect is the global divide, which refers to the inequality of Internet access between developing countries and developed countries.[16] The second is the social divide, which refers to the divergence of Internet access as the consequences of the economic disparities in the society.[17] The third aspect is the democratic divide, which refers to the divergence of Internet access as the result of the difference of political system prevailing in the society.[18] More or less , the inequalities evidences in terms of the global divide, the social divide, and democratic divide will reduce the notion of cross-border communication promised as one of the comparative advantages of the Internet.

The second structural feature, which regarded as a counter-productive variable of the embodiment of democratic principle in computer based communication, is anonymity. In general, anonymity refers to the condition in which the quality of state of being unknown or unacknowledged or one that is unknown or unacknowledged. In the context of online discussion forum, anonymity refers mainly to the second condition in which the identity of certain people accessing the Internet is uncertain. Therefore, the degree of anonymity is regarded as being determined by the procedure required to participate. This regard particularly based on the fact that many discussion sites allowed their participants not to require their real identities before participating in the forum, whilst other sites try to limit anonymity among their participants by requiring the tight procedures so that it will be impossible to be anonymous. Although participants are allowed to hide their real identity, most of them are still reachable.

Regarding the anonymity of participants of online discussion

forum, both pessimists and optimists assume that the degree of anonymity is a determinant that potentially influences the quality of discussion. In this sense, optimists regard that anonymity is extremely effective in promoting freedom of expression as the main character of democracy. In contrast, pessimists argue that anonymity potentially encourage verbal violence. This regard particularly starts from the assumption that the possibility of being anonymous in discussions stimulates potentially antisocial behaviors. In this sense, such behaviors can be represented potentially in the personal attacks and obstruction of dialogue because anonymous participants generally assume that they can not be held physically accountable for their words.[19]

Guided by the assumption of anonymity as represented in the pessimistic views, this research also hypothesizes that the degree of anonymity will determine the quality of deliberation of the discussion forum. The anonymity level of *Suara Warga* as the object of the research can be described as the following. *Suara Warga* is managed based on the format of *User Generated Content.* This format enables public to be involved as participants of this forum in terms of information producers as well as discussants. In particular, the openness of this forum is represented in the registration system required for public to participate. It can be seen in the following feature :

Figure 1. *Suara Warga* **Registration Feature**

Regarding the feature, everybody can registrate freely just by subscribing his/her e-mail account,. In this sense, *Suara Warga* can be classified as one of public forums which have high level of anonymity. Anonimity it self can be defined as

the condition in which identities or certain people accesing the Internet is uncertain.[20] There are two possibilities can be estimated regarding the anonymity of the forum. First, the high level of anonymity will minimize or even deface barriers to involve in the public conversation on important issues. However, in line with the theses offered by 'cyber pessimist', high level of anonymity will stimulate agresivity and anti-social behaviors which potentially threaten the quality of deliberation.

Content Categories
In order to ensure that the content dictionary categories actually shed light on the research questions, the following table is set to provide the operational definition of each sub

categories **(Table 2).**

RESULT AND DISCUSSION : THE DELIBERATION QUALITY OF SUARA WARGA

The Dimension of Equality
Guided by Habermas's idea of inclusiveness, this research regards that in terms of equality, an ideal discussion process should represent the equal distribution of opportunity among participants in articulating their own opinion. In this context, the equal distribution of opportunity can be identified from the equal number of contribution of each participant in posting messages to the forum.

Therefore, the expected number representing the equality of *Suara Warga* is indicated by the average number of messages posted by each of 185 participants, namely 10.98 during the time frame January-July 2009. After being calculated, the frequency of each participant of both discussion forums in posting messages can be presented in the following table:

Table 3. Distribution of Messages and Participants Based on the Category of Contribution

As can be seen in *Table 4*, *Suara Warga* tends to show the

Sub CATEGORY TAG	FREQ.	%
Very Frequent (>100 *e-mails*)	0	0
Frequent (50-100 *e-maisl*)	0	0
Occassional (25-49 *e-mails*)	50	27
Infrequent (5-24 *e-mails*)	30	16.21
Very Infrequent (<5 *e-mails*)	105	56.75
Total	**185**	**100%**

domination of small group of participants posting fewer than 5 messages during the chosen time span.Included in this group are participants classified in the categories of very frequent, frequent and occasional. It means that most participants or 56.7% (105 participants from the total number on 185 participants) sent fewer than 5 e-mails during the time frame.

Regarding the domination of small group in the discussion process, therefore, it can also be stated here that:
1.   The high level of openness seems likely not to attract participant to be actively involved in this public forum.
2.   However, the fact that participants tend not to be classified into categories of very frequent and frequent can be read as a symptom of equality. It means that there is no participants or group of participant dominating the forum.

The Dimension of Reciprocity
As stated before, the measurement of the dimension of reciprocity is aimed particularly to explore the extent to which participants interact with others and at the same time gain awareness of the perspective of others. In order to identify whether the posted messages reflect the principle of interactivity or not, this dimension is operationalized into two main sub categories, namely replying message and single

CATEGORIES	SUBCATEGORIES TAG	OPERATIONAL DEFINITION	QUESTION
EQUALITY	VERY FREQUENT	Participant who sent more than 100 messages	Q1
	FREQUENT	Participant who sent 50-100 messages	
	OCCASIONAL	Participant who sent 25-49 messages	
	INFREQUENT	Participant who sent 5-24 messages	
	VERY INFREQUENT	Participant who sent less than 5 messages	
RECIPROCITY	REDEFINING	A message representing disagreement with certain claim offered in other messages.	Q2
	REESTABLISHING	A message representing agreement with certain claim offered in other message.	Q2
	STAND ALONE POSTING	A message that has no relation to other message	Q2
CONSTRUCTIVENESS 1 (Suggested Frame)	PROBLEM POSING IDEAS	A message focusing on posing the problem	Q3
	PROBLEM SOLVING IDEAS	A message focusing on solving the problem	Q3
CONSTRUCTIVENESS 2 (Problem Identification)	COMMON INTEREST	A message representing common interest-based argument.	Q3
	PARTIAL INTEREST	A message representing partial interest-based argument	Q3
RATIONALITY	LEGALISTIC REASON	A message assigning the legalistic reason to support its own claim or on the contrary to undermine other arguments.	Q4
	SCIENTIFIC REASON	A message assigning scientific or logical reason to support its own claim or on the contrary to undermine other arguments.	Q4
	PRIMORDIAL REASON	A message assigning primordial reason to support its own claim or on the contrary to undermine other arguments.	Q4

claim is very interesting), *saya sangat mendukung pendapat anda* (I support your opinion) and so on.

Furthermore, the coding result of subcategories included in the dimension of reciprocity can be simply tabulated in the following table.

As shown in *Table 5*, 99.41% of all messages posted to the forum are included in the sub-categories of redefining message and reestablishing message, whereas there are only 0.59 % of all messages included in the sub-category of stand alone posting message. This proportion indicates obviously the interactive process of communication occurring in the forum.

Besides that, this forum is also signified by the domination of redefining messages (76.23% of all messages posted the forum). The presence of redefining messages dominating the forum may imply two different possibilities. On the one hand, it may imply that the discussion process occurring in the forum is quite conducive for its participants to reconstruct and to criticize different perspectives of others, whilst on the other hand; it may also imply the constraint of the forum to build consensus or collective awareness among the participants. However, it is still too premature to conclude which possibility is reflected in the forum. Therefore, in order to identify the appropriate possibility, it is necessary to correlate the coding result of subcategories of reciprocity to the coding result of the subcategories of constructiveness 2 through which the political interest represented in each message can be identified.

The Dimension of Constructiveness 1 (Suggested Frame)

As implied in the Habermas's idea, the public sphere is an ideal sounding board for common problems that must be solved collectively. In this regard, it is not enough for the participants of a certain forum representing public sphere to merely identify problems. They should also actively suggest possible solutions.

Along with the idealization of the public sphere as stated above, all messages posted to the forum are classified into two sub-categories based on the suggested frame represented in those messages. Both categories are problem posing and problem solving. The classification of those messages is aimed particularly to further evaluate the extent to which both forums present discussions as problem solving processes.

posting message. Furthermore, in order to explore the leaning of messages' content representing how participants respond the perspectives of others, the former sub category is subdivided into subcategories of redefining message and reestablishing message. Therefore, there are three subcategories as the operationalization of the concept of reciprocity dimension, namely redefining message, reestablishing message, and single-posting message.

Regarding the content of messages posted to the forum, the presence of redefining messages can be identified from the use of keywords and catch-phrases such as *tidak sepakat* (disagree), *nggak masuk akal* (irational), *ngawur* (baseless), and so on. In contrast, the reestablishing messages are represented generally from the use of keywords and phrases such as *bisa saja (*it is possible), *setuju (*agree), *pendapatmu sangat menarik* (your

Table 4. Distribution of Messages Based on the Category of Reciprocity

Sub CATEGORY TAG	FREQ	%
Reestablishing	471	23,17
Redefining	1549	76,23
Stand Alone Posting	12	0,59
Total	2032	100%

The distribution of messages classified based on those subcategories can be seen in the following table:

Table 5. Distribution of Messages Based on the Category of Constructiveness 1

Table 6 shows clearly that there is significant difference between the distribution of messages based on these categories.

Sub CATEGORY TAG	FREQ	%
Problem Posing	1647	81
Problem Solving	385	19
Total	2032	100%

As can be seen, *Suara Warga* is dominated by a great number of messages classified in the sub-category of problem posing. In this context, the dominant proportion of those messages can be regarded as the representation of the tendency of most participants to identify problems rather than to solve them. As well, it can be considered as the limitation of the forum to represent the ideal sounding board to solve common problem.

The Dimension of Constructiveness 2 (Problem Identification)

As implied in the previous chapter, one of the desirable features of deliberative discussion is laid basically on the well grounded argument articulated by participants. By regarding that deliberative discussion is also aimed to contribute to the formation of a public conception of common good, therefore, the extent to which the exchanged messages reflect well grounded argument can be measured from the extent to which those messages represent common interest. Along with this regard, it can be stated here that the clearer a certain opinion represents common interest, the more constructive that opinion for the forum.

In order to identify the extent to which both discussion forums reflect constructive discourse, the entire messages exchanged in the forum are classified into two sub-categories, namely common interest based message and partial interest based message respectively. Furthermore, the following table shows the coding result of the dimension of Constructiveness 2 represented in the entire messages of both forums.

Table 6. Distribution of Messages Based on the Category of Constructiveness 2

As can be seen in table 7, *Suara Warga* is signified by the domination of messages classified in the category of partial interest. It means that most participants tend to start their

Sub CATEGORY TAG	FREQ.	%
General Interest	928	45,7
Partial Interest	1104	54,3
Total	2032	100%

arguments from partial interest. In particular, this finding strengthens the former findings about the constraint of the forum in embodying public deliberation as represented by dimensions of reciprocity and constructiveness.

The Dimension of Rationality

Along with the idea of rationality suggested by Habermas,

the extent to which a certain opinion can be categorized as a rational argument depends on the reliability of the reason on which that opinion is based. Furthermore, the reliability of the reason can be measured from the extent to which the reason can be validated in terms of the general truth, so that the interests of those to be convinced are included.

There are three subcategories of messages, which are set out to evaluate the extent to which both discussion forums present rational debate among their participants. Those subcategories are legalistic reason based message, scientific reason based message, and primordial reason based message. In terms of reliability, the categories of the legalistic reason based message and scientific reason based message are regarded as the representation of messages, which can be validated in the light of the general truth. In contrary, the category of primordial reason based message is regarded as the representation of messages that can not be validated in terms of the general truth.

Table 7. Distribution of Message Based on the Category of Rationality

As can be seen in *Table 7*, *Suara Warga* is signified by the great proportion of messages classified as reliable messages. Included in this classification, there are 69.58% of all messages posted to the forum. At this point, the dominating proportions

Sub CATEGORY TAG	FREQ.	%
Legalistic	1017	50,04
Saintific	397	19.54
Primordialistic	618	30.42
Total	2032	100

of reliable messages posted to the forum seem to strengthen the previous assumption that both forums have strategic potential for the embodiment of consensus among their participants. This regard is based particularly on the indication that most participants tend to validate their arguments in the light of general truth by using legalistic or scientific reasons.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Primarily, this research finds that discussion process occurring in the forum represents symptom of public deliberation and at the same time a number of constraint. More or less, the key findings of the tendencies representing in the forum also support the assumption suggested by cyber-pessimists regarding the influence of online anonymity and the lack of face to face interaction to the degree of deliberativeness of online discussion forum. The high degree of subjectivity and impoliteness represented in the use of *ad-hominem* arguments by some participants also strengthen the pessimistic assumption that anonymity will prevent the embodiment of deliberation in the forum.

Although this research seems to have revealed some key-findings to answer the main research problem, it must be admitted that in terms of methodology there are a number of limitation of this research.

First, regarding the simple classification of messages based on the represented interests, this research have not been able to identify the extent to which the diversity of ideological interest represented in the exchanged messages represent the polarization of ideological interests of society in Indonesia.

This identification will be very useful particularly to further evaluate the extent to which both forums are capable to function as virtual public sphere idealized by Jurgen Habermas as the bridge connecting one interest and others. Therefore, it is strongly recommended that future study also survey participants and obtain some sort of socio-demographic profile of those participants so that the exchanged messages can be classified in more specific categories based on the diversity of participants' profile.

Second, regarding the use of qualitative content analysis as the main method to explore the representation of deliberation dimensions in the exchanged messages, this research have not been able to further identify the extent to which both discussion forums contribute to the embodiment of democracy ideals in the broader context of Indonesian political system. This limitation is the consequence of the lack of comprehensive method of analysis employed in this exploration. Regarding this limitation, it is strongly recommended that further studies should also employ other methods of analysis such as survey, interview or focus group discussion involving the representations of discussion participants, government and mass media providing online discussion forum to gather more comprehensive information of how public, government and mass media interpret the strategic functions and contributions of online discussion forums in the democracy practices in the context of Indonesian political system. In this sense, the information from those parties will sharpen the identification of whether online discussion forums function merely as conversational space for their participants to articulate opinions or they can also contribute to the policy making process at the higher level of democracy practices.

ENDNOTES

[1] The Indonesian version of this article has been published in National Scientific Journal Informasi, Vol.1/2010, *Badan Informasi Publik, Yogyakarta,* ISSN 1735-2472

[2] D.Danarka Sasangka is a lecturer of Communication Department, Atma Jaya Jogjakarta University.

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Part A
Social Media and Journalism

Mass Media and Social Media for The Rising of Health Justice in Indonesian's Reformation Era

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Abstract-In Indonesian's reformation era (1998-now), mass media as the fourth state have a significant role in all aspect of society life by structuring issues for public. One of their important roles, that influence social welfare, is that mass media exposes many governmental or nongovernmental injustice practices, including health injustice. Mass media dig up many healthy injustice cases and bring it as the agenda to the audiences which lead or enforce the authority to give the justice for the victims. So was the presumption of the researcher at the beginning of this study.

This descriptive research examines the agenda setting practice of mass media in reporting health injustice case. The analysis was done in two Indonesia's news television station: MetroTV and TVone. It was because the two media gave a big space in reporting "Prita mulyasari case" as the recently most popular cases that took place in the middle of 2009. Prita mulyasari was one of health injustice victim. She got maltreatment from Indonesia's big private international hospital. Unfortunately, Indonesia's court sends prita to jail because she told her friends by e-mail about maltreatment she have got from the hospital. She accused dishonor the hospital name. Thus, mass media exposed this case, which lead many social demonstration insist Prita's freedom. At last, Prita got her freedom after retrial.

Using agenda setting theory it is important to explore how mass media took this case as their agenda? How they set it as the important agenda for Indonesian?

The result if this study showed that both televisions channel selective in reporting the case or issue that they will report. They use internet, the social networking media, as outlets or gatekeepers for choosing the issue which become their agenda. More popular the issue in internet, more opportunity it will become the agenda. After that, mass media set a media agenda that will affect public agenda, and finally affect the policy agenda. This result show us that the relationship between public agenda and media agenda is mutual causation; both media powerful in affecting the public agenda, but the public agenda itself, that appears in internet as social networking media, affect the media agenda. The two media look themselves as the agent of change; as the owner of two media is identified have no mutual relationship with the policy makers. They bring public issue that reflect the public needs, in this case is health justice, as the important things to fulfill by the policy makers.

1. INTRODUCTION

"Do not let this incident happened to others. Especially to children, old man, and infants. Be careful with the luxurious of the hospital and its international title, because the more luxurious the hospital and the smarter doctors who work there, will let them to test the patients, to sale the drug, and to give the injections more frequent than other hospital.

I'm not say all international hospitals like this but I have this kinds of experience at the Omni International. At August 7th, 2008 at 20:30 pm. I with the high heat conditions and headache come to the hospital with my belief that Omni International is the standardized International hospital, which certainly must have a medical expert and good management.

I was asked to the emergency room and they checked my temperature, and the results was 39°C. After that examination of blood platelets and the result was 27 000 with normal conditions is 200,000. I was informed and handled by dr. I (general/ nonspecialist) and I declared compulsory hospitalization. Dr. I do lab work again with my same blood sample and the results still showed the same number, 27,000.

They ask me about specialist doctor I would use. But, I ask for their references because I was totally know nothing about this hospital. Then they gave me dr. H. Dr H examined my condition and I asked Him what kind of illness in my body.

From that night I was given an intravenous drip and injections without explanation or permission from patient or patient's family for what such injections. The next morning, Dr. H informed me that there was a revision of lab results overnight. It was not 27,000 but 181,000 (lab results could be revised?). I was shocked, but Dr. H continues to give instructions to the nurse so the nurse gave me a variety of injection that I didn't know what and without the permission of the patient or patient's family.

I feel really sick, so I asked Him again about my illness and I still get the same answer that I got dengue fever. I really worried because I have 2 children at home who are still toddlers. So I prefer to think positively about the hospital and the doctor and I believe I was treated by a professional International standardized hospital.

...
Regards,
Prita Mulyasari
Alam Sutera"[2]

The paragraph above is citation of Prita Mulyasari's email which made her arrested. Prita Mulyasari, an ordinary 32-year-old mother of two, for allegedly defaming a hospital via an online complaint. She wrote this email in September 2008 after

receiving poor treatment at Omni International Hospital, sharing her experience to friends, which was soon rapidly distributed across internet forums via mailing lists.

Once the email became public knowledge, Omni International Hospital responded it by filing a criminal complaint and a civil lawsuit against Prita. She was then arrested on May 13, 2009, by the Banten Provincial Prosecutor's Office. She was charged under Articles 310 and 311 of the Criminal Code regarding defamation and Article 27 of the ITE Law. Prita faced a maximum six years imprisonment and fines of up to IDR 1 billion as a result of a sending this straightforward email of complaint.

Once the case generated massive public attention, the Tangerang district court that imprisoning Prita began to feel the pressure. Rallies were held across the country by those who empathize with this humanistic case.[3]

This case become a spotlight because the injustice practice in it litigation. Also, it triggered public protest to Indonesia's court and government, and of course to the hospital as the complainant.

Actually there were many health injustice cases which have been happened in Indonesia, but Prita's case was the biggest one in gaining public attention. One of the important aspects of her arrest was the questions it raises in relation to freedom of speech and the right of the consumer to complain about medical services. Another supported factor was mass media that blowed this case up as public agenda. And, how they can met this agenda with public agenda through social media.

Through the collaboration of intensive news in television and public support in facebook as the biggest social networking site that year (Checkfacebook data on November 2009 showed us that facebook users Indonesian was about 11.759.980 people), Prita case versus Omni became the most popular issue of health injustice of the year.

At the end, the Tangerang District Court decided a pure acquittal upon Prita. At the moment public satisfied, wise decision and in line with the aspirations of the public sense of justice. Prita and his family could return to live in peace. Although then Omni won't give up, and then Prita must prosecuted Omni with a sum of money amounting to IDR 204 million. Never imagine before, public really enthusiasts supporting Prita. Movement "Coins for Prita" mobilized, to mock the power of capital and institutions that feared the courts would punish Prita. The movement result not only IDR 204 million, but more than its triple. Media's role very crucial in this movement. Media not only blowed this solidarity up but also connecting many interest in this case, example: where must this coin will save?

2. THEORY AND REFERENCE

The media plays a very important and strategic role in the formation of public opinion because the media can influence public opinion on a particular event. Jalaluddin Rakhmat in his book *Psikologi Komunikasi* (*Communication Psychology)* describing mass communication as a form of communication addressed to some audience dispersed, heterogeneous, and anonymous through print or electronic, so the same message can be received simultaneously and for a moment. Simply put, mass communication is communication through the mass media, where media can categorized into two types, the print media and electronic media. Print media include magazine, newspaper, and tabloid, while the electronic media including television, radio, and internet (Rakhmat, 2001:189).

Since television was found, information from a variety of events around the world, can be seen. Television as communication medium can bring the experience as if vicariously with a broad range of broadcast at the same time. Television is a combination of media to hear (audio) and pictures of life (live visuals) that can be informative, entertain, and educative. As information media, television has a powerful strength to convey a message.

According Kuswandi (1998), the mass media which is considered the most influence their audience in terms of delivery of information is television. The presence of television in people's lives led to a new civilization, especially in the process of communication and dissemination of information and generate a mass social effects that influence social values and human culture. The ability of television to attract the attention of the masses suggests that the media have mastered the distance geographically and sociologically. Information obtained through television broadcasts can be precipitated in the power of human memory longer than the acquisition of the same information, but through other media. The reason is because the information obtained involving two senses, sight and hearing, that simultaneously record information at the same time. Then, the picture presented through television broadcasts is same in form, color, ornament, with visualization of real character or real live.

Dwyer (cited in Majid, 2008) explains that as the audio visual media, television channels able to seize 94% of the entry of information into the human soul, through the eyes and ears. Television is able to make people generally remember 50% of what they see and hear on television screens, although only once aired. In general, people will remember 85% of what they see on television after 3 hours later and 65% after 3 days later.[4]

That's why, television can set what is important thing for public, which was explained by McCombs in his Agenda Setting theory. *Agenda setting* function has been described best by Donald Shaw, Maxwell McCombs, in *Public Opinion Quarteley* (1972), titled "The Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media". These authors write:

Considerable evidence has accumulated that editors and broadcasters play an important part in shaping our social reality as they go about their day-to-day task of choosing and displaying news ....This impact of the mass media—the ability to effect cognitive change among individuals, to structure their thinking —has been labeled the agenda-setting function of mass communication. Here may lie the most important effect of mass communication, its ability to mentally order and organize our world for us. In short, the mass Media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about (Littlejohn,1996: 341).

The agenda-setting function is a three-part linear process. First, the priority of issues to be discussed in media, or media agenda, must be set. Second, the media agenda in some way affects or interacts with what public thinks, or the public agenda. Finally the public agenda affects or interacts in some way with what policy makers consider important, or the policy agenda (p. 342).

Agenda setting is now detailing a second level of effects that examines how media coverage affects both what the public thinks about and how the public thinks about it. This second

level of agenda setting deals with the specific attributes of a topic and how this agenda off attributes also influences public opinion (McCombs & Evatt, in Ghanem, 1997).[5]

The first level of agenda setting deals with the transfer of object salience from the media to the public agenda, whereas the second level of agenda setting involves two major hypotheses about attribute salience:

1. The way an issue or other object is covered in the media (the attributes emphasized in the news) affects the way the public thinks about that object.
2. The way an issue or other object is covered in the media (the attributes emphasized in the news) affects the salience of that object on the public agenda.

Figure 1 shows the difference between the two levels of agenda setting and also illustrates the two hypotheses about second level agenda setting effects.

Figure 1. Two levels of agenda setting and three hypothesized effects[6]
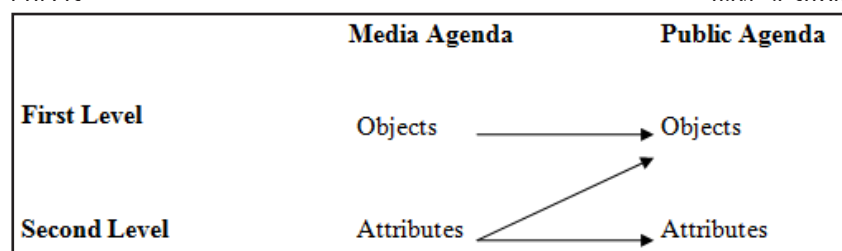
The agenda of objects and the agenda of attributes can be looked at as two concentric circles with the agenda of issues being the outer circle and the agenda of attributes imbedded within that circle. Kosicki (1993) referred to agenda setting as the "shell of the topic." The shell of the topic can be compared to the issues or other object examined, whereas the attributes are an exploration of what is inside the shell.

3. METHODOLOGY

The research method used in this research is a case study. It is a research strategy to develop in-depth analysis with the subject matter "what / if", "how" or "why" about a single case or multiple cases of a contemporary phenomenon with a qualitative approach (Bungin, 2007).

4. RESULT

In Prita's case, a strong correlation was found between the media agenda and the public agenda. We found a considerable correspondence between the agenda of attributes in MetroTV and TVone, and the agenda of attributes in facebook users.

Before we analyze how mass media and social media succeed in making Prita's case as "very important thing to think" let's see the MetroTV and TVone news content about this. As suggested by Noelle-Neumann and Mathes (1987), media content in this case can be examined at three levels: agenda setting, focusing, and evaluation. Agenda setting deals with the importance of issues and problems; focusing deals with the definition of issues; and problems and evaluation deals with the creation of a climate of opinion. In this examination, First level including general issue names, "Prita Mulyasari Case"; second level consist of sub-issues, including problems, causes,

and solution, in this case the frequently sub-issues were about it relation to freedom of speech and the right of the consumer to complain about medical services; and third level contained more specific information about the sub-issues such as the Prita's daily live before and when she arrested, her children need of mother love, etc. also The term agenda setting above can be easily replaced by first level of agenda setting and their second and third levels by the second level of agenda setting.

For the first level, MetroTV and TVone have the same general issue name, "Prita Mulyasari Case". What makes them quite different is how they package the second and third level as the attribute of case. This case was blowing up on the middle of 2009, when Indonesia has a big "party", general election. Although both televisions owner were not the candidate for "first" and "second" man of this country, but they have their own candidate to support. Surya Paloh, owner of MetroTV was affiliate with Jusuf Kalla, while Aburizal Bakrie, TVone, have a strong connection with Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. They package the news in the same way but in their own frame which try to show implicitly that their candidate is the most attentive one to this case. As Berelson said: "Some kinds of communication, on the some kinds of issues, brought to the attention of some kinds of people under some kinds of conditions, have some kinds of effects." (Rakhmat, 2001:198).

The outcome of the media-influence process is complex. The outcome of mass communication may be a product of the interaction among various societal structures and individual needs, desires, and dependencies.

Many researchers, including Ghanem (1996), Iyengar and Simon (1993), have distinguished between the first and second levels of agenda setting by labeling the attributes frames. No discussion of the second level of agenda setting is complete without an extensive examination of media frames. Frames according to Entman (Ghanem in McCombs, 1997) is call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other element, which might lead audiences to have different reaction". The way a Prita Mulyasari is framed might determine how people understand and evaluate the issue. Framing is the selection of a perceived reality. "in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. Entman also argued that "news slant significantly influences public opinion"

Subtopics
Framing Mechanisms
Affective Elements
Cognitive Elements
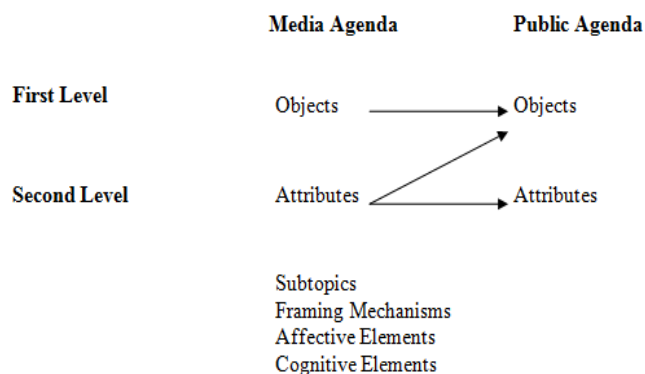
The affective dimension deals with public's emotional response that may result from media coverage. One of the ways that the media exert this affective response is through the narrative structure of the news. Cognitive dimension deals with

general cognitive categories that might shed light on whether the media and the audience are thinking about the problem in the same way.

Media tries to fulfill public attributes that shown in social media. In reporting "Koin untuk Prita" TVone dan metro TV have the same point of view. They also want to show to public that they were concern about government performance as public really concern to the government (including its prosecutors) that seen cannot perform well. In its relation with General Election, both televisions will report something as public think. It is linear with what Littlejohn said: although a number of studies show that the media can be powerful in affecting the public agenda, it is still not clear whether the public agenda does not itself affect the media agenda. The relationship may be one of mutual causation rather than linear causation. Further it appears that actual events have some impacts on both the media agenda and public agenda (1996: 342).

It is also linear with Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann early opinion: "Today, if I were to give an outline of the most important findings of 40 years of research into the effects of the mass media AI have to tell roughly the following: the effects of the mass media appear to be negligible (in Rakhmat, 2001:195)." Her next opinion than can explain the reason Prita's case become public attention; not only affects audience's cognitive but also their behaviour. Neumann explains this powerful of mass media with three important factors: ubiquity, message accumulation, and journalist uniformity.
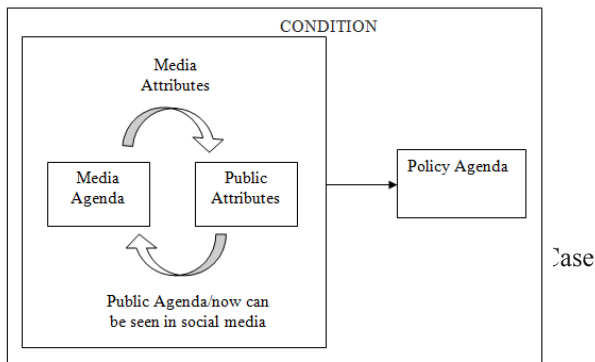
Televisions channel were selective in reporting the case or issue that they will report. They use internet, the social networking media, as outlets or gatekeepers for choosing the issue which become their agenda. More popular the issue in internet, more opportunity it will become the agenda. After that, mass media set a media agenda that will affect public agenda, and finally affect the policy agenda.

The relationship between public agenda and media agenda is mutual causation; both media powerful in affecting the public agenda, but the public agenda itself, that appears in internet as social networking media, affect the media agenda. The two media look themselves as the agent of change, they bring public issue that reflect the public needs, in this case is health justice, as the important things to fulfill by the policy makers.

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[1] Ira Mirawati, S.Sos., M.Si, Lecturer of Communication Management Department, Padjadjaran University. Also a freelance writer in Jawa Barat local newspapers.

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[5] Salma Ganem in McCombs et all, Communication and Democracy, page 4, www.googlebooks, accessed from http://www.google.com/

[6] ibid

[7] ibid

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(Footnotes)

Journalism and Online Media: A Need for New Particular Journalism Ethic?

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Abstract-According to Indonesian Press Council Member, Agus Sudibyo, up to May 2011, Press Council received at least 27 complaints for online media news item. From those complaints, most of them complained about inaccurate news item through online media, while others related to imbalanced news reporting from the same media, inaccurate photo atribution, and also portrayed child in the news outlet. Compared the problem with 'its old brother' – print and television media, problems regarding public complaints remain the same: it touches the issue of inaccuracy and unbalance reporting.

Indonesian press council hold a discussion of journalism ethic and online media in mid May 2011, and some issues are still hot to debate whether the online media need a new particular journalism ethic, to differ them from traditional news media outlet such as newspaper, magazine or television.

This paper wants to explores the pros and cons of the new particular journalism ethic to test the idea of having particular ethic with some respect to the current development in the news room which turn to digital media, with the rise of some news online media, and somehow also change the way journalists and their sources interact. The news publish on the net appear differently to what traditional media publish, where paper is a tangible format that can be brought everywhere, meanwhile online media reside in digital world and intangible in terms of format.

The issue of publishing news item in a short and fast way marks the online media, which create several news item are produced to report on particular event, when one single news item in the morning paper can represent fragmented pictures as online media produce. Can the fragmented pictures on these news item really represented reality as a whole, where in creating reality media finds many obstacles such as; accuracy and imbalance reporting.

This paper relies heavily through bibliographical observation, and will mention some cases where the data is available.

Despite the fast changing media landscape nowadays, including the rise of online media, the use of social media to spread news, and the participatory type of news production which including citizen journalist, we need to make clear some points; those are some questions related to whether ethics still matter in this new media landscape? What ethics do we need in the fast changing situation where information and disinformation blur the limit between them? Particularly, is journalism ethics still valid for tackling new situation these days? Do we need a new media or journalism ethics to respond such situation?

In this paper I want to discuss the relation between new journalism practices through online media and journalism ethic, whether we need new journalism code of ethics to cover new development in the field. We should admit that the rise of online media and social media are already change the way journalist and media organizations in gathering, producing, and distributing news, but again, with these new developments is the old journalism ethics unsuitable to cope with the new and more complex situations?

Agus Sudibyo, a member of Indonesian Press Council in mid June this year, mentioned about some complaints to the Press Council regarding improper online media coverage. From those complaints most of them touched the issue of inaccuracy reporting, unverified and imbalanced reporting. Sudibyo spoke about those complaints in a public discussion, accompanied by two other speakers, both are chief editors of major online media, Detik.com and Vivanews.

Didik Supriyanto, from Detik.com admitted that online news media, like his organizations is in a business where news are now easily published, just within minutes after the event took place. He claimed that "now we can present the event in real time situation.." and I got the sense that for most of news media online, the key to their journalism practices is "presenting news faster". Scrutinizing Supriyanto's claim we can ask about accuracy of the news item from online media? For him, accuracy can follow or can be fixed in next news item. Balancing information from other source also can be done in next news item. But, are these practice fair for those whom already perceived as a corruptor, for instance, or do the audience also follow the next news item to get the whole story presented in a balance way?

We then have to adapt the situation where news in online media only consists for two to five paragraphs, sometimes only have one source person, one sided, and included with sensational words or comments. The Economist is its special report on current News Industry (*The Economist* July 9th, 2011), by quoting Joshua Benton of the Nieman Journalism Lab, wrote that the idea of impartiality in reporting is relatively recent phenomenon, referred the situation in the 19th century the press just started to adopt value of impartiality.

Jan Leach, in his article appeared in *Nieman Reports* Fall 2009 edition, made list of ethical issues rising in journalism world, not only in the US, but also in other parts of the world:

- How will journalists and / or news organizations approach the issue of posting stories on personal or company websites or blogs? If a reporter covering a local business posts negative information or complaints about the business on his news organization's site, does that compromise the reporter's objectivity?
- Is it appropriate for reporters to publish on a personal blog their opinion about a source, an event or a story?
- Does the posting of personal opinion compromise a reporter's fairness? If opinion is discouraged, does that infringe on free expression?
- In a environment where anonymity rules, how is the accuracy

of user-generated content such as tips, articles, photos, and video, to be determined? And how are consumers to be alerted?

- When news organization invite and feature citizen contributions, does publishing these stories on their site transfer "authority" to information that may be biased or incomplete?

One can add more cases related to the situation, but from various cases mentioned above, Leach then concluded four major themes of ethical issues:

· Authenticating sources of information, especially when they are provided by an anonymous source
· Assuring the reliability of information linked sites
· Dealing with conflicts of interests
· Concerns involving lack of oversight or accountability

Other concern was raised by Online News Association (ONA) ONA stated its values by describing: "We believe that the internet is the most powerful communications medium to arise since the dawn of television. As digital delivery systems become the primary source of news for a growing segment of the world's population, it presents complex challenges and opportunities for journalists as well as the news audience" therefore, ONA emphasized five key principles to its organizations:

- Editorial integrity
- Editorial independence
- Journalistic excellence
- Freedom of expression
- Freedom of access

Meanwhile Robert Niles, a writer who wrote a post "What are the ethics of online journalism?" (in OJR – Online Journalism Review – http://www.ojr.org/ojr/wiki/ethics) pointed out several practical principles in dealing with journalism in online media:

- No plagiarism – do not steal other's work, put link if you refer your writing to other's work
- Disclose, disclose, disclose – tell your readers how do you get the information, and what factors influenced you to publish it
- No gifts or money for coverage
- Check it out, then tell the truth – reward your reader with accurate information that stands up to scrutiny from other writers.
- Be honest – honest with your readers and transparent about your work.

Some of values have just presented here, and most of writers mention same theme, related to journalistic integrity, accuracy in reporting, honest in presenting news – including the will to correct false information – avoiding conflict of interests – including the ties between editorial and business side of the same news organization, as heavily discussed by John Pavlik in his *Journalism and New Media* (2001). To compare this situation whether we need new journalism ethic, we can compare to Louis Alvin Day's work (2006), when he once revealed when he discuss 10 major theme regarding ethics and media communication.

· Truth and Honesty in Media Communication
· The Media and Privacy
· Confidentiality and the Public Interest
· Conflict of Interest
· Economic Pressures and Social Responsibility
· The Media and the Antisocial Behavior
· Morally Offensive Content
· Media Content and Juveniles
· Media Practitioners and Social Justice
· Stereotypes in Media Communications

General Ethics and Specialized Ethics

Literature on ethics will give us insight in how we perceived ethics: ethics can be part of the study on morality – on how we define good and bad practice, guidance or norms that can be part of the individual or groups in conducting their action, and ethics also means "a set of principles, known as code of ethics, which differs from one profession to another" (Bertens 1993;6).

Code of ethics usually deal with professionals who has particular and specific occupation in the society, and some professions already had code of ethics, and regularly they define whether sets of principles are still in line this new development in particular profession. As Daryl Koehn (2000:27) once said, professionals are perceived as peoples, who gain public trust since they are expert in their own field, and they serve what public wants to. According to Bertens (1993:278-279) professionals is a moral community who share same ideas, and pursuit the same values, and therefore they have expertise in particular field, and they also have some responsibility as practitioners in the field. Furthermore, Bertens said code of ethics existed to balance negative side of the profession, and this ethics wanted to ensure public trust to this profession, so that public's interest can best guaranteed. In short, code of ethics is like a compass to guide moral values of particular profession and at the same time, being a tool to ensure professional quality in public's eye.

In describing different approaches to ethics, Bertens elaborate one approach what is called as normative ethics (1993:15). Normative ethics is a set of value where people can involve in reviewing human behavior based on their particular norms. This ethic relies on the proactive attitude of the community, and this ethics not only descriptive in presenting the values but also prescriptive one, so that member of the professional community can make judgment at some point, whether particular practice can or cannot be accepted among this moral community. Before making a judgment, this moral community will present arguments to support such act, so the judgment can be used as moral compass among members of the community (Bertens 1993:18).

Furthermore, Bertens divide concept of normative ethics into two: general ethics and specialized ethics (Bertens 1993:18). General ethics refer to basic questions regarding: what is normative ethic? Why those norms tie us as community? What is value and what distinguish normative ethic to other ethic? What kind of relation that tie human freedom and human responsibility? What conditions apply for human so what he / she did can be perceived as good in moral perspective?

Different that general ethics, specialized ethics deal with applying ethical principles in specific human behavior. In this sense specialized ethics can also seen as applied ethics, which direct human behavior in particular sector of life.

Online media code of ethics as part of applied ethics

Back to the problem of dealing with online journalism media, we can see that normative ethic can be applied in looking at the current media development, therefore we need both general ethic and specialized ethic to tackle some problems arise from the

coming of online journalism media and the new interpretation to this new media landscape. Looking back at Day's list of major problem in the media and communication, most of the problem Day's mention are also relevant if we put them into the new media landscape. Basic value for journalism practitioners, as also Kovach and Rosenthiel (2010) mentioned in their latest book, *Blur: How to know the truth in the age of information overloaded*, still refer to values like: integrity, accuracy, fact checking, fair, and balance.

These values can be perceived as basic norm for journalism or general ethics to refer to Bertens' conception. Then in applied ethics here we are dealing with the situation where basic values can be translated into practical rules or working guide line, so that media practitioners can adapt those term into their daily situation. For instance, in dealing with accuracy and honest value, how the online media put them into practice, one story mistakenly mention a person who involved in corruption case, later on the media learn that name of the suspected corruptor is wrong, how will the media announce this error? They can choose whether they will mention the right name of the suspect without announce to public that they initially get the wrong name, or they will announce the error so readers can learn there was a mistake in the previous story. Will the media be honest in announcing the error, or the media can pretend as nothing is happening? Some of the editor from the media might think the reader would not know when they make mistake. In this example, which action that media decide to do in dealing with errors will reflect what attitude that media would show to public, an ignorant media or a responsible one? This procedure can go on to more details in presenting the apology to readers in admitting the error, whether they would put another link related to a news revision or the editors can also decide whether the previous story would be pull back and replace by a more accurate story.

Take another issue of balance reporting. In most of the news in online media when media report conflict between two parties, usually the one news item (at least this is the case in some Indonesian online media) only present one source person. Probably the source person accused other party did the bad thing: corruption, criminal action, and so on. While most of the news should be broadcast immediately, sometimes the issue of balance reporting is needed to have a redefinition. Can we accept the situation where one news item only contain one news source together with his / her accusation against another party, while the party mention cannot be reached at the moment? Should journalist wait for confirmation or balancing the story, before he / she put the news item online? If journalist wait for confirmation, time is already running out, and their site is far behind their competitors as many media practitioners complain, and they need to post it fast, and the confirmation can be done in the follow up stories. Is this act fair to the mentioned party, without giving any confirmation? Is the first party approach the media is presenting the truth? What about the possibility of the people who approach the media first is part of the black campaign activity over his enemy? How can we deal with this situation?

Two examples described above only represent some problems arise from the journalism activity in online media. I believe there some many cases that need to discuss deeply and find a better solution facing the new development in online media and its relation to journalism ethics. Again, I want to emphasizes the need to take two approaches in dealing with journalism ethics in online media: *First*, we should stick to basic value of journalism activity which promotes accuracy, integrity, balance reporting, and honesty, and *Second*, in the latest media landscape development, we need to translate those values into details of procedure that involved journalist should make. These approaches would be a proper respond to face difficult questions regarding journalism integrity in the online or the web 2.0 journalism activity. Other than that, the interactivity of the web today can also present respond or comment from media readers, so small or big mistakes that media made can be traced or can be seen and perceived to mark whether online media present a good quality journalism activity or just media with lots of words which part of the information garbage produced and presented to public unethically.

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Citizen Journalism in Indonesia: The Experience of *Kompas, The Jakarta Post* and *Vivanews.com*

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Abstract- Citizen journalism or journalism by the public has been rising over the decade across the globe. In Indonesia, citizen journalism, which was started by Elshinta radio in 1998, has been adopted by other mainstream media such television and websites. Mainstream media's adoption of citizen journalism here been initiated by different factors. Factors that influence the adoption of citizen journalism are varied between mainstream media, which has their online version, and pure online media. This paper will examine how mainstream media adopted the citizen journalism and how exercise it.

Keywords: citizen journalism, blogs, media convergence

INTRODUCTION

Citizen journalism has been growing worldwide as many mainstream[2] media across the worldadopted citizen journalism as part of their news channels provided to readers.

In Indonesia, the concept of citizen journalism has been on the rise among major mainstream media. It is *Elshinta*, a Jakarta-based news radio station, which initiated the adoption of citizen journalism in Indonesia. The radio station started to fully implement combined news reports by its journalists and listeners in 2000. Its success is reflected in *Elshinta*'s coverage of various natural disasters such as tsunami, earthquakes, and airplane crash.

Elshinta, which transformed itself from a multi-program sation into news radio in 1998,has a network in 60 cities across the archipelago with daily traffic news report from its listeners sending in an average of 1,500 SMS messages. Its registered listeners who send in news have reached 100,000 people as of August 2006 (Kurniawan, 2006). The citizen journalists are not paid although *Elshinta* provided awards for their citizen reporters annually.[3]

Under such a distinguished method, *Elshinta* has become a main reference for newspapers, TV stations and news wires for its immediate breaking news. *Elshinta*now also has its own website at www.elshinta.comand a TV station.

Major mainstream media in Indonesia mostly referred to the success story of *Ohmynews* website when they tried to adopt citizen journalism. The pioneer of citizen journalism has about 63,000 citizen reporters registered in 2010 (n.n., 2010), up from more than 41,000 'citizen reporters' in 2006, along with some 70 paid journalists. Citizen reporter refers to everyone who seeks new development, put them into writing and share them with others. (Oh, 2004)

Ohmynews website started to spread citizen journalism or journalism by the public in South Korea when it implemented the concept for the first time in 2000 and enjoyed a success and a worldwide popularity for being the pioneer.

The birth and the rise of *Ohmynews* were triggered by the fact that TV stations were directed by the President's office despite their status as public TV; and pro-government conglomerates controlled those newspapers. The mainstream media in South Korea were, therefore, not critical of the government although the government has allowed more press freedom in the country since 1987. South Korea is ranked 67th of 196 countries with a free press status in 2010 by Freedom House.

Consequently, ordinary people have little chance to effectively participate in the marketplace of public opinion (Kim & Johnson, 2006). As the Internet is popular among South Korean people, where more than 30 million or two-third of the population are connected to the Internet with high-speed Internet subscribers reaching 23.3 per 100 inhabitants, the unheard voices are able to express their opinion freely. (NIDA, 2010) *Ohmynews* with its concept of 'every citizen is a reporter' caters to this silent majority.

On March 12, 2003, Caroline Gluck reported in BBC (www.bbc.co.uk) that *Ohmynews* was one of the most powerful news services in Korea as it successfully played a part in helping to swing public opinion behind Roh Moo-hyun during the 2002 presidential election campaign. *Ohmynews* founder Oh Yeon Ho sees the outcome of the election as a victory for the alternative media in South Korea.

"In the past, the conservative papers in Korea could - and did - lead public opinion. They had the monopoly. They were against Roh Moo-hyun's candidacy. But *Ohmynews* supported the Roh Moo-hyun phenomenon, with all the netizens participating. In our battle between the conservative media and the netizens of Korea, the netizens won," he said.

Another study on *Ohmynews* has tried to distinguish *Ohmynews* and weblog. According to Min (2005), *Ohmynews* model is different than blog as in *Ohmynews*; citizen reporters have to persuade *Ohmynews*' frontline copyeditors to have their stories accepted in the first place. The media has to reject about 30 percent of daily submissions for various reasons. It also has professional journalist in its offices to write stories although the emphasis is still on citizen reporters. Min called what happened to *Ohmynews* was "an intensively interactive online conversation".

However, *Ohmynews* websites has announced its decision to make a major change of its international section in late 2010. The website decided to narrow down its focus from reporting practically any issues from its citizen journalists across the globe into issues concerning citizen journalism[4].

The website administrators explained that the website has to change due to several problems arouse from flooding stories, which caused difficulties on fact-checking by its editors, and lack of focus. Competition has also been cited as a reason for the website to undergo a change. (n.n., 2010)

In similar stream of difficulties, Kurniawan (2006) found that

mainstream media, mainly print, editorial offices have a long list of questions over the practice of citizen journalism. They cited fear of losing reputation, fear of losing credibility, fear of losing commercial trust, fear of mismatch with the journalist code of ethics and Press Law for their reluctance to adopt citizen journalism (Kurniawan, 2006).

Mainstream media fear that false reports, difficulties in verifying the credentials of citizen reporters as well as their reports, unbalanced report, bias report, and baseless accusations would often occur in stories submitted by citizen reporters, elements that would be better controlled by professional journalists guided by a formal code of practice.

It explains a reason – apart from Indonesian culture to watch and listen more rather than write, low level of education and the widespread use of mobile phones – why a radio station become the first mainstream media for citizen journalism to emerge(Kurniawan, 2006).

Specific obstacles in other mass media platforms also hamper the growth of citizen journalism. Few use of handy cam limits the development of citizen journalism in TV stations, slow internet access gives problem to develop citizen journalism in website, and lack of interactive nature of print media makes them awkward to implement citizen journalism.

Kurniawan' study on the slow adoption of the citizen journalism by mainstream media occurred in mainstream media in other countries as Gillmor (2004) attributes it to their 'innate conservatism' (p. 114) and holds the view that 'when big media companies consider having a conversation with their audience, they tend not to push many boundaries' (p. 112).

Despite the problems, the adoption of citizen journalism in Indonesia has recently seen significant development as shown by the establishment of *Kompasiana*, a public weblog run by Kompas, a national mainstream newspaper, and *In My Opinion* (*IMO*) weblog by The Jakarta Post, an English-daily.Online media such as Vivanews.com also provide citizen journalism channel.

The adoption of citizen journalism by mainstream media - that also go online - and pure online media distinct in the way they initiate and practice it. Mainstream media have more issues to ponder before they initiated and started to exercise citizen journalism. Online media appear to be more flexible in practicing citizen journalism.

Therefore, there are some questions to pose regarding the phenomenon:

·   Howdo Indonesian mainstream media and online media adopt citizen journalism?
·   How do the mainstream and online media exercise citizenjournalism?

This paper is projected as an exploratory study of pointers taken from qualitative interview with editors. Therefore, the questions above are posed, in part, to explore new insights from the editors and set the context for what follows. It will not attempt to provide definitive answers.

METHODOLOGY

A combination of interviews and websites analysis is used to examine the adoption of
the citizen journalism in the form of weblogs run by two mainstream media, Kompas and The Jakarta Post, and a pure online media, Vivanews.com.

The sources are:
·   Pepih Nugraha, the managing editor of *Kompasiana*
·   Moch. N. Kurniawan, Editor of *IMO*
·   Maryadi, Editor of *Ureport and Blog* of Vivanews.com

Nugraha and Kurniawan were selected due to their positions as senior editors at the weblogs owned by major newspapers in Indonesia while Maryadi was selected due to his position as a senior editor managing user generated content in Vivanews.com, a major online media here, which initiated the practice of citizen journalism in online media in Indonesia. (see Lindlof, 1995).

The interviews were conducted in January and April 2011. The semi-structured interviews, which were continued with follow up questions, aimed at investigating the interviewee stance of certain issue (McCraken, 1988).

The authors observed *Kompasiana, IMO* and *Ureport and Blog* of Vivanews.comover a period of 24 hours and visited the websites several times during the day.

FINDINGS

(1) The Weblog Formats

The website analysis identified features in *Kompasiana* and *IMO* and compared them with those in kompas.com and thejakartapost.com, the mainstream media that shelter them. The features in Ureport and Blog were also identified and compared

	Kompasiana	kompas.com	IMO	thejakartapost.com
Headline	√	√	-	√
Highlight/top post	√	√	√	√
Topics of choices	√	√	-	-
The most recommended/editors' choice	√	√	-	√
Latest report	√	√	√	√
Pictures	√	√	√	√
Various topics	√	√	√	√
Postings' Review	-	-	√	-
Top Blogger	-	-	√	-
Video	-	-	-	-

	Ureport	Blog	Vivanews.com
Headline	-	-	√
Highlight/top post	-	√	√
Topics of choices	-	-	√
The most recommended/editors' choice	-	-	√
Latest report	√	√	√
Pictures	√	√	√
Various topics	-	-	√
Postings' Review	-	-	-
Top Blogger	-	-	-
Video	√	-	√

to Vivanews.com

Headline refers to up to five stories or articles that are written in large type in a website or a weblog. The headline section usually carries pictures to describe the stories. If a user clicks the picture, it will lead to the headline story.

Highlight is defined as stories that are read or commented the most by users. Each website's engine is usually capable to record it.

Topics of choice are topics that get the most attention – read or commented – by users.

The most recommended/editor's choice feature is defined as a feature to show postings that are considered good in the view of the editors or administrators for other users to read.

Latest reports are stories/reports that are posted the latest. All postings have the same chance to be put in the category.

Various topics refer to features to put the postings based on the topics they are addressing such as politics, economics/business, entertainment and so forth.

Posting's review points to postings that have been edited by the editors of the website/weblog after they are posted.

Top blogger shows the administrator's choice of blog deemed the most active/interesting.

(2) Attitudes toward Citizen Journalism

The interviews with the two senior editors of the two mainstream media and the online media revealed the difference in some factors thatinfluenced the decisions of Kompas and The Jakarta Post to adopt citizen journalism.

Our findings suggested that the mainstream media management approve the adoption of citizen journalism as a test project *after* learning from the experiences of other media in other countries[5]. Online media already planned to include citizen journalism to complete its content, as it is a part of its efforts to develop audience or communities online.

Kompas.com, a news website which provides the online version of Kompas print paper, launched *Kompasiana* weblog on October 22, 2008. Nugraha initiated *Kompasiana* since he started a blog intended solely for journalists working in media owned by Kompas Gramedia Group (KKG)[6]in 2007. The weblog consists of postings written by KKG journalists only.

Nugraha (2011) said "...It was expected that the (KKG) journalists, who were unable to write (articles) in full, could fulfill their dissatisfaction by writing them instead in the blog. Aside from time and space issues, it also exists because of political reasons…because there are plenty of signals (*rambu-rambu*)".

The weblog was later opened to public because of the limited number of KKG journalists who managed to post their articles to the blog regularly. Nugraha later proposed the establishment of *Kompasiana* to KKG management, which granted the request without visible resistance or doubt as he confirmed "The management entrusted me with everything. The most important is that the management knows what I do"[7]5.

However, KKG management did not grant Nugraha with additional personnel to handle the blog content. Nugraha (2011) admitted, "For one year (since 2008), I was (working) alone. I was the creator, the admin and helped planning the (website) design" although the management assigned IT and creative staff working for Kompas.com to support him[8].

The Jakarta Post management officially launched IMO, its public blog, in August 2010 after starting implementing citizen journalism in 2007 by providing the comment section on the Post website[9].

According to Kurniawan (2011), the challenges *IMO* faces mainly come from The Jakarta Post journalists. Some of the journalists considered blog as dead due to the presence of social networking media such as Facebook and Twitter while others doubted that readers would be willing to post their stories in *IMO* due to language barriers. *IMO* requires its members to post their articles in English while Indonesia's main language is Bahasa Indonesia[10].

After three years implementing citizen journalism in the form of comment section, The Jakarta Post eventually approved the adoption of citizen journalism in a higher level by establishing *IMO*.

Kurniawan (2011) said that the decision was taken "to test the response of The Jakarta Post readers whether they are willing to post articles in English in the blog, to improve The Jakarta Post website traffic and due to the market competition"[11].

The Jakarta Post did not assign any reporter to support Kurniawan in handling the content of *IMO* although it assigned IT staff and administration staff to help the weblog.

Our study suggested that professional journalists still struggle to integrate citizen journalism into mainstream media. Both Nugraha (2011) and Kurniawan (2011) acknowledged concerns from the professional journalists about the quality of citizen journalism. Nugraha said, "The concern of my fellows in mainstream media was that without before-posting moderation and correction, people could write anything...insulting Mr. Jacob (Oetama, the founder and owner of KKG), insulting Islam, insulting Christianity...(the blog) becomes a trash bin". Therefore, the first approach adopted by *Kompasiana* to overcome the fear was by applying moderation to all articles before posting them to the weblog. The Jakarta Post journalists also rose the same concerns, according to Kurniawan (2011), "They thought that the Post must select well known bloggers to blog instead of accommodating all readers in a public blog that may jeopardize *IMO* quality due to various errors in readers stories."

However, *Kompasiana* later stopped the before-posting moderation due to their registered citizen reporters' disappointment because:

"The culture of online writers is that they want to have their articles published once they finish writing the articles just like writing their status in Facebook that does not need the approval of the Administrator" (Nugraha, 2011).

To avoid possible problems, *Kompasiana* decided to apply "post-posting moderation" that allows the Administrators to kill a published post deemed "trash"[12]. *Kompasiana* considers their registered members as "tenants" of the weblog, thus requiring them "to behave" in accordance with Kompasiana values and regulation (Nugraha, 2011). *Kompasiana* is equipped with a feature "report this post" in each article to enable users to report any "trash" article. The Administrators have full authority to kill the reported "trash" articles.

Questions about the credibility of *IMO* also exist especially when the number of *IMO* bloggers is growing. Kurniawan (2011) admitted that during the journalism and blogging trainings for university students, some participants raised several questions about those who should take the responsibility for stories in *IMO* and how *IMO* deal with stories that are considered racist or insulting.

IMO has a disclaimer to inform users that they must take full responsibility for their own stories, opinions, photos, cartoons/illustrations and videos, as they are neither edited nor fact-checked before they are posted. *IMO* also requires users not to post insulting, unethical, abusive, slanderous or offensive stories on the weblog.

IMO applies post-moderation for all postings. *IMO* administrator reserves the right to warn *IMO* users, delete their stories, or ban them from *IMO* (Kurniawan, 2011)[13].

IMO also provides editing for some posts that are considered top posts. The editing is done after the publication of the posts. Blog review section aimed at helping *IMO* bloggers to realize their grammatical errors and the quality of their writing, which will further send a signal to *IMO* bloggers that they must meet the standard set in *IMO* blog review (Kurniawan, 2011).

One of the main problems cited by both Nugraha (2011) and Kurniawan (2011) is about the identity of the users. Many users registered fake names and posted pictures of cats instead of their real faces to be able to send their post in the weblogs.

Kompasiana has set a tool to verify its members. It also requires its members to be verified members should they want their posts to be put on the headline section or highlight section[14]12.

IMO editor/administrator believes that regular after-post monitoring, along with observation from other bloggers, could minimize the *IMO* blogger identity issue and avoid legal problems.

Vivanews.com set up *Ureport* after it launched the news portal in August 2008[15]. Maryadi said that Vivanews.com realizes the importance of developing an online community to support its operation. Initially, Vivanews launched a forum to enable its users to interact. *Ureport* and Blog came after the forum has been established and operating.

In its initial stage, Vivanews.com assigned Maryadi to handle Vivanews.com forum and *Ureport* as it has set up the infrastructure to accommodate user-generated content Vivanews later assigned three reporters to support Maryadi in handling Vivanews.com forum, *Ureport* and Blog.Vivanews.com forum, *Ureport* and Blog are channels within Vivanews.com portal.

According to Maryadi, *Ureport* and Blog were created for different purposes. *Ureport* is a channel for Vivanews.com users to feed their original stories to the news portal while Blog is dedicated to publish stories deemed interesting originated from the personal blogs of its users[16].

Citizen journalism gains full support from Vivanews.com management. It also finds no opposition from the journalists. According to Maryadi (20110), Vivanews.com management and journalists "believe that it will be useful for a media outlet to get information from anyone".

Despite the full supports from the management, Vivanews.com also imposes post-moderation to all story feed by its users as "there are often inappropriate postings". Most of the "inappropriate postings" come from content from Vivanews.com forum. "Inappropriate postings" refer to postings that contain words or pictures deemed not ethically suitable as well as spam.

Vivanews.com also publishes disclaimer to the forum, *Ureport* and Blog to announce that it could not be held responsible for the content feed originated from its users. According to Maryadi, this move "is very substantial to maintain our credibility".

(3) Citizen Journalism Practices: The Miracle of Social Media and Offline Engagement

Kompasiana managed to attract 50,000 registered members as of January 7, 2011. As many as 30 percent of them involve actively, meaning they post and give comments and inputs to other articles. The active members produce 400 to 600 articles a day, or above the articles published by Kompas.com that only reach around 300. Kompas.com publishes articles produced by their journalists and also from various media under KKG group. The monthly page view of *Kompasiana* is around 4.8 million (Nugraha, 2011).

As of January 4, 2011, *IMO* recorded 457 registered users and 787 posts. From October to December 2010, *IMO* has received over 25,000 page views.

Based on *IMO* Google analytics data as of Jan. 4, 2011, 35.66 percent of *IMO* visitors are direct visitors, 53.03 percent from the Jakarta Post website (http://www.thejakartapost.com), 4.61 percent from Google, 2.95 percent from Twitter and 0.83 percent from Facebook.

Our study found that social media become the main force of the growth of users of *Kompasiana* and *IMO* as confirmed by Nugraha (2011), "This is the miracle of a blog that is equipped with features share on..Facebook, Twitter, Plurk, Digg, Delicious and many other social network including share on RSS-feed". *Kompasiana*'s engine enables automatic share-on Twitter of its articles, apart of manual share-on button that must be pushed by the users.

Nugraha acknowledges the existence of various gadgets with different kinds of applications that enables users to access *Kompasiana* in their mobile devices.

IMO promotes itself via Twitter and Facebook while also promoting through the Jakarta Post website, which has around 30,000 visitors a day, and exchanging links with other blogs.

Twitter has been *IMO* favorite online promotion tool as it provides *IMO* a control to check how many stories in *IMO* are retweeted when *IMO* stories are posted on *IMO* twitter account and The Jakarta Post twitter account. The further impact is that usually people comment on stories in *IMO* and then join *IMO* (Kurniawan, 2011).

The study suggested that both *Kompasiana* and *IMO* still feel the need to engage their users offline. *Kompasiana* conducts regular blog workshop, monthly discussions, anniversary celebration and *kopi-darat* (offline meeting of online users).

User engagement is considered an important tool to promote and maintain loyalty of the blogs users because "Users are not dead substance. The content their produced is dead but the users are not. They are people who need to be approached, engaged and encouraged" (Nugraha, 2011).

IMO main effort to make public aware of its presence is by going to campuses. *IMO* has cooperated with two to four universities monthly since October 2010 including Bogor Agriculture Institute (West Java), Paramadina University (Jakarta), Parahyangan University (Bandung), Swiss Geman University (Banten), and Petra Univ (Surabaya) to hold an English journalism and blogging training.

The training is not merely beneficial to build the brand awareness of *IMO*. Participants, who become *IMO* bloggers, also could improve their English writing skill and how to blog.

"We expect that the journalism and blogging trainings will have a snowball effect. The more we do, the more [Indonesian]

people know *IMO* and the more people write in English," Kurniawan said.

Another way to make bloggers feel that *IMO* is valuable for them is by creating a blog review section where *IMO* editors helped by native copy editors randomly choose stories from *IMO* bloggers and review the content as well as the use of English in the stories.

The blog review enables *IMO* bloggers to learn from their mistakes by comparing the copy-edited version with the original version, and their stories areexpected to improve everyday. At the same time, with the blog review section, *IMO* is setting writing standard that should be met by *IMO* bloggers.

Our study found that *Kompasiana* managed to attract advertisers following therise of its users. Nugraha (2011) raised his convidence that *Compassion*would manage to bring more advertisers to his organization as he confirmed; "*Kompasiana* has managed to contribute financially to Kompas.com".

Kompasiana, however, refused to put on common advertisement banners in its weblog because "it is annoying and a bit impolite" (Nugraha, 2011). *Kompasiana* requires advertisers to buy its ads package, which is in the form of micro sites[17]13.

Usually, the advertisers hold writing competitions for *Kompasiana* members. In 2010 alone, *Kompasiana* secured six advertisers, including Nokia and Acer. In 2011, it has secured sponsorship from Telkomsel to finance its blog workshops across the country.

As of January 2011, *IMO* is still nurtured by The Jakarta Post. However, it has projected a business model that may be made in the form of sponsorship banners and online shops. Kurniawan (2011) believes that *IMO* will be able to attract advertisers who seek "niche market"

Vivanews forummanaged to generate traffic from its users. Up to August 15, there are 107,859 thread in the forum, which generated 1,319,337 posts from its 199,975 active members. Vivanews.com forum records 215,678 members in total, including those who are silent members.

Ureport and Blog make use of social media, Twitter and Facebook, to promote itself while Vivanews.com also take benefit from promotion through mainstream media, including from companies under the Bakrie group.

Vivanews.com also design special offline events to engage its forum, *Ureport* and Blog users. It conducts regular meeting, anniversary celebration and get-together. Such activities are important to develop and maintain the online community, which become "the basis of existence" of the news portal (Maryadi, 2011).

DISCUSSION

Unlike the majority of mainstream media that face opposition from their ownjournalists, editors and management when implementing citizen journalism, *Kompasiana* has gained full support from the KKG management, most specifically Kompas newspaper and Kompas.com, with the public weblog project. It also confirms that Kompas journalists embrace a new value by accepting citizenjournalism along with the stories produced by their own professional journalists. They seem to have accepted that blogging can play a role in journalism, albeit less for a conversation with the audience (Gillmor, 2004) and more as a way of complementing the mainstream media (Paul, 2006).

IMO experienced different condition because it did not get a full support from their journalists, editors and management. There are still doubts that *IMO* can grow. Such resistance has also been observed in a number of mainstream media newsrooms in other countries such as in the United Kingdom (Thurman, 2007), Belgium (Paulussen & Ugille, 2008) and other countries (Domingo, Quandt, Heinonen, Paulussen, Singer and Vujnovic, 2007)

At present, the *IMO* member growth is not as high as *Kompasiana* because the scale of *IMO* journalism and blogger's trainings has not yet reached many campuses across the country; therefore, not many people are aware of *IMO*. Besides, the use of English language in *IMO* is a barrier for many Indonesians to join *IMO* compared to *Kompasiana*, which uses Bahasa Indonesia.

The management of the mainstream media that shelter *Kompasiana* and *IMO* appeared to share the same attitude toward citizen journalism. They agreed to give the adoption of citizen journalism a test, thus approving to provide limited fund for the projects. In the case of *Kompasiana,* the management agreed that the adoption of citizen journalism is a necessity.

However, it takes The Jakarta Post management three years before giving a green light to the launch of *IMO*. Its approval was partly because of the presence of a new competitor in the English newspaper market in Indonesia.

The case of Vivanews.com is different to that of Kompas. com and The Jakarta Post because the media outlet was developed as a news portal, which targets Internet users as its main audience.

It does not mean that Vivanews.com found absolutely no difficulties in developing citizen journalism in its portal. There has been limited number of original postings addressed to *Ureport* channel. Therefore, although Maryadi (2011) said that *Ureport* is set up to accommodate original postings from its users, some of *Ureport* postings consist only of a couple of paragraph from stories originated from personal blogs of its users.

News organizations keep on retaining the traditional gate-keeping roles of journalists although they are embracing citizen journalism (Hermida & Thurman, 2007). *Kompasiana, IMO*and *Ureport/*Blogimplement after-posting moderation as a mean to control their respective weblogs after they attempted to apply before-posting moderation.

Kompasiana, with more than 400 stories being posted, finds it difficult to maintain the speed of updating the blog, dynamic interactivity among bloggers, and check the accuracy of each story if editors apply before-posting moderation. The after-posting moderation offers all of the public blogs needs ranging from ensuring the speed of stories updating and dynamic activity among bloggers without delay while at the same time editors could check stories that are insulting, provoking, and not appropriate based on their own finding and readers complaints. *IMO* and *Ureport/*Blogalso implements the after posting moderation from the beginning because of the same reason.

IMO editors still retain their control to edit both the content and grammar of the postings that are projected to run on the Jakarta Post twitter account @jakpost and *IMO* twitter account @blogIMO. This finding is in line with a research conducted by Deuze (2003) that shows that news organisations tend to expand their operations to the Internet based on their existing journalistic culture, including the way they relate to the public.

Despite such after-posting moderation, there is a possibility for readers to sue a *Kompasiana,* an *IMO* blogger or an *Ureport/* Blog feeder if they found, for example, stories deemed defaming them. Such a defamation case possibility can be reduced if the after-posting moderation is conducted regularly everyday. In a bid to reduce the possibility of face possible lawsuits, Kompasian, IMO and *Ureport*/Blog put a disclaimer in the weblogs to assert that editors are not responsible for any stories posted by the bloggers and that editors can remove insulting, provoking stories. Such a disclaimer is something what Thurman (2006) called a reflection of "editors' continuing concerns about reputation, trust and legal issues".

Despite such concerns, however, it is an interesting fact that Kompas, The Jakarta Post and Vivanews issue a policy to publish postings from its citizen journalists. The policy only applies to postings that have been reviewed/edited by the mainstream media's editors.

It appears that mainstream media attempt to control postings from their citizen journalists, which is contrary to the ideas that mainstream media and blogs could "complement rather than replace each other rather" (Schmidt, 2007).

But there are two certain factors that make public blog grow: the use of mobile phone and social networking media. Due to the country's mobile phone users that reached more than180 million (n.n., 2010) and the popularity of Facebook and Twitter among Indonesians, public blogs like *Kompasiana, IMO* and *Ureport/* Blog can easily promote themselves.

Kompasiana has done it by establishing the mobile version (http://m.kompasiana.com) and its managing editor admitted that mobile version of *Kompasiana* helps the public blog grow as public doesn't have to access it at a certain place by using a personal computer or laptop.

IMO has yet to have a mobile version and it becomes one of the reasons why *IMO* member growth is slow. It is also evident that the use of mobile phone to read the mobile version of mass media, blogs, and social networking media has begun to change the habit of Indonesians from talking culture to reading and writing culture.

Ureport/Blog has yet to have a mobile version. However, Vivanews.com has it and it also provides applications for Blackberry and tablet (Apple Ipad, Samsung Galaxy, Blackberry Playbook etc) users.

Kompasiana, IMO and *Ureport/Blog* have admitted the effectiveness of using social media networking such as Facebook and Twitter to promote stories from Kompasianers, *IMO and Ureport/Blog* bloggers. Kurniawan, for example, said one story in *IMO* bloggers could be retweeted more than 500 times when it is posted in twitter. The reason the two public blogs utilize Facebook and Twitter is understandable since Facebook and Twitter are so popular in Indonesia with Facebook population in the country reaching more 32 million (Burcher, 2011) and Twitter user reaching more than 6 million. (Wisnubrata, 2010) As the number of mobile phone, Facebook, and Twitter users is still growing, *Kompasiana* and *IMO* will likely enjoy the same growth.

On advertisement, *Kompasiana* can have a business model by asking corporate to become sponsors in writing competitions via *Kompasiana* due to a high number of users. The advertisement rate is competitive as the writing competitions are produced in a micro site, which could draw traffic not only to *Kompasiana,* but also to the sponsors. Meanwhile, *IMO* has not yet moved to

become a commercial site as it still concentrates on increasing the number of users. However, it has planned to use banner for advertisement and open an online shop among readers, which might be potential revenue, as the readers have known each other's through their writings.

Maryadi (2011) said that Vivanews.com forum, *Ureport* and Blog have yet to be able to generate financial profit for Vivanews.com. However, they manage to cooperate with other companies to create offline events aim at maintaining their online users.

CONCLUSION

The practice of citizen journalism in Indonesia has reached a new level as Indonesian mainstream media have adopted it in full as shown by the establishment of *Kompasiana* and *In My Opinion* by two respected newspapers, Kompas and The Jakarta Post, as well as *Ureport*/Blog by Vivanews.com.

Although the mainstream media's management and editorial force have embraced citizen journalism, it appears that concerns mainly about the legal and quality issues remain existent.

The uses of after-posting moderation and the disclaimer or regulations have been considered as the proper ways to minimize the legal and quality problems. However, while the mainstream media appears to take a distance with citizen journalism in term of legal issues, they would not hesitate to use citizen journalists' postings in their media outlets.

The adoption of citizen journalism in Indonesia is expected to grow. Future research may consider the exploration on the various contexts on how the mainstream media adapt to citizen journalism or vice versa.

ENDNOTES

[1] First version of this paper has been presented at the International Communication and New Media Technology organized by Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta on February 17, 2011 in Surakarta, Central Java

[2] In this paper, mainstream media refers to media that involve in the agenda-setting. *Kompasiana* and *In My Opinion (IMO)* were selected because they are a part of mainstream newspapers owned by Kompas and The Jakarta Post. *Ureport/* Blog was selected because it is owned by Vivanews.com, which is a part of a media giant that runs two television stations and a score of other media.

[3] *Elshinta* radio station gives "We Listen" Award annually to listeners (citizen reporters) who report news to the station as part of its respect to the listeners' news contribution. The Award is divided into two categories: news quality, and news quantity.

[4] Bowman & Willis (2003) defines 'citizen journalism' as an act where ordinary people take an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information.

[5] Nugraha (2011) referred to Ohmynews website, the establishment of Web 2.0 (see O'Reilly, 2005), the use of social media by victims who were taken hostages during the Mumbay hotel attack in 2008 and the publication of books about citizen journalism when he was asked why Kompas decided to adopt citizen journalism. Kurniawan acknowledged that *Ohmynews* website and *Elshinta* radio station were used as references for the adoption of citizen journalism by The Jakarta Post.

[6] KKG owns a score of newspapers, including Kompas newspaper and local newspapers. Apart from it, the group also publishes a number of print magazines and tabloid and runs radio stations and a TV content provider called KompasTV. KKG launched Kompas.com some 15 years ago. Its page view reaches 40 million a month.

[7] Kompas.com had integrated citizen journalism in its articles through "comment" feature and its well-known section Kompas Kita, or KoKi. However, Kompas.com management decided to suspend KoKi as it had different nature with Kompasiana, including the full moderation of the Administrator

[8] Since 2010, Nugraha has been assisted by four staff serve as Web Administrators to manage the content of Kompasiana

[9] The Jakarta Post newspaper was first launched in 1983. It later launched its website in 1999. The website carries news stories produced by The Jakarta Post reporters that are published in the print paper. The website also publishes stories taken from selected news wires.

[10] English is mainly used in private sectors and universities in major cities in Indonesia. Writing in English requires more effort than speaking English. Writing has always been a big concern for Indonesians because of the dominance of talk culture. People from other countries with English as their main language would not have difficulty to write at *IMO*, but *IMO* initial and main target is Indonesian people.

[11] The Jakarta Post is the only English newspaper in Indonesia since late mid 2000 until the birth of Jakarta Globe English daily in November 2009.

[12] "Trash" articles are those insulting others without sufficient basis and those confronting SARA (an Indonesian acronym of ethnicity, religion, race and groups. The New Order government often used SARA arguments to maintain public order). Before killing a post, *Kompasiana* administrators are required to inform it to the writer through a message. Nugraha (2011) said that he once banned the membership of a *Kompasiana* reporter because the reporter promoted the establishment of a state within the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. Before banning the membership, Nugraha directly met him to discuss about the issue and inform about the banning because the reporter insisted to uphold his view.

[13] *IMO* editor/administrator had to delete several *IMO* blogger accounts as they posted commercials about gadgets, bags, toys, or watches. So far, *IMO* editor and administrator have yet to find and remove

sensitive stories or stories that against law.

[14] *Kompasiana* requires users to register themselves, thus registered members, before they are able to post or comment. The blog also sets a further verification method to ensure the identity of its registered members. According to Nugraha (2011), *Kompasiana* has a plan to use the reports of its verified members for Kompas.com should the reports considered newsworthy.

[15] Vivanews is run by PT Viva Media Baru, which is a part of PT Visi Anak Bangsa of the Bakrie group that operates ANTeve and TVOne stations.

[16] Vivanews.com uses Vlog after Vivanews log for content feed coming from personal blogs. Vlog aims at promote, share and increase traffic of the personal blogs. Vivanews.com will publish only a couple of first paragraphs of the story and provide link to the blog.

[17] Microsites refers to sites within a site. Kompasiana set up microsites of the advertisers to enable them publish their promotional articles, including the writing competition.

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Part F
Political Movement

The role of Mass Media in the Recent Political Shifts in the Middle East and North Africa

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Abstract: Discussion of the political effect of media has focused on the mass protests power to overthrown of the governments. People protested and brought down governments before Facebook was invented. They did it before the internet came along. But internet as a virtual space including Facebook, Twitter and YouTube considered as a fundamental shift in the people's political life. Citizens of Middle East unprecedented feel the recent outrageous events in the region by using social network websites like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. Indeed social networks changed the methods of relationship between people and try to make a global social integrity through the virtual space. In order to show the important role of virtual space in the recent political shifts in the Middle East and North Africa it would be noted that in some part of the region which was under turmoil and political unrest like Egypt and Tunisia, Facebook and Twitter logo were used as opponent's flag instead of their national flag. Facebook and Twitter role clearly can be seen in uprising and overthrown of dictators in Egypt, Tunisia and turmoil and spreading of sensitive information at the national context in Iran, Syria, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Libya. The virtual space of the internet is making possible the real political shifts. Keywords: Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Middle East, Political Shifts.

INTRODUCTION

A few short months ago the Middle East began a process of convulsive political change unlike any the region had witnessed in memory. Fueled by a heady mix of rage, frustration, hope, and promise, millions took to the street to shake the foundations of the modern Arab state. Though connected by new technologies, their commitment to direct action hearkened back to revolutions from decades past[1] **The new prospects offered by the virtual space for the political expression, communication and political perspectives. The reason why political dialogue has migrated to the Internet is clearly obvious. Approximately in every Arab state in the Middle East and North Africa, a rigid state control on the media, films and books extremely limits freedom of expression. However, there are two sets of questions that is raised; what consequences have this free-wheeling political dialogue and discussion in virtual space having on real life politics? How actual politics is changing by the internet?[2]**

Long Lasting social ills - suppression from the top and political and economic dissatisfaction from below - are the major reasons of protests and turmoil at the whole Arab world, North Africa and Middle Eastern countries. The victory of the revolutions in the Arab world is beginning to alter the perspective of the region and of the willpower of its people to look for freedom and democracy on their own terms. Throughout the social media, the Arab citizens individually and jointly are modify and redefine their own narratives, and declared their capability to peacefully stimulate alteration and insist for universal rights.[3] Although some Arab countries, notably Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Tunisia, either censor what websites can be seen in their countries or monitor what people are looking at on the Web, the Internet has become a valuable tool for Arabs to reach beyond the borders of the state-controlled press.[4]

Thinking of this moment as a ''Facebook &Twitter Revolution'' only demeans the challenges the protesters and populations are prevail. Without internet or Facebook and Twitter around, would the revolutions still have occurred?[5]

Arab leaders have long acknowledged the danger caused by the internet, and made efforts to control virtual space activities by establishing filters and limitations. The continue role of the social media in the Middle East politics seems assured. Approximately half of the populace of Iran, Yemen, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, morocco and Egypt consist of under aged 25. These young people seem to leading the Middle East in a new order, enabled with the technologies they know best. Social media is chronicling and strengthen the revolution that is happened on the streets. In fact, as **Jeffrey Ghannam** noted "if the pen - or the click - is mightier than the sword, then social media and mobile technology represent a new and welcome way forward".[6]

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN POLITICS

What role do the powerful new media play in Politics? The short and long term effects cannot be denied. But do the new media offer us political information or simply entertain us for profit and ratings?

Social media has changed politics in many ways. Bad words in any small land community can become national television news when someone decides to share an interview through YouTube. It's both good and bad. Bad for journalists who want to keep copyright to materials they have used, but certainly good for democracy since events can be shared all over the globe without any time delays for media to reach other parts of the world. It is a big challenge for established news media that were used to being the only source people listened to, and now they have to adapt to the fact that we are all journalists in one form or another.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The media plays a great role in the life of human beings both individually, and at the massive levels. According to Ross Howard, "Media here refers to the several mediums

or channels used in an organized fashion to communicate to groups of people".[7] They can provoke the situation; or they can use their considerable power to reduce tension. In other words, they can be part of the problem, or they can be part of the solution. Practically, they are usually both.[8] The effective role of the media is also emphasized during times of conflict; the broadcast of pictures and news stimulate people and create a kind of psychological warfare. The media serves as a source of information for both citizens and political elites. At the same time, it is used as a tool to influence and create public opinion that takes either an opposing or affirming position on a certain issue. The media is a double-edged sword, and the way of using it depends on the parties who have control of it. As Howard noted, "The news media is a curious instrument. It can be a weapon of war, or can uphold prospects for peace".[9] The role of the media on the global level represents a tool to set a worldwide agenda.[10] In the Middle East, the media is much more controlled by the governments than in other parts of the world, and active censorship is widespread.[11]

There is nearness in relationship between democracy and the news media. In this perspective, the function of the news media is seen as providing society with reliable information on which they can make political choices, crucial to a healthy democracy[12]. This is a significant consideration given that 'modern political practices are made possible through mediated political communication in most democratic societies'. There have been detractors who suggest the media performs poorly in this role and that election coverage is superficial and overdramatized. This, along with negative campaign advertising, they suggest is responsible for falling voter turnouts. Yet the link between the media and politics is unshakeable.[13]

Through repeated news coverage, the media are able to set the importance of certain issues in the public's mind, and that while the media might not directly affect how the populace thinks about political issues, it does affect what subjects people think about, thereby establishing what political issues people consider important[14].

Few people can deny that social media has enabled the most considerable progress in freedom of expression and association in current Arab history. Throughout the turmoil, social media aggregated disseminated and expedited crucial news and information. But in the end, Facebook and YouTube are tools - and tools alone are unable to bring about the changes the world has witnessed in latest months. So do not confuse tools with motivations.

With large amount of unemployed Arab populations, who are marginalized and feeling powerless to change their futures under totalitarian governments that were increasingly out of touch, all the elements for turmoil were there; social media helped make the grievances all the more urgent and difficult to ignore. All over the world, activists believe in the value of these tools and as a result take steps to utilize them accordingly. And the regimes they contend with think social media tools are influential, too, and are willing to harass, seize, expel, or destroy users in response.[15]

POST-MASS MEDIA: THE TECHNOLOGY KNOWLEDGE REVOLUTION SERVICE

The media scene into which these generations are maturing is changing. If the signature communicative relationship of the mass media revolution in the Middle East was reception, under a regime of one-to-many senders to receivers or mass audiences for state monopoly broadcasters, the counterpart of post-mass media is more interactive communication in which the senders multiply and social distance between senders and receivers diminishes by a confluence of an increasingly up-market populace with down-market technologies. New media — like the cassette recorder but also widening accessibility of mobile phones, multichannel television but also pulp fiction, comic books, pamphleteering, and, on the horizon, the Internet — share a general characteristic. They level the communication playing field between sender/producer and recipient/consumer of messages. The dramatic instance, not recognized at the time, of sermons of Ayatollah Khomeni and other banned religious figures circulating via cassette in pre-revolutionary Iran, has been joined by not only the popular circulation of sermons today, but also folk music, pirated commercial recordings, and in periods of revolution "night letters" (*shab-name*) as the originally written versions were called. These technologies are linked, as the delivery of Khomeni's sermons via telephone from France demonstrated a generation ago, or the mix of amateur and pirated commercial material in any cassette-shop today. Convergence is happening on the street and in homes. Moreover, messages cross boundaries between media and thereby find new audiences, new circulation to additional social networks. The sharing of cassettes signals trust and complicity, not so much in the content of the messages, which are incomplete in themselves, but in circulating them even before individual consumption of their contents. But now things have changed quite a lot; Currently in the Middle East models for structuring and providing access to the broadcast media are applied to the Internet. Much initial concern over the Internet in the region has focused, from those in authority positions of all sorts from head of state to religious spokesmen to head of family, on "culturally inappropriate" content. [16]

Today's typical user in the Middle East, according to a publisher of regional computing magazines, is young, male, technical, and has access to the Internet at work. In other words, he is in the business, and business is a starting point for much Internet development in the region. The significance of the Internet, and of the Internet as a model for New Media, is to bring new people into the political sphere into which are built values and experiences of those who build this space. In this context, Facebook and twitter is said to be extremely popular, with its opportunities for role-playing as well as for communication that is otherwise restricted, such as by gender differences, in "real life." More consequentially, a range of potential political successors is emerging with savvy in and commitment to new media models, such as for industrial development.[17]

Facebook and Twitter:

Facebook playing a starring role in the revolts that overthrow governments in Tunisia and Egypt and uprising in Syria, Yemen, Libya and Iran. The popular social networking site is becoming more than just a cyber-meeting place, growing into a powerful tool for political and social alteration. Facebook offers a "virtual" platform for the development of political and social causes, and is quickly turning into a hotbed of "actual" activism - a cause for alarm for many autocratic regimes in the Middle East attempting to block it and curtail its reach. Other social media tools, like YouTube and Twitter, also played major

roles in Tunisia, Egypt, Iran and Syria, particularly when the protests broke out. But Facebook was the major tool used in Egypt, first to share reports about police abuse and then to build an online community that was mobilized to join the 'Jan. 25 protests'.[18] Protesters gathered in many places around Cairo to make difficult efforts to control them. They misled the police by announcing then rapidly changing locations, alert demonstrators to new sites by Twitter, text message and cell phone[19] Hosni Mubarak considered to blocking Facebook because of its increasing popularity amongst Egyptian youth. They found new methods to check, censor, slow or, when they feel eventually threatened, shut down the internet totally and cut the country's link to the worldwide internet almost completely, but The most interesting issue in Egypt was, "There are always [censorship] issues and everyone's aware of that, but Egyptian citizen journalists are known for crossing those boundaries and red lines." Mubarak's downfall after three decades of rule showed that the power of social media sites including Facebook, Twitter and mobile phone technology proved a far bigger threat to the former Egyptian president.[20]

Assad government in Syria has mobilized an "electronic army" to go on offensive violence against the growing opposition there represent the latest iteration of the government's attempt to add internet access suppression to their repression tool kit[21] and blocked Facebook due to an anti-regime, e-mail spam campaign channeled through the site in 2007 and a law has been drafted to regulate online media, requiring them to register and to submit their writing for government review. But savvy Syrians, assisted by cyber-colleagues from out of the country, succeeded in penetrate the government's censorship. Large amount of Web sites have been blocked in Syria since the initiation of the Syrian Internet by the Bashar al-Assad in 2000. During the past eight years, the rate of usage of a rapid Internet reached to 4,900 users came to be seen as a threat to the regime's stability as it exposed the Assad government to greater domestic scrutiny. By the way, we have to wait and see what the denouement in Syria is. The Bashar Assad government is face with the major trouble. Things for the Assad family are quite terrible.

In the Persian Gulf countries, a more sophisticated censorship system tried to ban only the more threatening of Facebook and Twitter applications and other Web sites such as video content, photographic images and computer based phone services. For instance, Iran lists 22,151 Facebook members, but the site is always blocked, monitored or inaccessible because of government censorship of the applications.[22] Iran's Political opposition in the outcome of the presidential election has expand not only in the Tehran's streets, but also in the virtual community, where protesters of Ahmadinejad and the election observers have battled to get news out of the country for three days. Government filters have also cracked down on websites of opposition groups and social networking websites like Facebook and Twitter, along with mobile text messaging services and satellite internet connections have also been disrupted.[23][23]

"Twitter emerges as news source during Iran media crackdown", CBC NEWS, Tuesday, June 16, 2009

The Iranian users, posted information on Facebook and Twitter and videos on YouTube told the world of the government brutality following the June 2009 unclear and controversial election. Especially, the death of a protesting student Neda Agha-Soltan from a single bullet was posted on YouTube, turning her into a martyr and effective symbol for the cause of democracy. A George Polk Award went to the unknown witness who recorded the video of her death that shocked the world.

On Facebook, Iranian Citizen professes neutrality but provides a platform for information that reports alleged abuses and brutality of the government. A typical posting, from June 7, 2010, reported, "The Islamic Republic is preparing another round of mass executions in an effort to terrorize the Iranian people into submission in advance of the one-year anniversary of the ongoing Iranian uprising, June 12.[24]

Twitter, the phenomenally popular microblogging site, is helping make history in Iran and Media across the globe have been focusing on a "Twitter Revolution" in Iran as hundreds of thousands of street protestors purportedly mobilized their demonstrations using the microblogging service.[25] The role being played by Twitter is difficult to determine but there is no doubt it is having an impact.[26] However, Iran experts and social networking activists say that while Iranian election protesters have certainly used social media tools, no particular technology has been instrumental to organizers' ability to get people on the street. Indeed, most of the organizing has occurred through far more mundane means: SMS text messages and word of mouth.[27] Twitter users in Iran have shared pictures from street protests, passed on information about which cities are affected by internet and mobile phone outages and planned rallies and further protests.[28] Many Twitter users have been sharing ways to evade government snooping, such as programming their Web browsers to contact a proxy — or an Internet server that relays their connection through another country.[29] Indeed, one of Twitter's primary contributions in the Iranian elections has been to raise awareness of the issue among tech-savvy users outside the country.[30] Still, regardless of how much a mover social media may be in the protests, Iran watchers agree that the tools do represent a step forward. "Governments like Iran, Syria, and Egypt are really struggling with how to continue limiting information,"[31]

According to Trita Parsi, an expert on Iranian-American relations, the candidates for president decided to use social networking sites in the campaign after noticing how effective they were in the U.S. presidential election. He said that it was not surprising that Twitter was popular given how much Iranians distrust official media sources. Iranian officials have tried to jam Twitter and Facebook, but Iranians are figuring out how to hack through these filters. These efforts have been dismal failures.[32] Parsi acknowledged that Facebook and Twitter were important mainly for letting people outside the country follow events, and text messages and phone calls were the primary mover of people in Iran's protests. "The people I know mainly tell me they hear about these protests from friends or by SMS,"[33] "On the street level, people are asking themselves, 'What's going on. What does the candidate want us to do?' Well, you go to Facebook and you check what is the latest status line of your candidate, and from there they could find out what was actually taking place."[34] According to Internet World Stats Iran has one of the largest Facebook communities in the Middle East and is one of the most densely Web-connected nations in the region.[35] During the June 2009 uprising of the Green Movement in Iran, activists used every possible technological coordinating tool to protest the miscount of votes for Mir Hossein Mousavi but were ultimately brought to heel by a violent crackdown.

Facebook has taken steps to help protesters in Tunisia after

government officials used a virus to obtain local Facebook passwords this year. The company rerouted Facebook's traffic from Tunisia and used the breach to upgrade security last month for all of its more than 600 million users worldwide; at the same time, it was careful to cast the response as a technical solution to a security problem.[36]

But how essential is social media in these uprisings? Is all you need to topple an entrenched autocratic regime a collection of Facebook updates, YouTube videos and Twitter hash tags?

As revolution sweeps through the Middle East, three companies have found themselves central to the action in an unprecedented way. Google, Facebook, and Twitter are all confronting the kind of moral and political dilemmas that global corporations usually hope to avoid. Their differing reactions tell us a lot about their corporate values—in a deeper sense than that issue is usually talked about. Google's response has been the most exemplary. From its earliest days, Google has asserted an unusual claim to ethical behavior—its slogan is "Don't Be Evil." The company has, on occasion, shown itself willing to forgo profits and take risks that others wouldn't to avoid violating its own principles.

In Egypt, Google went even further by directly opposing an oppressive government. There has been no suggestion that Google authorized or encouraged Wael Ghonim to foster a revolution there. But, amazingly, Google did not distance itself from one of its executives trying to overthrow the Mubarak regime in his spare time. When Mubarak cut off Internet access, the company developed a workaround that allowed users to send Twitter messages over phone lines. YouTube, which Google owns, also created a hub to promote videos from protestors in Tahrir Square. This sort of activism has provoked Glenn Beck—and the Russian government—to charge Google with being in league with the Obama administration in supporting Egyptian revolution. In fact, Google has walked a fine line on this point, providing tools to help undermine tyranny without directly embracing any particular group of revolutionaries.

Facebook's platform played the bigger role in Hosni Mubarak's downfall. It was the "We Are All Khaled Said" page Ghonim set up in June to memorialize a businessman who died in police custody that became the cradle of the revolution. Once the protests in Egypt began, Ghonim was arrested and held for 12 days blindfolded. After his release, he was hailed as a hero of the protest movement for his online efforts. 24 hours of video were being uploaded to YouTube every minute from the region, this well before the revolutions. Shortly after Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak stepped down from power activist Wael Ghonim credited Facebook with the success of the Egyptian people's uprising. To listen to 30-year-old Google marketing executive Wael Ghonim - one of the heroes of the protest movement in Tahrir Square - the Egyptian revolution was born on Facebook:

"*This revolution started online. This revolution started on Facebook. This revolution started in June 2010 when hundreds of thousands of Egyptians started collaborating content; we would post a video on Facebook that would be shared by 60,000 people on their walls within a few hours. I've always said that if you want to liberate a society, just give them the Internet." I want to meet Mark Zuckerberg one day and thank him [...] I'm talking on behalf of Egypt*".

Ghonim, a marketing manager for Google, played a key role in organizing the January 25 protest by reaching out to Egyptian youths on Facebook. But Facebook the company, unlike Google, has hardly embraced the honor. Ghonim has become a symbol for the Egyptian movement and told that Facebook and the Internet were responsible for the uprising in Egypt.

Twitter goes a step beyond even Google in its sense of anti-authoritarian mission. Where Google's core value is freedom of information, Twitter is the slightly different one of freedom of expression. Williams unambiguously endorsed Google's decision to pull out of China, and has said his company is working to develop technology to let users evade government censorship in China and Iran. Last month, Stone stated, in a recent tweet, "Freedom of Expression is a basic human right," which he and the company's top lawyer elaborated on in a blog post titled "The Tweets Must Flow."

As with the others, Twitter's attitude reflects its culture—one that's unconventional, insurgent, even at times mildly irresponsible. As a smaller, more freewheeling company that has postponed maximization of profits in favor of growth and experimentation, it has latitude to embrace not just liberal principle but specific challenges to authority.[3737] Jacob Weisberg. The Arab Revolt shows that Google's and Twitter's corporate values are better than Facebook's Slate. http://www.slate.com/id/2286432/, (accessed Feb. 24, 2011)

CONCLUSION:

In recent years, in the "Arab and Islamic world", a region largely dominated by tyrannical governments and dictators, the 'democracy and freedom fighters' movement, was able to prevail over the dictators and overthrow the tyrannical governments, or at least could initiate their downfall. What is known as the "Arab Spring" in the Middle East and North Africa is the product of an extremely active opposition over a long period. People protested and brought down governments before the advent of the internet, but t**his virtual space offers new prospects for political expression, communication and political perspectives.** The "Arab Spring" have offered us with a new point of view: for citizens living under tyrannical regimes, far from being a shopping mall, the internet is the heaven of freedoms. As events in Egypt, Tunisia, Iran, Syria, Libya and elsewhere have confirmed, the internet is let opponents the capability to implement freedoms earlier unavailable to them. The role of the internet and digital networks in the Middle East and North Africa is the result of 10 years of constant activity by opponents of the regimes. The internet offers the medium through which political freedoms for the first time in human history are reachable to all. Therefore, it is time to consider internet as the first freedom of the 21st century, the first step to all other kind of freedoms. The Facebook revolutions could bring out so many people from their home into the roundabouts and to suits them with political agenda with political awareness. Without Facebook or Twitter _or the internet itself_ the revolutions could hardly have occurred. What is truly encouraging about all of this is that as the internet spreads even into dictatorial countries, it will be far more difficult for tyrants to brainwash their people. The media plays a great role in the life of human beings both individually, and at the massive levels. Most of the political activists turn to the internet in 1990s in the region and by using the facilities of digital media and personal creativity could employ these tools as an important element for the fulfillment of their political and civil goals. There is nearness in relationship between democracy and the news media. In this perspective, the

function of the news media is seen as providing society with reliable information on which they can make political choices, crucial to a healthy democracy. The significance of the Internet, and of the Internet as a model for new media, is to bring new people into the political sphere into which are built values and experiences of those who build this space. In this context, Facebook and twitter is said to be extremely popular, with its opportunities for role-playing as well as for communication that is otherwise restricted, such as by gender differences, in "real life". The social networks are widespread and, alive and the closed borders of Assad, Khamenei, Mubarak, Bin Ali and Gadhafi, no longer facilitate their predicament. The despotism is an unacceptable method of governing in the contemporary world, in the shadow of the social Medias.

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Political Reactivation in Bottom-up Environment
A social media framework to enhance participation
from online network to everyday life and viceversa.

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Abstract-The multiple cases of dissent and revolution emerged in the Mediterranean area (Egypt, Tunisia, Libya), the collapse of political consensus (Italy, Greece) and all the protests that have received media attention since the late of 2010 have shown the key-role of social media in a new, bottom-up, culture of political participation.

These movements that aggregate millions of people are born spontaneously. They reflect the expansion of narrow networks of everyday-life (friends, family, colleagues, etc.) triggered to express their conditions to a broader audience. The social media represent the first resource to give them voice, to create a real reactivation that was not possible with passive media like television and press.

Moving from the experiences of some Mediterranean cases this paper will explore the possibility to create bottom-up and self-managed frameworks in order to help local communities to adopt social media as multi-level channel to defense (and to discover) their rights and to reactivate many peers as possible of their territorial network. The paper will define the differences between a social media platform (Twitter, Facebook, a blog, a streaming system, etc.) and an operative framework, based on the mashup of different practices oriented to the needs of the communities. It will define the best practices to re-activate the sense of citizenship by the meaning of social networking for a public, shared debate.

The present research would not only offer a set of possible educative actions for specific purposes, but also trigger a reflection on the idea of political network framework, even before the exploration of the mashed-up tools to adopt, to deepen analyze the concept of bottom-up governance. In this sense, governance becomes a direct engagement in political life through the critical capacities of individuals, expressed in working groups on civic focus. The framework becomes the principal hub of convergence between the peer-to-peer analysis of problems, the territory it covers and other national and international realities connected by a virtual (online) sphere of public attention.

The on-field research conduct on a sample of micro-communities shows different levels of deliveries and it allows drawing specific guidelines to help the communities to correct the missteps and to focus the blindspots during the process of information networking.

Keywords: *political reactivation, bottom-up governance, social media, political framework*

1. TWO LAYERS, ONE DIMENSION

Since the beginning of 2010 the Mediterranean area is the scenario of protests and demonstrations across many countries and different populations. On one hand the eyes of media showed us multiple cases of dissents and revolutions in the "Arab Spring", from Tunisia to Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Algeria and so on, also even if not all the participants in protests identify themselves as Arab; on the other hand, the economic crisis fastened the collapse of political consensus in different contests, like Greece and Italy. What emerged clearly was the global attention to the geopolitical implications of these protests and the common drivers of political (re)activation arisen in a so heterogeneous landscape: internet and social media platforms as powerful tools able transform the "digital seeds" of online communication into real practices, into concrete actions able to directly connect the web to the real life and viceversa.

According to the events and to the media diffusion of their details, there are several interpretative positions about all these facts. We would emphasize two main lines that sustain different analyses: the first one is the line of the enthusiastic supporters of social media and online networks as turning point to define a new process of democratization[1]; the second one is the line sustaining that the Arab Spring (and the other events of protests and revolutions) are not driven by social networks but only by real-world activism[2].

Clearly, there are articulated reasons to sustain with different arguments both the positions; what is clear is the configuration of the phenomenon: the two lines could be defined as two different overlapping layers. The first one is based upon the rise of the network society, as online resource to spread the real conditions of living in a participative, shared way; the second one is based upon the real life, the everyday experience of the social tissue and its problems. The overlap of these two layers opens a unique dimension towards an objective phenomenon: the movements in the Mediterranean area aggregate millions of people in a spontaneous, emergent way; these movements reflect the expansion of narrow networks of everyday-life (friends, family, neighbors, etc.) to express their conditions to a broader audience. In this contest, social media represent the first resource to give voice to people, to create a real reactivation that was not possible with traditional media like television and press, because they are a one-way communication system, while the actual process depends on the interaction between the sender and the receiver in the interpretation and diffusion of the message.

If we consider all the different scenario, with inequalities and very heterogeneous situation in government, economy and social conditions, we can notice, for example, that the

dissidents in Bahrain, Libya and Iran are not only following the footsteps of their counterparts in Egypt and Tunisia by assuming a pro-democracy stand, but they have also adopted the same tools to mobilize the revolution: internet and the social media application. Besides aiding the protests, the web and all its related social tools have also emerged as an information hub for the traditional media and all the people across the globe.

This different system of communication, participation and interaction allows to be inside the scene, and not only in front of the news: a simple "tweet"[3], a quick video report, a shared post are, in a small scale, the digital variant of the traditional activism. These simple actions made more responsible the people, and move their consciousness to take part to the events, by different level of contributions, from a basic digital gesture in a social network, to the more extensive actions to take to the streets. This reconnection between digital information (as "prosumer"[4]) and real environment is associated with a diffused peer-to-peer reactivation: taking part to the different initiatives, promoted and sustained in online networks, although as passive reader (occasional surfer, lurker, etc.) as such as active user (blogger, UGCs[5] producer, etc.) is an emergent process that trigger new relations and new forces also from people not directly engaged in these initiatives.

The personal sphere of influence is enlarged and empowered in the online channel by social media and it allows to reach not only a broader audience, but to create a more trusted environment in the small group that represent a point of synthesis between the real world, the Net and the self. Before the advent of social media technologies and without a real engagement of people by the means of sharing their personal social tissue related to their communities, the perspective was oriented towards a bipolar opposition:

> People increasingly organize their meaning not around what they do but on the basis of what they are, or believe they are. Meanwhile, on the other hand global networks of instrumental exchanges selectively switch on and individuals, groups, regions, and even countries, according to their relevance in fulfilling the goals processed in the network, in a relentless flow of strategic decisions. There follows a fundamental split between abstract, universal instrumentalism, and historically rooted particularistic identities. Our societies are increasingly structured around a bipolar opposition between the Net and the self (Castells, 2000: 3).

Due to this reason, also the political engagement and the re-activation of interest in the public sphere, was under a possible communication failure:

> In this condition of structural schizophrenia between function and meaning, patterns of social communication become increasingly under stress. And when communication breaks down, when it does not exist any longer, even in the form of conflictual communication (as would be the case in social struggles or political opposition), social groups and individuals become alienated from each other, and see the other as a stranger, eventually as a threat. In this process, social fragmentation spreads, as identities become more specific and increasingly difficult to share (Castells,

2000:3).

Social media allowed an evolution of this process, decreasing the fragmentation without influencing on the power of identities. The possibility to overcame the risks of a break down were triggered by the new pattern of communication introduced by social software as mashup systems constituted by different instances of dialogue and participation. Social platforms, online networks, portable devices, always on connections and geo-located peers of distribution have provided a revolutionary contribution to society and the most clear example is the just cited wake of the protests that have torn throughout Egypt, Libya and Mediterranean area.

2. NETWORK OPINION AND PEERS RE-ACTIVATION

According to the diverse events, many studies revealed the complex adaptive system behind the use of different social media to overcome the hierarchical controls of the authorities and to diffuse news in a networked way. For example Kathryn Corrick[6] and Giovanna Loccatelli[7] showed how journalists have used Twitter to report in real-time and to upload photographs or YouTube video to open a window in territory where press was not admitted. In this sense the web was the first feeding channel also for other media. Many broadcast providers used social media tools to follow updates from Mediterranean Area in real time (Tweetdeck checking the hash tags, for example), presenting a mashed up collection of sources reframed into a narrative way that traditional news media could discover.

Despite the power of new media, which has aided these countries to spread their stories to audiences that would otherwise be unaware of the events taking place, Loccatelli and Corrick observed some problems. All the material produced as UGC has some limits like reliability, curation, editing and verification of the real content. The limits in some cases are not only of technology and connectivity, but also of auto-censorship, self-interpretation and meta-analysis to report a story when the attempt is to realize a complete real-time reportage. These limits find a compromise with the different sources that produce similar materials. The global overview of a specific event, translated by different peers as single producer, and streamed, uploaded, posted and podcasted in comparable way is the best warranty not only for information and knowledge to survive (against censorship or factious government material) but also to find an homeostatic balance to create a "network opinion" that is not possible to drive or to control like the mass media opinion fed only by press, radio or television.

What emerges is the dimension of a connective tissue of active peers constituted by single person, by small groups, by narrow networks of people cross-fertilizing the real life with the digital space of Internet. The confluence of the two layers (real/virtual), the possibility to mash up different tools and platforms to empower and spread the communication, the creation of social hubs in continuous movement and redefinition are the key-elements of a new process of political activation and participation. This process in fact is able not to favor only the traditional active groups or people with ITC competencies, but mainly to re-activate the "Proximity peers" of every participant, triggering the interest by the means of discourse analysis, participative storytelling, shared opinions, reciprocal

indignation, etc.

The concept of "proximity peers" allows to define the potential map of social propagation on a specific topic drawing a map of the possible relations according to six basic different kinds of relations in narrow networks:

1. Family
2. Friends
3. Colleagues/Employers
4. Neighbors
5. Accidental/Desired
6. Networked

As we argued by the application of a replication protocol analysis and an in-depth interview in three specific case studies of local communities, active peers spread chunks of information that could be retrieved in proximity peers up to 3—4 nodes of distance (fig. 1 and 2).

Fig. 1. The graphic shows the connections of the peers and the distance-limits in peers re-activation in a limited dataset (frameset of a small community). The diagram would illustrate the possibility of direct and non-

it (criteria: have no previous information or only a vague idea, acquire information, check traditional media and networks, rediffuse dataset online and in real life).

Fig. 2. The diagram shows an enlarged map oof peers reactivation: the same information could have a different propagation and the single peer could decide to became

direct reactivation in the case studies of a given information, according to the 6 different relations that every peer can have. The diagram must not be read as an overall network map, because it is not allowing the repetition of the propagation with two or more peers connected to the same relation (the same side of the hexagon): it maps out the path of a given information on the different relations linked to an active peer and confirmed (by in-depth interviews) by the activation of another peer (high interest an rediffusion with more details). In the diagram the example is the news about manifestation in Tahir Square: the active peer diffused this news with 5 relations but only 3 gave a feedback (hexagon: friend – family – networked); 3 relations re-diffused/re-discussed the information with other people (2/6 relations each proximity peer); after one more process, some proximity peers were informed but did not diffuse anymore the information, some other continued; a new peer non-updated about the fact was informed and the interest about the fact moved her to search more information and diffuse more materials about the fact. This last one is considered a re-activated peer able to restart the viral process and to add new information to

active promoter of the information without specific drivers of pertinence (empathy for the previous peer, interest for the topic, indignation, etc.). The peers belong to clustered micro-communities and sometimes are the only link between them.

What emerge from this analysis are sensible data about a complex mapping system of possible triggers, nodes, pertinence hubs for political reactivation, and the consideration that social media, as cross-cultural and real/virtual participating environment, give people the ability to share what is happening to them with the outside world, and reframe the outside world as part of their small community of pertinence.

3. SOCIAL MEDIA FRAMEWORK TO ENHANCE PARTICIPATION

According to the previous analysis, one of the aim of the present research is to offer a possible operative framework to local communities to adopt social media as multi-level channel to defense (and to discover) their rights and to reactivate many peers as possible of their territorial network.

The idea to work on local, small communities has three principal reasons: primarily, small communities can better identify their actors and can move quickly in specific processes, having a deeper knowledge of their own environment and of the issue/possibilities/critical points of their territories; secondarily, small communities can be easily traced and it is easier to have a feedback about goals and blindspots; finally, small communities are the starting point to explore huge networks and we want operate in the interchange between these two dimensions, in order to help the groups to adopt social media as multi-level channel to defense (and to discover) their rights and to reactivate many peers as possible of their territorial connections: start from the territory to come back, enriched, on the community itself.

3.1 Guidelines to define a social media framework for

political participation

The operative framework would not be a simple platform, a software to self-guide community in political reactivation. A traditional platform present a set of functionalities mashed up via specific software, applets and plugins. The framework we are introducing has to be considered as a local project based on the cross-application of some practices oriented to the needs of the community itself. The aim is to define the best practices to re-activate the sense of citizenship by the meaning of social networking for a public, shared debate. The first part is the setup of the project, the second one is an example of guided workshop to activate information exchange and participative debate in the communities adopting web 2.0 tools crossed with traditional media.

The operative framework needs a core team to be designed and adapted to local actors and environments. The core team must include at least a territorial active peer (a person to coordinate the initiative) and two nodes: one person with enough skills to manage social media software and platforms and a second one that will take care of communication on/by traditional media.

3.1.1 Phase 1: definition of the participants

In this first phase the core team will define the participants to the local project, their roles and their main tasks, according to their time schedules and to their real interest in their own subject matter. The core team must expand the key-figures and focus on main issues that could trigger interests of proximity peers. After an initial definition to start the work, the core team will identify external experts in order to enrich the competences of the working group (on the issues defined to focus) in order to cooperate in particular seminars, workshops and other activities that could be developed for the local community. In the team must be identified also people in charge of the institutional aspects of communication, funding and territorial coordination. If the project will last for a long time (6-12 months) according to the time scheduling of the various actions, after a period of some months, the core team will redefine itself in order to allow more flexibility to the several positions and roles, including administrators and active citizens willing to contribute to the whole project with their experience. It is necessary a constant process of enlargement and remixing of the team.

3.1.2 Phase 2: communication

In the second phase, the team will show the project through the local media and the other advertising tools available (especially online). Rather than proposing a network or the project in itself, the idea is to conduct an analysis of the local situation according to the guidelines that are at the bases of this project. The plan is to make use of the collaboration of local administrators from different parties and to ask cultural contribution to the experts previously identified. The communication campaign involving new participants and actors must be diffused on the principal social media activated for the project, to give online/offline resonance to the initiative.

3.1.3 Phase 3: activity and models' design

In the third phase the team will carry out the main project defining an operating model and trying to organise in a flexible and open way the several activities to do and share together, such as workshops, ad diffusion, seminars, public speech, etc. In this phase the team will define some transversal formats, to empower the knowledge and the users' skills, in terms of

political critics, organizing skills and autonomy of expression, through the media provided by the web and platforms for territorial dialogue. In this phase the team will define the scenarios to face some specific issues related to the common political sense and the identity narratives of their territory (crisis zones, racial issues, community limitations, submersed economies, etc.). After the definition of the scenarios and of the educative and social models, it will be necessary to find several possible solutions – in territorial and telematics terms - to the management, empowerment and spread of the emergent politics to promote. This phase, together with face-to-face activities, sees not only the design of a social platforms (a mashed up CMS, for example) to coordinate the different actions and to fix a shared system to actively participate in non-synchronous way, but also the co-design of this platform together with the citizens involved in seminars and workshops. In this way, the platform will be immediately and effectively opened, with the possibility to be copied and re-adapted without any hierarchy in other narrow communities.

3.1.4 Phase 4: activities (political grass-root reactivation)

This phase revolves around a deep work on the territory, activating several activities, door-to-door campaigns, seminars and all possible satellite-events that fit in the operational nucleus of the project. The phase of the activity on the territory is followed by a phase of recollection and transformation of the deliveries into a product that could be either distributed online and by the local actors (territorial peer-to-peer). The outcome obtained should tell about the experience, analyse its critical aspects, the difficulties, the missteps, and turn into a tool to improve the immediately following cycle of activities. To have an idea of the several models, look at the example of the workshop in this paper.

3.1.5 Phase 5: activity (the upper political leading class)

The fifth phase addresses the previous critical objectives developed during the fourth phase to the leading class, trying to favour the combination of the critical bottom-up debate triggered by the political reactivation of citizens, and the administrative necessities of the electoral consensus. In this phase the prevailing model will try to give the administrators the tools for the territorial organization, also through the channels of civic expression, which are often neglected, except in case of polling. This phase also sees both a face-to-face training dimension and a participatory-working one, followed by updating that can be managed autonomously by those groups that were actively committed during the training on the field process.

3.1.6 Phase 6: Observatory for networking

The objectives of this phase are a high level of attention and an analytical control of how the situations evolve in terms of participation and activity. For this reason during this phase the core team will reframe the platform realized into a social observatory that could work as an online hub to share topics and opinions emerging in the clustered communities linked by active peers. The observatory, based on the concept of social-media design, will be built according to the participatory criteria of mashup and web 2.0 and will allow the free and open participation of the active citizens and of the different

realities that will be the hubs of this web to observe. The content editing will be released to those users who are part of the several communities, while the most scientific analyses will be submitted to the partners, who will check the flow and the different interactions to obtain a general topography of the system. The aim of the observatory is not only to offer a social map of the political reactivation and its results, but also to intertwine an open and free network, self-regulated by its members, to interrelate issues and problems that might have already been deeply debated.

3.2 The model of the Participative Workshop

If governance becomes a direct engagement in political life through the critical capacities of individuals, expressed in working groups on civic focus, the framework becomes the principal hub of convergence between the peer-to-peer analysis of problems, the territory it covers and other national and international realities connected by a virtual (online) sphere of public attention. To enter more concretely with an example on the public sphere of a narrow community, the Participative Workshop is one of the possible framed activities.

The workshop is based on the aforementioned aspects and aims to give rise to intensive moments of analysis to favour a "political reactivation" and to shape "play writers" (those who settle the basis for actions, plot and agency), that is citizens able to surf the web in order to trigger political action and activate the communities to the critical opinion exchange.

The workshop carried out under this specific model is inspired by the 3-parts structure of Greek tragedy for the definition of the activities, for the "mise en scène" of the actors and for the dynamics of exchanges in terms of participatory culture.

Before adopting a structural model for the political reactivation, the workshop will conduct an analysis of the cases and models of narration that the web allowed to discover and reinvent. The analysis also sees the evaluation of the participatory factors such as micro-blogging, self-advertise marketing, collective campaign and social networking. Analysis of some significant cases of the web-system in terms of platforms/websites, movements, exemplary cases, shared scenarios (the rubbish in Napoli, the earthquake in l'Aquila, the crisis in Libya, the censorship in Egypt). The phases will be the following:

3.2.1 Prologue – Finding the threads

The *prologue* is the introductory part where the issues at stake are explained. In this phase the several participants collaborate in the co-construction of the plot according to how it is globally considered, the different ways it is read and the multiple interpretations/definitions it has triggered. After having chosen a topic, the participants have to find the web sources that face that topic, make use of traditional media (press and television, if it is possible) and put the highest number of resources on the stage, which is the place for the dialectic action and the critics of all participants in the following phase.

In the *prologue* we also have to mention those communities where similar topics have been discussed, we have to collect information about some other possible actors to be involved and that have already made their contribution in similar situations (experts, politicians, people on the field, people in favour, people against, etc.) and we generally define the plot to follow.

3.2.2 Parodos – Declaring the plot

The *parodos* is the entrance of the *chorus* during the performance. Therefore, it is the first dialectic contribution made by all the participants to evaluate, analyse and compare all the materials found in the phase of the *prologue*. It is not much about taking personal positions, but trying to find a pattern in the elements found, trying to understand the processes that led to the construction of different scenarios, rather than defining the value or the content. The *chorus* is the synergic activity of all the citizens participating in the web through recollection and aggregation (meet-up, remote storytelling, chat, etc.), trying to build the critical background of knowledge revolving around the issue at stake.

3.2.3 Episodes – Intertwining the models

The *episodes* are the central part of the process of political reactivation Workshop. The action starts and the participants start posting comments and giving voice to the several contributions/ contributors that constitute the whole problem. The episodes can be plural and have to be started firstly inside one's own community. Later, during the *stasimons*, interphases dedicated to a summary of the situation not to lose the developing thread, it is the moment to call the contributions/contributors. The outcome, shared through social platforms to be showed during the workshop (social network e social media), will be then shared by means of broad folksonomies, enlarged communities that can make their own contribution by adding or redefining those aspects that did not emerge during the e*pisodes*.

It is important to point out that both *episodes* and *stasimons* have two separate functions: the formers are intensively narrative in order to test if the structure of the *parodos* makes sense and whether it is well balanced with the previous architecture (is the topic well framed and documented?), and change it, if it is the case. The latters have a strong critic and dialectic focus, and instead of looking for pros and cons solutions, they seek blindspots, alternative perspectives and hypotheses that could reshape the contributions of the web itself and even acquire a totally unexpected structure.

3.2.4 Eisodos – Creating tracks

The eisodos corresponds to the plot's resolution. It is not much about getting to a definitive conclusion or opting for the best solution among many, but it is about figuring out a real track, something that could remain and orientate the people and lead them to a collective reflection (the *eisodos* is the passageways leading to the exit). This is the moment that sees a real political reactivation even when there is a total impossibility for a unilateral solution. The web and the social media that can communicate this track, will let it develop even further, adopting one asset and another but keeping the grass-root element, which remains active during the whole process, independently of any kind of orientation it might assume over time and in a balancing, connective game, strongly narrative and social oriented.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper is a resume of a major research to explore the possibility to create in narrow communities a bottom-up and self-managed frameworks for political participation in order to help local actors to adopt social media as multi-level channel

to defense (and to discover) their rights and to reactivate many peers as possible of their territorial networks. The main result of the research is an atlas to be used as flexible toolkit for the establishment of educative actions for political inclusion and re-activation, related to the connective way to cross the social tissue from online networks to everyday life and viceversa.

The main deliveries on the pilot cases are now under analysis and mapping, and the theoretical approach is being now reformulated as a socio-political theory to trigger a reflection on the idea of political network framework, even before the exploration of the mashed-up tools to adopt, to deepen analyze the concept of bottom-up governance. In this sense, the main idea is that governance has to become the direct mirror of the critical capacities of individuals, expressed in working groups on civic focus that are the real, pre-administrative and pre-electoral political tissue of every community.

ENDNOTES

[1] A possible example, oriented in this direction, could be related to the position of Clay Shirky in Shirky, C., *Here Comes Everybody: The Power of Organizing Without Organizations*, 2008, Penguin Press.

2 This position is clearly sustained, for example, from Evgeny Morozov: "It's been extremely entertaining to watch cyber-utopians – adherents of the view that digital tools of social networking such as Facebook and Twitter can summon up social revolutions out of the ether – trip over one another in an effort to put another nail in the coffin of cyber-realism, the position I've recently advanced in my book The Net Delusion**.** In my book, I argue that these digital tools are simply, well, tools, and social change continues to involve many painstaking, longer-term efforts to engage with political institutions and reform movements" (*Facebook and Twitter are just places revolutionaries go***, URL: http://www. guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/mar/07/facebook-twitter-revolutionaries-cyber-utopians; last verified: 2011, Sept. 13. See also Mozorov, E.,** *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom***, 2011, PublicAffairs.**

[3] A "Tweet" is a post on the Twitter system, with a limit of 140 characters.

[4] In this sense "prosumer" has the meaning of producer and consumer.

[5] UGC, User generated contents, indicates the creation of personal contributions by the means of several media technologies, like digital video, blog and forum posts , podcasts, web page, wikis, etc.

[6] Study for the Foreign Press Association, see the presentation *What role did social media play in the news coverage of 2011 Egyptian revolution*, URL: http://www.scribd.com/doc/49529040/What-role-did-social-media-play-in-the-news-coverage-of-2011-Egyptian-revolution, last verified 2011, 13rd Sept.

[7] Loccatelli, G., *Twitter e le rivoluzioni*, Editori Riuniti, 2011, Roma.

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Reconsidering Social Media Activism:
Organizing Movements or Spreading Ideas?

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Abstract-It has been a widely accepted assumption that social media is giving crucial contribution in organizing social and political movements. The recent 2011 Middle East upheaval blowed up Twitter and Facebook as spearhead in organizing mass-rallies and protests around Middle East; even more popular since the rise of both on Moldova and Iran "Twitter Revolution" two years earlier. With heavy coverage from various media and journalists emphasizing the social media-factor, the fame can't get more than enough.

Though seems appealing with all the hype, such observation is in risk of blurring the line between organizing actual movements and merely spreading ideas. Such distinction is not saying the ideas spread from social media cannot turn into an actual movement itself; it only distinguishes using social media as discussion forums from using social media as a real organizing movement platform. This paper is trying to outline such difference by reconsidering the actual role of social media.

First the paper would examine the Middle East havoc to seek how relevant the role of which actually is. Record from UNICEF shows only 18% from 80 million Egyptian population have access to internet, while the mass demonstration involved billions of people. From the data given, it is unlikely to imagine most activists connecting each other through internet. Even when they're connected, they're connecting with outer world rather with fellow Egyptian activist.

Second, the paper would highlight commentaries from fervor critics of social media, one of which is Malcom Gladwell. Gladwell emphasize the utmost factor which makes it difficult for social media to organize a mass of individuals: weak-ties. The lack of face-to-face interaction has a significant effect on organizing a rally of protest; without a cohesive solidarity, there wouldn't be people risking their lives in protests, a spirit which always live in social movements. This leads to how this paper would explain the danger of "clickactivism". After the not-too-successful 2009 "Twitter Revolution", social media activists in Iran hinder real social activism as it would lead to death threat. This fits perfectly to Gladwell suspicion of lack of strong-ties between the activists, also Karl-Dieter Opp model of rational choice social movement theory.

Third, the paper would conclude on how marking the boundaries between organizing social movements and merely sparking ideas on social media. From the data and theories given, it is most likely social media haven't give a gigantic impact to social movements—as it is limited to several users, rather to high-populated mass as hyped in mainstream media. It would be certainly ignorant to dismiss important progress social media has played in several issues, so the paper would be focusing on its role on organizing mass demonstrations.

INTRODUCTION

The recent uprising in Middle East and North Africa is thought to have brought a new way on how social and political movements would spring in authoritarian regimes; where there is only limited access to a wider public sphere, it is the internet which gives the alternatives—the narration of information which couldn't be normally accessed through traditional means. Clay Shirky, a notable analyst on internet technologies, noted how the internet—particularly social media, as with the case of Twitter and Facebook—has its political power to progresss a change.[1] Wael Ghonim, the supposedly "leader" of Egyptian Revolution 2011, even said the revolution was "like Wikipedia," the online crowd-sourced encyclopedia project, in which persons we do not personally know contribute to its success. He called it as a "Revolution 2.0".

Two years earlier, not far from the current outbreak, Iran and Moldova sparked a similar hype with their own "Twitter Revolution"s. Marked with green color in Iran, and orange in Moldova, the protesters marched through the streets. Fueled with grievance and disappointment from fraudulent elections, protesters swarmed the street with protests and demands of reform—where they finally collided with security forces. "Death to the dictator!" was one of the slogan used in Iranian protest in 2009 against Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. As the protest grew to larger unrest, the news spread to the world. Not by any traditional means like mass media—instead it was the internet, the Twitter which was noted as a crucial factor in spreading the news in Iran and Moldova; with the hashtag #iranelection and #pman, respectively.

Hailing from its origin as a simple computer network, in recent decades the internet has been a topic of interest for general public; from the limited realm of researchers and military officials to the more expanded scope of business executives, political actors, and civil society. The World Wide Web has evolved into an important tool for businesses, consumers, and society as a whole. It is only natural when people finally mix the latest technology with political actions—as how it seemed to happen in the recent years. Social media, particularly, has been given a lot of highlights for its nature to be *social*, as Kietzman put it, because social media is thought to "introduce substantial and pervasive changes to communication between organizations, communities, and individuals."[2] Together with the rise of what is called as "Web 2.0", social media is intended to bring more interactive, dynamic communication between users of the World Wide Web.

With the 2011 Arab Spring, the internet, once again, has been brought to the forefront of social and political change. The internet, as highlighted by the mass media and several observers, is to be praised for helping organizing and coordinating political

protests through Middle East and North Africa. However, as it has always been with any hype, there is a need to critically examine the nature of this internet-driven political protest itself.

How does the internet changes the way political protest is organized? Or even more, does it actually change anything at all?

What has been noted by the majority of observers, after all, is how the internet, through social media, contributes to political protests.[3] Whether what kind of contribution actually it did make remains unclearly defined. Was it used to organize and coordinate movements *per se*? Or was it used merely to narrate information—what is happening on the streets through texts, photos and videos—and to spread the uncovered news to the outer world?

The mixed, exaggerated hype on this relatively new kind of technology is in risk of failing to recognize social media's actual role in the protests. It blurs the line between two different processes: organizing actual movements with social media *or* merely narrating information with social media. While at a glance the two don't seem to have noticeable differences, in practice it sets a straight line between actually actively participating in the movement *or* merely getting the idea of a movement. As Evgeny Morozov noted, there are several spectrums of "online activists" who remains merely online without contributing anything to the actual protest offline—those who are called as "slacktivists".[4] Facebook clicks, Twitter retweets, became a highly-rated measure of activism, while nothing on the streets is actually being done.

This paper would be trying to outline such differences by taking the recent Arab Spring as a case study—though there would be several mentions of Iran (2009) or Tunisia (2011) case, mostly it would be limited to the scope of Egypt (2011). Egypt is chosen as the main case study, as it is seen as the most successful case of social-media-based revolution; with 3.797.200 people from Egyptian population is using the internet, ranking Egypt as the Middle East-North African country with the second-highest internet penetration, according to a 2010 data, just next to Iran.[5]

Through a brief outlining of Egyptian demographics, its relation to the internet, and how it impacted the recent revolution, the paper would proceed in examining theories on social media's role in shaping the political protest. The most highlighted commentaries would be from Malcolm Gladwell, a fervor critics of social media, with his emphasis on the importance of strong-ties needed to form a successful political protest. According to Gladwell, the cohesivity created through social media would not be strong enough to bond to a strong tie. The analysis of strong-tie and weak-tie thus would be the main highlights within the rest of the paper.

SOCIAL MEDIA REVOLUTION? THE CASE OF EGYPT

The role of technology in supporting political protests and social movements perhaps dates back to as old as the invention and mass production of printing machine in the 15th century, which helps organizers gather attention and support from fellow townsmen. It is true technology has its role in easing communications between individuals, not only in the form of verbal language but also written. But sometimes people would overestimate what they expect from a latest fad.

In the 18th century, the invention of a new technology is noted to have purported a mayor of New York to say, "It is a triumph of science and energy over time and space, uniting more closely the bonds of peace and commercial prosperity,—introducing an era in the world's history pregnant with results beyond the conception of a finite mind."[6] What he meant by this "triumph of science" is none other than a transatlantic telegraph. At his times, perhaps it was a magnificent wonder to have a machine which could transmit message across borders, even across nations and oceans. Of course, in modern times such feat is nothing of wonder since the daily usage of telephone and rising usage of the internet—but the similar enthusiasm and overestimation, might remains.

Two years earlier, the case of Iranian "Twitter Revolution" was dubbed as the prime example on how technology is able to push repressive Ahmadinejad's regime to make a better change. Though resulted in failure, the pervasive flow of social media stream in Iran is highlighted as how protesters are trying to show what the regime could not oppress: information. Twitter was full of #iranelection hashtag, which seemed to provide a look on how the protest ran havoc with full-fledged Basij soldiers ready to silence the protesters.

However, the dubbed "Twitter Revolution" is actually not a "Twitter Revolution" at all. The majority of Iranians don't use Twitter to communicate, let alone organize a protest.[7] Most, if not all, #iranelection tweets are tweeted in English language. If the tweets are used for organizing movements between fellow Iranian, targeted to fellow protesters, why would it be written with any other language than Farsi—the Persian language? As it would be easier for fellow protesters to communicate and organize by using their own language rather than English.

According to Sysomos report, there were "only 19,235 Twitter accounts registered in Iran (0.027 percent of the population) on the eve of the 2009 elections," while there are at least 100,000 of protesters in the advent of the protest.[8] It turned out, though, that the Twitter protesters are trying to bring the news to the *outside world*—not circulating the words between Iranians. The #cnnfail hashtag which appeared later, according to Gaurav Mishra, the Sysomos operative, is shown as an expression of disappointment to why the news of Iranian Green Movement—the name they associate with—in spite of their effort, didn't get out of the country.

The Iran example shows how important it is to actually consider the demographics of the population and see how high the rate of internet penetration is before looking into the depth of social media stream. The diffusion the social media's content could provide—that anyone from any country could participate in the vast stream of hashtags—would open to failures on examining the real effects of social media in the actual country.

The Egypt "social media revolution" story is noted to start at the death of Khaleed Said in 6 June 2010—a young Egyptian man beaten to death by police officials as Said is believed to have an evidence of police's illegal transactions. The public awareness of Khaleed Said's death was raised from Said's post-mortem picture which was taken and uploaded to the internet by his relative. Wael Ghonim, a young, Egyptian-born Google executive located in Dubai, saw the picture—then just five days after Said's death, a Facebook page named "We Are All Khaleed Said" appeared, serving as a memorial to the young man. Under the nickname ElShaheed, Ghonim administered the page and gained mass popularity. According to The New York Times, in

the mid June there are already 130.000 users liking the page.[9]

Egypt has been noted as one of the Middle East-North Africa country which GDP rates is constantly developing and having the second-highest internet penetration rate in the region, just below Iran. However, a 2008 record from UNICEF shows only 18% of Egyptian total population of 80 million have access to the internet.[10] Though UNICEF record is a bit outdated, the internet development until the recent revolution in January 2011 doesn't show a really outstanding growth. In December 2010, it rose only to 24,5%.[11] Which means, there are only about 19,6 million internet users in Egypt. Considering the one year gap—there is no data in 2009—the 6% rise doesn't seem too significant in making conversations between protesters in early 2011 possible.

If we are going to consider remarks from both tech-bloggers and internet activists about Facebook being an important feature in the 2011 revolution, there is a need to examine the data on how Facebook pervades life the Egyptian society. Recent data shows in July 2010 there are 3.797.200 Egyptian Facebook users; making it 18,9% of the internet users—and only about 4,7% of total population.[12] However, in spite of the low percentage of Facebook users, it is astonishing to note how the "We Are All Khaleed Said" page garnered at least 473.000 likes just in few days—absorbing about 12,4% of the Egyptian Facebook users.

A recent data provides an interesting look on how Egyptian Facebook users were using the platform while the 2011 upheaval is happening. From the survey conducted on March 2011, 56% of Facebook users admit they *did not* participate in Facebook discussions regarding the political protests and 68% *did not* monitor news from Facebook.[13]

A few of Facebook users who were monitoring the news via Facebook and not traditional media, might be certain users who have direct connections to relatives participating in the protest—like the mother of a woman protester.[14] It is unclear whether "not participating in Facebook discussion" includes their "like" to pages as "We Are All Khaleed Said" or "April 6 Youth" or not, however it is safe to assume that they did not participate in any organization of the protest which is done through Facebook. Considering how already low the percentage of Egyptian Facebook users were, this makes social media—that is, Facebook—protests organization highly unlikely.

It would be ignorant, though, to dismiss the relatively few Egyptian Facebook users who managed to connect with some other activists. After all, the amount of users who liked the "We Are All Khaleed Said" page did not come from nowhere. The photos which Wael Ghonim uploaded and spread through the internet also did rise public awareness. However, with such an amount, it is not likely to be able to gather such huge number of crowds in the Egyptian protest only through social media—that is, the "organizing a protest through social media". While it is also noted that mosques served as more effective protest hubs among Egyptians—mainly with the rest of the population who do not have intenet access—there are also several reasons why the social media-based protest would not work too successfully.[15]

THE NATURE OF POLITICAL PROTEST AND THE

SOCIAL MEDIA

Several commentaries have compared the successful story of Egyptian revolution to the "similarly" social-media-driven political and social movements of Barrack Obama's campaign and Haiti relief.[16] Having successfully attracted large attention from the world through the intense use of social media, Obama's campaign have created a succesful political brand with his slogan "Change", through online organizing and fundraising, intertwinted with traditional means of campaign.[17] Similar success also have been made from Haiti relief.

However, such comparison is a bit misleading by putting a parallel line between political protest—which focused on the demonstration and rally—with fundraising and social movement. Similarly, Malcolm Gladwell also mentioned a remarkable story of Sameer Bathia, a technopreneur suffering from leukemia, who managed to recruit over 24.000 bone marrow donors in under 11 weeks through a well-executed social media campaign. But through Sameer's story, as noted by Gladwell, he sees that while social media does have the capability to put people go through together to donate bone marrow—or funds needed for disaster relief—it wouldn't be enough to put people enjoined together in a political protest.

What is a political protest exactly? And how does it differ from any other form of social movements?

Karl-Dieter Opp and Michael Lipsky definitions of political protest may help on taking a theoretical basis for political protest and what separates it from social movements. Opp outlines "protest" as a "behavior", noting the four characteristics: 1) a joint action; 2) the actor objects to one or more decisions of a target; 3) the actor is unable to achieve their goal by their own efforts; 4) an irregular behavior.[18] Such outlining makes "protest" as a form of collective action where the actor(s) object to a decision of something, and through the pressure they intend to achieve their goal, as a form of irregular behavior—which means, there is no rules which prescribe the action should be repeated over time. While Michael Lipsky taking it more specific, to define protest as a "mode of political action oriented toward objection to one or more policies or condition, characterized by showmanship or display of an unconventional nature, and undertaken to obtain rewards from political or economic systems while working within the system."[19]

Thus, "protest" is intended as a form of action. It is the action itself, which is carried by several actors. Meanwhile, in a wider scope there exists "social movements". According to McCarthy and Zald, a social movement is "a complex, or formal organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attemptsto implement those goals".[20] Opp outlines this notable formal organization feature, that social movement is a wider, special kind which accommodates protest. A social movement does not necessarily includes "protest"—as it doesn't have to pressure certain target to achieve their goal. It can be said that "protest" is a more specific form which appears on the basis of four characteristics Opp explained previously.

With such definition in mind, it is clear that Arab Spring, a series of political protests, is not in parallel with Barrack Obama's campaign or Haiti relief, as both have sets of different nature of movement. Though also in the motion of social media usage, there is no "protest" in Obama's campaign; neither in

Haiti relief. Such a commentary which put Egyptian 2011 Revolution in line with the two movements is then deemed misappropriate.

Highlighting another feature of political protest, is the strength of the ties which bind them. Malcolm Gladwell is a fervor critic of social media activism who emphasizes this factor: the social media "revolution" would not be possible because of its lack of strong-ties. Gladwell cites the work of sociologist Mark Granovetter, that it is "our acquaintances—not our friends—are our greatest source of new ideas and information. The Internet lets us exploit the power of these kinds of distant connections with marvellous efficiency."[21] The internet, according to Gladwell, serves its purpose as a network of weak-ties; meddling between acquaintances with another. In getting a job, reading new information, or even helping to donor bone marrows—like the case with Sameer—that weak-tie proves powerful. But in making people organize in a political protest, which requires strong-tie, the internet wouldn't be able to do so—as Doug McAdam noted, political protest has its nature as a high-risk activism.[22] Political protests, as could have seen from Egypt and Tunisia, could result in the biggest risk one would expect: death.

Gladwell takes his example from the rise of social movements in the 1960s. The sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina, which began from four black-skinned best friends resisting discrimination from the white-skinned Americans, is a perfect example why a political protest or social movement would work: strong-tie. As Gladwell explains, the young men found the courage to continue their protest because they had each other through their strong-tie: they all lived in the same college dorm, and three of them have gone to high school together. The sit-in which was started by four persons, grew into much larger and larger movement. The way Gladwell explains how the social movement started is by the relationship of strong-ties—ties of the four friends, and each person's tie with another person, and another person's tie with another one, and so on.

How accurate is Gladwell hypothesis? Is it true that social media is composed mostly by weak-ties; thus disabling the possibility of arranging a political protest through it?

A research by Gilbert and Kalaharios seemed to suggest Gladwell's hypothesis may be true.[23] They made seven indicators to mark a user's tie with other users: 1) intensity of interaction; 2) intimacy; 3) duration of interaction (how long have they been Facebook friends); 4) reciprocal services (shared Facebook applications or games); 5) structural (groups in common, mutual friends); 6) emotional support; 7) social distance (gap between socio-economic factors or education). The adjacent result is 0.534 (from 0-1), marking a moderate result of tie between Facebook users—not strong enough, according to the research. The importance of "time spent" physically, not virtually, between individuals to strengthen the tie which binds them is also confirmed in another research by Marsden and Campbell.[24] The research becomes relevant in concord with Gladwell's assertion, as accordance with this paper, because of how it relates with Egyptian internet activists. If the revolution was really organized—planning, composing tactics—through Facebook, there must be a reciprocal communication between the Facebook users.

The need of strong-tie as a motivation, a driving force to political protest is not just found on Gladwell's assertion. On building his model of social movements and political protest,

Karl-Dieter Opp's model seem to also confirm the importance of "friends" factor in making political protests work.. Taking his basis on rational choice theory of social movement, Opp outline what motivates people to actually take action and go down to the street in social movements. Traditionally, rational choice theory acknowledges "incentive" as a motivation for a person to take action. For example, a worker would march through the street with labor union in expectation he would get insurance from the union. The insurance acts as the incentive. As long as the income outweighs the cost to do the action, according to rational choice theory, the individual would take action.[25]

But a dilemma exists within the rational choice theory; called as free-rider dilemma, it examines, if an individual could benefit from a political protest without actually marching down to the street, then why should they go risking their own goods? The Karl-Dieter Opp model answers this dilemma by taking a wide narration of social movement theory—expanding the context to include not just material, concrete incentives that the traditional rational choice theory offer (i.e.: money, insurance), but also abstract incentive. Social norms, responsibility, and friends influence are to name some of the "incentive". The "friends" factor is significant as a motivation.[26] An individual joining a political protest would also have their friends joining the same cause.

Opp's model also offers another factor why an individual would disregard the free-rider dilemma. It is "the thought [that] their contribution in a movement has an actual meaning".[27] People would take action if they *think* they are influential, *not* if they *actually* are influential. They perceive their own self as an influential figure to the movement—no matter how small it is. The basic notion is similar to the slogan "every person matters"—that is, if no one participates in an event, there would be no event. This perception is called as "perception bias".

This "perception bias" is what will lead us to the danger of, in Evgeny Morozov own words, "slacktivism".[28] Slacktivism reduces every social-media-based activism to a mere Facebook likes or Twitter retweets. The internet—social media—creates a virtual public sphere with discussions where individuals could share their grievances and disappointment of authoritarian regime in which they could not do in their physical public sphere—but social media does not necessarily create a motivation to act. They don't always make people to take down to the streets. Instead, as Morozov saw it, they have turned people to mere "political activism"—Facebook likes and Twitter retweets—on the internet.

In concordance with Opp's theory, slacktivism answers the free-rider dilemma through trivial perception bias: individuals would think they are influential by clicking the Like button on Facebook. While the perception bias on traditional political protest would motivate people to participate in a real activism— along with the friends factor—in an internet-based activism, there is always a possibility the "activism" would end only in "slackivism". With the lack of strong-ties that fueled protesters and the chance of perception bias dominating mind of internet users, social media-based political protest would have greater challenge to overcome.

CONCLUSION: BETWEEN ORGANIZING MOVEMENTS AND SPREADING IDEAS

What is the social media role in recent political protests? The question which arises from the blurring lines between organizing

actual movements and spreading ideas could be answered by examining the actual data. Data from ICT and surveys showed that the Middle East-North African protest—mainly, the Egyptian protest—is far from "organizing" movements through social media. The low percentage of internet users in Egypt, more specifically, Facebook users, is highlighted as a reason why a protest which relies in the organization through social media would not succeed.

Rather, the social media is seemed to be used as a tool to spread information. The wide and contagious effect of protest which spread to neighboring countries, also how the international world—through the mainstream media—became aware with the upheaval could be seen as a successful story of spreading ideas, spreading information through social media which is user-generated. Anyone armed with a device capable of providing access to the internet could be the messenger of protest.

However, the internet armament apparently is unable to create a cohesive group of political protest if the protest is organized through social media alone. Between individuals who has no connection, with weak-ties that unable to bond strong cohesive relationship, according to Gladwell—and strengthened by the proposition of Karl-Dieter Opp—wouldn't make a person throw himself into high-risk activities such as political protest. What is needed, however it looks, is the bonding of the strong; the strengthening of strong-ties, through physical, face-to-face offline contact. If the weak-ties is to be left remain, a "slacktivism" narration from Morozov reminds: the movement would be reduced to nothing but a mere "Like" or "Retweet".

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Leaderless Change? A Comparative Study between the Arab Spring and the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution in the Philippines

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Abstract-Change is inevitable, especially since we live in a creative yet contingent world ever producing new ideas and inventions and always needing to distribute equitably the goods and wealth that human creativity continually generates. Information is an agent of change. It gives rise to an awareness of an unjust situation, an inequitable distribution of goods, especially of basic necessities, and wealth. When the corresponding information is successfully received by a critical mass of people with the right dispositions for change, a revolution occurs. History takes a step forward.

This paper is an attempt to compare the recent Arab Spring and the 1986 People Power Revolution in the Philippines in order to see to what extent new media, like Facebook and Twitter, play a role in social change. The obvious difference between the two events is that the 1986 People Power Revolution did not enjoy the benefit of Internet, Facebook, Twitter or phone messaging.

The study will be based on interviews with persons whom we consider qualified enough to analyze these occurrences and a survey of people who were present at the EDSA People Power Revolution in the Philippines in 1986. Due to time constraints, no survey or interview of people who were present in the countries at that time will be done. Instead, the data on the Arab Spring side will be taken from interviews with people in Indonesia and from available published materials. One must also take into consideration that those events have happened quite recently, and any analysis done of them could radically change depending on the speed with which new information is revealed and the historical outcome after the fact. From this point of view, the analysis of the elements and the results of the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution are clearer than that of the Arab Spring because we can now look at it with the perspective of years.

Our opinion is that, while the new media speeds up the flow of information, it has the following limitations: (1) it will always remain a <u>means</u> but not really an agent of change; (2) the presence of adequate leadership is necessary for the new media to be used effectively, especially in view of the results that are desired; and (3) while the new media are like a fuse that ignites change, the most important part of that change is the public attitude that has been brewed in various ways in order to explode and create the change.

INTRODUCTION

When the news portals all over the world began to be filled with information and images of the changes that swept over the Arab world this year—now popularly called "The Arab Spring"—, hearty congratulations were given to Facebook for having made this possible. It began in Tunisia where a street vendor, fed up by all the obstacles put by the authorities that kept him from earning a living, burned himself in protest: a strong call and hope that his world would change. The people of Tunisia rose in response and toppled its dictator. Egypt took the hint and started to do the same. They were then followed by one country after the other in an Arab region which seemed to have been just waiting for someone to take the lead. Leaders were taken by surprise and started losing control.

The question is: should we really thank Facebook for all this? There are those who say "yes" and those who say "no". The question is quite intriguing and many have tried their hand at arriving at an answer.

This study is an attempt to answer that same question by comparing the Arab Spring with the 1986 People Power Revolution that took place at Epifanio de los Santos Avenue—familiarly called "EDSA" by the Filipino people—in Metro Manila, Philippines. This "revolution" successfully and peacefully ousted the long–incumbent Ferdinand Marcos from his office as President of the Republic of the Philippines. Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and the Internet itself were not available to the Filipino people in 1986. Thus, a comparative analysis of elements, conditions, manner of evolution and results of the two events may shed light on what the actual role and importance of the new media was to the birth and evolution of the Arab Spring.

Methodology

This paper takes a three-step approach to the analysis of the problem: first, it aims to design a working model for the analysis of social change events based on the political theory found in Thomas Aquinas' *De Regimini Principum* but actualized and modified to fit the modern-day situation[1]; secondly, it proposes to analyze and compare the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution and the Arab Spring using that model; and, thirdly, it hopes to zero in on the specific role of the new media in the Arab Spring by contrasting it with the media used in the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution.

For the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution, the following was done: (1) some Filipinos who lived during that time and are knowledgeable about the Philippine situation in 1986 were interviewed; and (2) a survey of people who were present at 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution was carried out with the aim of finding out their reasons for participation and their analysis

of the factors that made that event successful[2].

For the Arab Spring, this research depended mainly on the available articles and commentaries of Indonesians who are experts on the matter.

Step 1: Proposed Thomistic Social Change Model

a) Main Political Theory Principles Found in De Regimini Principum

The political principles proposed by Thomas Aquinas in his work entitled *De Regimine Principum*—also called *De Regno*—can be summarized as follows:

1. **Transcendent End of Man.** The ultimate goal of man is not only to have an acceptably happy life here on earth, but also to enter into a life of eternal bliss with his Creator after he dies. As a consequence, for Thomas Aquinas, the role of society is not only to nurture man's body and mind but also to prepare his soul for the next life. This primarily means helping each citizen to be a morally good person.

2. **The State as a Natural Institution.** The State is a natural institution, not made by man. It springs forth from the inherent internal make-up of the human being. As such, it cannot be done away with without destroying man himself.

3. **Man's Social Nature.** The State is a natural institution because man is not made to live in isolation. He needs other human beings to help him achieve his rightful perfection as a person. He naturally needs to live in society with others[3].

4. **Society as a Natural Institution.** As a corollary to the above, government and social community find their root in the plans or will of man's Creator, i.e., ingrained in man's created nature. Government and social community cannot be deleted without causing the underdevelopment of men.

5. **The Goal of Society and the Task of the State is the Provision of the Common Good.** The duty of the state is to provide all the necessary material and spiritual conditions that will make it possible for any man in that society to achieve his personal perfection. This includes his being able to become a good person and thus later enjoy a blessed life with his Creator after he dies. The sum total of all these necessary material and spiritual conditions is called the "common good".

6. **The Standard Set by Human Nature.** The State is legitimate because it is part of the plan of the Creator for man. But the Creator does not leave the governance of a nation to the mercy of the arbitrary whim of the leader. The leader of the nation is constrained by the basic lines of purpose hard-wired by the Creator into man's nature and is thus obliged to rule in accordance with that set purpose. Human nature is the basis for the determination of the common good.

b) A Megacorpus Model of a Social Change Event

From the fundamental principles found in *De Regimine Principum*, we can imagine modern-day civil society like a Mega-body (*Megacorpus*) with organically interacting elements powered by the inherent needs and goals that find their root in the basic natural principles hard-wired into human nature by the Creator.[4]

Like the body, civil society is made of parts that are *interdependent* and mutually interactive. These parts also obey a certain *hierarchy* due to the presence of overarching and subordinate functions. The "higher" parts, however vital their sway over subordinate parts may be, cannot do away with the "lower" parts since the functions of the latter are also vital and indispensable to the "higher" parts.

The "parts" or organs of the Megabody are not monolithic blocks. Each part is actually made up of individual human beings. Thus, we must not forget that the parts in this model are made up of individuals, in the same way that body organs are made up of cells. As the cell is the basic living unit in a physical body, the individual human being is also a basic unit in society. His shared human nature actually dictates when society has to do and what it can do.

The organic structuring of civil society makes it necessary for it to have a head, a ruler. The head coordinates the movements of all the rest. Without a head—following the principles of *De Regimine Principum*—civil society will tend to disintegrate and fall into chaos.[5]

The parts that rule over others—the ruler, the bureaucratic machinery, the legislative body, the judicial power, and the army, all of which we shall call "super-actors", that is, parts of society that act over the main bulk—are also themselves made up of individuals. As parts of the *Megacorpus*, they rule but at the same time they are ruled: they are also citizens. A member of a super-actor group, therefore, can act as a part of that group or can act as a citizen. A decision made by the army, for example, to cease supporting the incumbent leader is an action done insofar as they are citizens and not as soldiers.

Like the organic body, the *Megacorpus* of civil society tends to maintain a homeostatic equilibrium. This homeostatic equilibrium does not exhibit the same features at all times. The homeostatic equilibrium of a human body differs depending on whether one is a zygote, a fetus, a baby, a child, an adolescent or an adult. There are certain homeostatic benchmarks for each society for the different stages of its development. Though details of these benchmarks may differ from society to society, the underlying principle from which it springs is the same: human nature. The homeostatic state of the *Megacorpus* is expressed by the material and spiritual common good that it has to achieve at this stage of its development.

A significant imbalance in this homeostatic equilibrium signals the need for some change in a part or in the relationships between parts. Homeostatic imbalance occurs when the social needs dictated by the current homeostatic benchmark are not met. Of course, it is not unusual for social needs not to be met. But when a significant amount of needs are perceived lacking, discomfort is felt in widespread parts of the *Megacorpus*. The *megacorpus* moves—in part or as a whole—to remedy the situation.

c) Parts of the Megacorpus: Elements in a Social Change Event

The following can be considered parts of the *Megacorpus* that are involved in social change events (Figure 1):

The **Main Actor** is the bulk of the people that move or react due to the perceived need for social change. It is usual to see this main bulk of society stratified into upper, middle and lower classes. The differences between them and their interaction have socio-economic significance and consequences, especially from the point of view of social change. It must not be forgotten that the people who form part of the Super-actor group and the Awareness Catalysts are also part of the Main Actor group.

Since they constitute the bulk of society, it is the disequilibrium in this group that causes the movement towards change.

The **Super-actors** are the guardians of the common good under the leadership of the Ruler. Social change can be effected by the Ruler through the super-actors. The Ruler has a key role. He is like the head of the Megabody. As Thomas Aquinas claims, by nature every society should have a ruler. This is the way in which it gets naturally organized. The super-actors under the ruler can also effect change on their own, especially when they perceive that the ruler is incapable of organizing or does not want to effect the needed change.

Elements of Social Change in a Specific Society		
Main Actor	People	Upper Class
		Middle Class
		Lower Class
Super-actors	Government	Ruler
		State Bureaucracy
		The Legislative Body
		The Justice System
		Army
Internal Awareness Catalyst	National Institutions	Media
		Social Relations
		Educational Institutions
		Religious Institutions
		Local NGOs
External Awareness Catalyst	Foreign Institutions	Foreign Media
		Foreign Governments
		Foreign Social Relations
		Foreign NGOs
The Common Good	Social Needs	Spiritual Needs
		Bodily Needs

For the Actor to move towards effecting a change, a critical mass of members of the Actor group has to be collectively aware of the gross imbalance between the perceived needs and the fulfilled needs. There are **Awareness Catalysts** that could speed up the process of awareness. We can classify these Awareness Catalysts into **Internal Awareness Catalysts** and **External Awareness Catalysts** depending on whether they form part of the said society itself or are factors external to the said society.

Among the internal awareness catalysts we find: the media, social relations, educational institutions, religious institutions and other local NGOs. Among the external awareness catalysts we find, for example, foreign media, foreign governments, foreign social relations and foreign NGOs.

Our social change model illustrates two types of *common good* as the two legs that allow the entire *Megacorpus* to stand. One leg is constituted by the spiritual goods needed by the citizens in society. The other leg is the material conditions needed to live an acceptably genuine human type of life. This is the point where our social change model departs from the usual features of a human body. While in a human body, some defect in the legs will already cause the body to move or fall, in this social change model the Actor has to be <u>aware</u> of the imbalance below in order to move or fall. The legs represent the actual conditions; the mid-body represents the people who should grow in awareness of the weakness of the support below.

Still, our model does not drift too far away from the dynamics of the human body. When the common good falters, constraint on freedom, hunger and poverty start to be felt. There is no need for anyone else to tell the people. The situation makes itself automatically felt. The awareness catalysts simply heighten what is already there.[6]

The legs of our social change model, therefore, are not made up of people but of the fulfilled needs of the people.

If both the spiritual and the corporeal needs are sufficiently provided for then the whole *Megabody* of society will remain standing up. But if at least one of them is grossly deficient, then the entire body will start collapse.

Step 2: Analysis of the Two Social Change Events

The 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution

We can summarize the survey results as follows:
1. Most of the people who participated in the 1986 revolution say that personal grievances were not the reason for their participation in the said revolution. Their main motive for going to the rallies was to show their solidarity with other people who were suffering (71.8%).
2. 88.7% of the respondents said that their awareness of the gravity of the socio-political situation in the Philippines matured over a period of time through study of available information and conversations with other people.
3. The topmost **precipitating factors** for their decision to join the rallies were the following: (1) seeing the news reports and the clips on the assassination of Benigno Aquino, Sr. at the Manila International Airport (57.7%); (2) encouragement from family members and friends (54.9%); (3) what they saw on television (47.9%); (4) what they heard over the radio (42.3%); and (5) what they read in the newspapers (40.8%). It was clear that the most moving content of media as a precipitating factor was the assassination of Benigno Aquino, Sr. For the gregarious Filipino, however, family influence comes next.
4. 48.6% of the respondents believed that the main purpose of the 1986 EDSA People Power rallies was to oust a dictator and achieve better socio-political conditions for the people of the Philippines. As regards whether this purpose was achieved, the opinion was the goal was sufficiently achieved but it would take some time before the entire process is completed (61.4%[7]). A significant 27.1% said that the goal was not achieved and that it will be achieved through means other than another revolution.
5. The top five factors that led to the successful outcome of the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution were: (1) the influence of the Church (a whopping 88.7%); (2) the involvement of the middle class (78.9%); (3) the effectiveness of the media (64.8%); (4) the support of the army (60.6%); and (5) the involvement of the poor masses (52.1%). The presence of a leader, the weakened situation of Marcos, and the intervention of the United States of America did not score as highly as the above.

What does all this mean from the point of view of the dynamics of information delivery and the resulting social

awareness within this social change event? We can deduce the following:

1. **Internal Awareness.** The internal awareness catalysts had been working on the populace way before the 1986 social change event, making them increasingly aware of the inequitable distribution of the country's wealth (material common good) and the lack of freedom (spiritual common good).

2. **The Desired Common Good.** The desire for freedom and the expression of solidarity with the poor were the bigger reasons for joining the rallies than personal financial woes.

3. **Leadership.** Credible leadership was the key to the success of that revolution. The clearest one identified by the survey was the moral leadership of Cardinal Sin, who endorsed Honasan and Enrile in their attempt to stage a coup against Marcos. Cory Aquino was the political leader behind whom the people had to rally because she presumably had won the snap elections whose results the Marcos camp had altered.

4. **Media as the Agent of Social Change.** The media was being constantly used way before that time by the internal awareness catalysts. One of them clearly stood out among the rest as the voice of freedom: *Radio Veritas*, the radio station run by the Church. Marcos had some considerable control over the media, even though pressure from overseas had by this time forced him to loosen his grip on it. It was difficult for him, however, to control *Radio Veritas*. The prestige of the Church would make a *Radio Veritas* takeover very unpopular. At the same time, *Radio Veritas* was the voice of freedom not only for the Philippines but for other neighboring countries as well, like Burma, China and Vietnam, where Communism still kept a close internal watch on the media.

5. **The Outcome.** The results for questions 8 and 9 of our survey seem to support the fact that the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution can be considered largely successful. We think that this was so because of the presence of leadership and leadership alternatives. As we shall see later, the presence of alternative leaders is the key to the success of a social change event.

The Arab Spring

1. **Internal Awareness.** The pattern of awareness development seems to be different for the Arab Spring. Islands of awareness seemed grow independently first before it coagulated into a critical mass triggered in Tunisia first by the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi. This sudden unification of independent pools of awareness could only be achieved with fast-acting information channels.

2. **The Desired Common Good.** Financial constraints and a suffocating business environment were also present in the Philippines in 1986. But the self-immolation of Bouazizi seems to paint a direr picture of the economic situation in Tunisia than in the Philippines. It is significant to note that what moved the Filipino people was the sight of Ninoy Aquino's lifeless body on the airport tarmac. This was not a portrait of hunger: it was a snapshot of the rape of one's freedom. We would dare to say, therefore, that the imbalance of the common good on the part of Tunisia was more on the side of the material common good. For the Philippines, it was more of the lack of a spiritual common good, although

we must admit that increase or decrease of the material and spiritual common good often go together.

3. **Leadership.** Recent online articles on the New York Times (August 15) suggest crises in leadership in the "newly liberated" Tunisia and Egypt. In Tunisia, the former Prime Minister Mohamed Gannouchi resigned in response to complaints that he was too closely linked with Mr. Ben Ali. Around 60 or so political parties have sprung up to try to compete with the Islamic Ennahda in the upcoming elections. In Egypt, confidence in the military force that took over after Mubarak stepped down is eroding. It is said that the Muslim Brotherhood could dominate the upcoming elections but it seems that even in the Muslim Brotherhood there are internal divisions. All this sharply contrasts with the clear leadership alternatives that were present in the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution.

4. **Media as a Social Change Agent.** Traditional media—television, radio and printed media—can more or less be effectively controlled by a dictator. For media to be an effective internal awareness catalyst, it should be able to pierce through the barrier or filter imposed by the ruling dictator. In the case of the Arab Spring, the new media was the answer. The new media can be controlled to certain extent but not 100%. It would require a great expenditure of financial resources and personnel to snuff out this channel effectively. The new media therefore has given new power to the ordinary citizen. Lone individuals or small groups could not be effectively hemmed in by the ruling power as before. The dynamics of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled have been changed by new media.

5. **The Outcome.** New media has given power to the ordinary citizen to even be able to (a) unite his people to a cause and (b) oust his leader. But could new media unite the goals of the Main Actor in a social change event? At the moment of staging the change of leadership, what could the new media do in planning out strategies and choose new leaders? Unfortunately, it does not seem that it could not work effectively in these tasks. It could easily tear down an established political power, but it could not as easily build it up anew.

Step 3: The Role of Media in these Two Social Change Events

a) Features of Traditional Media

The main message carrier in the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution was radio, specifically *Radio Veritas*. In principle, *Radio Veritas*, like any other of the traditional media—radio, television, print media—can be easily suppressed by the ruling power. The reason for this may be that such media can only function with a clear organizational structure. A dictator need only disable this organizational structure to stop it from functioning (e.g., by arresting its leaders).

If a dictator can prevent traditional media from causing awareness in the people in that way, why was Marcos unable to stop *Radio Veritas*? The answer is that Marcos had to contend with another leader: Cardinal Sin. Cardinal Sin as leader was able to use *Radio Veritas* to develop awareness and move the Main Actor in this social change event. This confirms that traditional media always functions with a leader and it will take a stronger, hostile leader to make it cease to function.

b) Features of New Media

On the other hand, the structure of the new media is different: they could function without a clear leader. Of course, at the very least, they will need the organizational structure of the Worldwide Web. But the Worldwide Web organizational structure merely needs to maintain a network of pathways over which information can flow. It just allows the information to go through. It does not have to organize ideas and movement of people. It is a passive conduit which active agents of change can use.

A leaderless communication channel with innumerable alternative pathways is capable of sidestepping any attempt to smother the passage of information. Theoretically, therefore, new media can provoke a *leaderless change*, in the sense that the participants in the change need not be politically organized in order to move: they just have to react to the information given to them. This puts a new weapon in the people's hands that they never had before.

From afar, this new power through new media seems to be an improvement for the way Democracy can be lived. In a sense, it more truthfully incarnates a rule by the people. The new media have become a super-effective loudspeaker through which the voice of the people could be immediately heard. As this voice is heard over the Web, the entire Megabody reacts as it becomes aware of the Megabody's own plea.

c) Limitations of the New Media

But, as we said, it seems that the new media can topple but it cannot build, at least not effectively. The results of the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution gave the Philippines a brighter dawn than the Arab Spring, which some prophets of doom predict might usher in a bleak hot summer and a bone-chilling winter. God forbid. But the comparison between the two events seems to support Thomas Aquinas' claim: man and society need a leader by nature. If you want a social change spring to turn into a bountiful summer, make sure you have a leader.

CONCLUSIONS

So, can we attribute the social change brought about the Arab Spring to the presence of the new media? We could say that, for this type of "leaderless change", yes. This type of change would have been very difficult to achieve using traditional media. In a traditional media environment, the super-actors can be very much in command of the internal awareness catalysts and prevent the build-up of the needed social consciousness of the imbalance in the distribution of the country's wealth.

But the traditional media have one advantage: since they can only work well when there is a leader, then a social change event that uses traditional media will always be assured of a leader. We are still to find out if it will be possible for a new leader to lead in new media-induced social change.

ENDNOTES

[1] Note that during the time of Thomas Aquinas, the world was mainly ruled by emperors and kings. Kings today do wield the same type of power as the kings of yesteryear. Even the so-called kingdoms of today are actually democracies. Thus, we have to realign the Thomistic principles to a democratic situation.

[2] The results of this survey are found in the Annex of this paper.

[3] This is different from the theory of Social Contract of John Locke and Thomas Hobbes.

[4] Other colleagues may prefer not to include the idea of a Creator into a civil society model since in practice a civil society model can still be useful even without this element. We, however, prefer to include this element because of the following: (a) it explains why the basic principles of human nature become a "given" for both citizen and ruler; and (b) it makes these principles universally desirable and obligatory.

[5] Thomas Aquinas says that, although there may be cases when there is a need to change a ruler, it is not advisable to assassinate him to achieve this. In other words, for him, it is better to have a bad ruler who can maintain order than to have no ruler at all.

[6] It is also possible to artificially create a feeling of hunger and poverty, even though the actually hunger and poverty are not there. However, this takes extra effort on the part of the catalysts that provoke this illusory feeling.

[7] This is the accumulated result of two similar replies.

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