

Disinformation Unveiled: Tracking Media Hoaxes to Build Public Literacy for Indonesia's 2024 Elections

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Abstract

This research aims to describe the phenomenon of information disruption through hoax news related to the 2019 Election in the media, and to use this understanding as a foundation for enhancing media literacy among the public for the 2024 Election. The emergence of various hoax news content across both digital and conventional media has disturbed the public and has the potential to trigger national divisions. This study employs a descriptive qualitative textual analysis method with item analysis units. Data were collected from political hoax content related to the 2019 Election, and analysis was conducted using a coding sheet for units of analysis. The research findings reveal: firstly, the phenomenon of information disruption is reinforced by the spread of hoax content related to political news about the 2019 Election, as evidenced by the analysis of the top 10 news items; secondly, the forms and types of hoax content concerning political news about the 2019 Election are predominantly classified into 7 categories of hoaxes according to the First Draft; thirdly, there is a need for media-savvy strategies ahead of the 2024 Election, which includes mastering digital literacy.

Keywords: disinformation, media, politics, public, media literacy, hoax, 2024 election

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduce the Problem

The fact that the 4.0 era is no longer a social contract is proven by the reality that everyone has their own opinion, and the digital environment now has its own reality (Krishna, 2020; Royackers et al., 2018) digital era is often referred to as a period of disruption in all fields of work. According to a study by Price Water House Coopers (PWC), the media industry is the most damaged sector, followed by financial institutions and retail (Albarran, 2023; Stetka & Örnebring, 2013). The development of Artificial Intelligence (AI) is a turbulent time where the speed of technological development exceeds our learning speed. This is what is causing many things to disrupt the business world (George, 2015; Lestari & Fitri, 2021; Saito & Takeda, 2014; Wu, 2018).

Information and communication technology has changed everyone's behavior, including media consumption habits. In the past, people subscribed to media to obtain information, but now, there is an overwhelming flood of abundant and free information (Bawden & Robinson, 2020; Royackers et al., 2018; Temmerman et al., 2019). Today, our society can no longer distinguish between true and false information (hoaxes), which is one of the signs of information disruption in the media. In many societies, including those with strong religious beliefs, people often rely on trusted sources, including religious leaders, for guidance.

Indonesia, as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, has a predominantly Islamic demographic. Approximately 87% of the population adheres to Islam (Randeree, 2019). This significant majority shapes various aspects of the nation's culture, law, and social norms. In Islam, spreading hoax and lying are considered serious sins. Hoax is fake news which is false information but made to appear true (McGonagle, 2017; Molina et al., 2021; Tandoc, 2021).

With the above definition, it is clear that hoaxes are contrary to Islamic teachings. Islam strictly prohibits people from

lying, conveying false news, and changing news with the intention of misleading or malicious interests. This is revealed in the Al Quran Surah An-Nur (24): 19 states:

"Indeed, those who wish for (the news of) such abominable acts to spread among the believers, for them will be a painful punishment in this world and in the hereafter. And Allah knows, while you do not know".

While these principles are highly valued in Islam, real-world practices often face challenges. Media in Indonesia, as in many other countries, frequently becomes a platform for spreading hoaxes and false information. The sad reality is that while the spread of hoax content is widespread through social media, which in fact has no gatekeeper, now hoax content is also appearing on television, which is electronic journalism bound by a journalistic code of ethics. One of the fake news circulating on TV was the report about the calculation of Quick Count results on Metro TV and Indosiar, which said that the Prabowo-Sandi candidate pair won in the 2019 elections.



Figure 1. Quick Count Results Calculation on Metro TV: Prabowo Wins

Molina said that "Fake news is not simply false information, it is designed to conceal true information as an attempt to distort the truth" (Molina et al., 2021). The Indonesian media should be able to act as a fair referee, director, and supervisor in the implementation of the 2019 Election in accordance with Article 1 of the Journalistic Code of Ethics, Always act independently by reporting events or facts according to one's conscience and producing accurate, trustworthy, and objective news (Laitila, 1995). There is a lack of in-depth research examining how media ownership influences the agenda-setting process in Indonesian media, especially when media owners have strong political or economic interests.

Belief in the truth of information has become so personal and public that it has developed into a post-truth era where truth increases along with freedom of speech, which is expressed in various forms and very massive and disruptive digital and print content (Harsin, 2018; Richter, 2019; Wu, 2018) All of this content contains relative truth and is full of economic and political propaganda agendas (Zamroni, 2022). Meanwhile, rational journalists as truth seekers are increasingly frustrated because they have to race against time and social media headlines (Hanusch et al., 2020). There is a need to explore how social media trends and headlines impact the agenda-setting process in traditional Indonesian media.

Additionally, journalists must manage the interests of media owners, pressure from editorial staff, organizational economics, and individual/organizational interests in assessing potential risks (McCombs, 2005; Stetka & Örnebring, 2013). Many journalists and those who 'pretend to be journalists' participate in the fast and current content bandwagon, producing content that is sometimes dishonest and unconvincing because they focus on advertising (Hanusch et al., 2020; Reese, 1991) By sticking to consistent topics, they get more clicks. Journalists in the media today do not only carry out their function as journalists but also as buzzers "Framing Artisans" (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2012, 2016; Sharra, 2019).

This criticism stems from the fact that editors work in partisan media or collaborate with conglomerates of interest owners (Albarran, 2023; George, 2015; Zamroni, 2022) Strangely, even though there are editors who try to be honest, they still cannot succeed because media owners are political workers. In the end, journalists and these companies are forced to follow the orders of their leaders to carry out two buzzer functions to lead news processing in print media, online, and on TV screens (Park & Rim, 2019) According to Bungin (2007), the owner's desire is so strong that anyone who chooses to work in the media will have the same vision, namely "saving themselves" in the media from bankruptcy or capital owners (Leeper & Slothuus, 2020; McCombs & Valenzuela, 2020).

False information and fake news can erode people's trust in authorities, experts, and the government. For example, 88% of consumers depend on online reviews, and 72% of them have strong confidence in businesses with positive feedback (Ahmed, 2017). Another example is the 2016 U.S. presidential election. During the campaign, numerous Russian fake accounts spread anti-Clinton messages, such as claims that "Hillary was sick," "Hillary was a criminal," and "Obama had a secret army," aiming to sway those who were less strongly committed to Hillary Clinton (Russia used fake news; The

fake Americans Russia created to influence the election). Voters could easily be influenced by this misinformation and even become complicit in spreading it by sharing and commenting on the fake content. Some view Donald Trump's victory in the 2016 U.S. presidential election as partially a result of this fake news (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017). Fake news continues to have a significant presence on the Internet, leading to serious consequences for society, politics, IT, financial matters, and anyone living in a digital environment where trust is at risk. There is an urgent need to develop a robust, real-time system focused on detecting and identifying online fake news.

However, what is happening now is that the press industry is also contributing to the perpetuation of information disruption and misinformation. Research data from Mastel shows that there are many types of fake news or hoax content, including: public, political, ethnic, religious, racial, and intergroup, health and technology (Royackers et al., 2018). As for prank content, the channels include; social media, internet sites, television, print, email, and radio (Mastel, 2016).

According to data from the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (Kominfo), there has been an increase in political hoax content leading up to the 2019 Presidential Election (Haryanto, 2019). A total of 486 hoaxes, false news, and fake news were identified by the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology of the Republic of Indonesia during April 2019. Political hoaxes dominated April, with false news attacking the president and vice president, politicians, and election organizers, including the General Elections Commission (KPU) and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) (Kominfo, 2019a). Referring to Kominfo's AIS machine analysis, the number of hoaxes, false news, fake news, and hate speech continued to rise leading up to the voting day on April 17, 2019. This did not stop on the day of the vote; the number of hoaxes continued to increase post-election (Kominfo, 2019b).

The issue of media disruption and political hoaxes is inherently controversial, with various stakeholders holding differing views. On one side, some argue from previous study found that digital media democratizes information access and empowers individuals (Astuti, 2021). On the other, critics point to the negative consequences of misinformation and the erosion of journalistic standards. This research seeks to present a balanced view, acknowledging the benefits of digital media while critically examining its pitfalls, particularly in the context of political information.

Previous studies have identified the media industry as highly susceptible to disruption and have noted the increasing role of AI and digital platforms in this process (Bawden & Robinson, 2009; Dwivedi et al., 2021; Karimi & Walter, 2015; Lestari & Fitri, 2021; Saito & Takeda, 2014; Saputri & Resty, 2018). However, there is inconsistency in how these disruptions are quantified and the specific impact they have on media integrity and public trust. By conducting a qualitative textual analysis of political hoax news in the 2019 election coverage, this research aims to resolve these inconsistencies and provide a clearer picture of the phenomenon.

The purpose of this research is to examine the phenomenon of media information disruption through a qualitative textual analysis of political hoax news in the 2019 election coverage. This study aims to provide insights that will serve as ammunition for developing a media-savvy society capable of navigating the complex information landscape of the 2024 elections. By addressing both theoretical inconsistencies and practical implications, the research contributes to a more nuanced understanding of media disruption and its impact on democratic processes.

Based on the background description above, the research question is directed towards: How is the phenomenon of media information disruption examined through qualitative textual analysis of political hoax news in the 2019 election coverage as ammunition for an intelligent media-savvy society in the 2024 elections? and how does agenda-setting influence the prioritization of political news on social media during the 2019 Indonesian general elections?

2. Literature Review

Hoaxes are not a new phenomenon; the dissemination of information containing hoax content has existed for 17 centuries, spanning various domains such as academia, science, religion, mythology, humor, legends, and so forth (Duhon, 2017; Gorbach, 2018). According to Chen, a hoax is misleading and harmful information that deceives public perception by presenting false information as truth. Incorrect statements can affect many people by damaging their reputation and credibility (Chen, 2014). Investigating hoaxes just to find out the details of course has no limits, in fact many people fall into hoaxes because they only know the details of the hoax but few know the characteristics of the hoax (Harsin, 2018; Levitskaya & Fedorov, 2020; Park & Rim, 2019).

There are several close definitions of fake news, such as rumors, satire news, fake reviews, misinformation, fake advertisements, conspiracy theories, false statement by politicians etc., which affect every aspect of people's lives (Zhang & Ghorbani, 2020). Pakpahan, identifies five key characteristics of hoax news. Firstly, hoax news typically features provocative headlines or prank stories designed to entice readers into clicking on the content, particularly on social media platforms. These sensational headlines are crafted to capture attention and generate clicks. Secondly, the names of media sites that publish hoax news often closely resemble those of established major media companies, creating a false sense of legitimacy. Thirdly, the content of hoax news frequently includes opinions rather than factual information, with sources

that are unclear or not credible, and often presents limited or misleading facts. Fourthly, hoaxes are known for using deceptive information that can mislead readers. Lastly, the proliferation of hoaxes is facilitated by the creation of new, cloned, and fake accounts, which are used to disseminate and amplify false information across various platforms (Pakpahan, 2017).

There are several reasons why people spread hoaxes, and these motivations can vary widely. Kumar, outline three primary reasons for the dissemination of incorrect information. First, misinformation can occur when individuals share information, they genuinely believe to be true, despite its inaccuracy. This type of misinformation arises from a sincere but erroneous conviction that the facts being communicated are correct. Second, disinformation involves the deliberate creation and dissemination of false information intended to deceive or mislead an audience. This form of falsehood is crafted with the specific intent to manipulate public perception or understanding. Finally, some individuals engage in disinformation not to mislead the audience but to shape a particular impression of themselves. This form of disinformation is used strategically to influence how others perceive the individual, rather than to propagate false facts directly (Kumar et al., 2016).

The term hoax has long been used to describe misinformation or fake news. Other phrases that are regularly used interchangeably with hoaxes include fake news, misinformation, disinformation, and information disorder. However, UNESCO highlights that these terms, while often used interchangeably, represent different facets of false information. Understanding these distinctions is crucial because each type of misinformation has unique characteristics and effects. Recognizing and comprehending these distinctions can help in developing effective strategies to mitigate the negative impact of false information and promote media literacy (Ireton & Posetti, 2020). These types of misinformation contribute to the spread of false information in the media, and it is important to recognize and understand them to mitigate their negative impact.

Based on Firstdraft, there are seven prevalent types of misinformation found in the media. The first type is satire or parody, which includes content that isn't intended to cause harm but can mislead the audience if not recognized as humor or a joke. Another form is the false connection, where headlines, images, or captions are used out of context, leading to a disconnect between the content and its original context, such as using unrelated images to support false claims. Misleading content is another type, where information is deliberately distorted or presented selectively to create a false perception. Then there's fabricated content, which is entirely false, crafted to deceive and cause harm. This can include articles, images, or videos that are created from scratch to spread falsehoods. Manipulated content involves genuine information that has been altered or edited in a way that misleads the audience, such as photos that are edited to promote a false narrative. False context is a type where accurate information is used but placed in an incorrect or misleading context, leading to erroneous conclusions. Lastly, there is imposter content, where information is created or altered with the deliberate intent to spread lies, often for propaganda purposes or financial gain. Understanding these types of misinformation is crucial in identifying and mitigating the spread of false information in the media (Firstdraft, 2017).

The remaining three types are false connections, fake context, and manipulated content. False connections are usually shared for profit and often involve sensational headlines. Fake context involves presenting content with inaccurate narration and context, including misrepresented statements, images, or videos. Manipulated content involves editing credible information from reputable media sources to deceive the public.

The forms of political hoaxes addressed in this research include political hoaxes in the form of photos, written content, and videos. Political hoaxes in the form of photos refer to political images that are not true, which could be edited photos where the message differs significantly from the original or written content that does not match reality. Political hoaxes in video form involve edited videos where the conveyed message differs greatly from the original meaning.

To explore how the spread of political hoaxes affects media agendas and shapes public perception of political and social issues, the agenda-setting theory is employed. This theory provides crucial insights into how political hoaxes and information disruption influence media agendas and public perceptions. The Agenda Setting Theory, pioneered by Maxwell McCombs, explains how media topic choices and coverage frequency affect the perceived importance of these topics for the public (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2020). According to the agenda-setting theory, media communicates what is important to the audience, rather than what the audience considers important.

The Agenda Setting Process involves several key stages. First, issue selection, occurs when media outlets choose specific topics or issues to report on (Dearing, 1996; McCombs, 2005). This selection determines which issues will be highlighted and which may be overlooked. Next, news focus comes into play, where the media allocates varying levels of attention and space to the issues they have selected. Some issues receive extensive coverage, while others might be given minimal attention or ignored altogether. Finally, through issue prioritization, the media's emphasis on certain issues makes them appear more significant to the public. As a result, issues that are frequently covered and receive prominent media attention are perceived as more important by the audience. This process shapes public perception and the relative importance of different topics within the media landscape (Reese, 1991).

This theory aids in analyzing not only the frequency but also the quality of political hoaxes reported in the media. For instance, it allows for evaluating whether more prominent or frequently reported hoaxes receive greater attention and impact the overall media agenda.

3. Method

This research employs a qualitative textual analysis method. Textual analysis is a scientific method used to study and draw conclusions about what occurs in the use of books (texts) (Eriyanto, 2011). This method was developed from Krippendorff's critique of Berelson's quantitative textual analysis, which required a logical correspondence and support for each analysis as textual analysis. The data presentation in this study uses a descriptive method. The descriptive method in textual analysis aims to describe information or texts in greater detail (Hennink, 2020).

This approach is not intended to test ideas but to define aspects, conditions, or characteristics of political content in the 2019 elections across traditional and online media. Unlike general textual analysis that utilizes quantitative data, the researcher prefers to use qualitative textual analysis. Qualitative textual analysis according to Krippendorff is a systematic approach used to understand meaning, patterns, and representations in textual communication (Krippendorff, 2018). To facilitate the research process, the researcher will divide the study into two main categories: substance and technical aspects. These two divisions are referred to as units of analysis. Each unit of analysis has specific points to clarify the aspects emphasized in the research. The details will be explained as follows:

Table 1. Unit of Analysis of this research method

Unit of Analysis	Characteristics
Substance	Theme
	Content
	Background
	Function of the Text
	Construction of the Public Sphere
	Relevance to Current Conditions
Technical (Non-Substance)	Writing Style
	Language Usage
	Use of Visualization

The basis for ranking the categories in the analysis appears to stem from their relevance and importance in understanding and deconstructing hoax content in media. Each category represents a different dimension of how hoax content is constructed and disseminated, from the core idea (theme) to the methods of presentation (visualization).

The study focuses exclusively on political hoax content from the 2019 Indonesian election, which may limit the generalizability of the findings to other elections or contexts. The data is restricted to the period around the election, including the campaign, election day, and the post-election period, which may not fully represent hoax dynamics at other times. This study's reliance on the top ten political hoax contents detected by the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kominfo) may introduce selection bias. The selection is based on Kominfo's detection criteria and may not capture all significant hoax content or reflect the broader spectrum of misinformation. The primary data collected by Kominfo during April 2019, which could be limited by the organization's detection capabilities and reporting methods. Kominfo's classification and identification of hoaxes might influence the findings and could miss some hoaxes or incorrectly classify others.

This includes hoax content during the campaign period, the election itself, quick count results, and the post-election period. This period was chosen because, based on the analysis of the Kominfo AIS Machine, the number of hoaxes, fake news, and hate speech continued to increase leading up to the voting day on April 17, 2019. During this month, Kominfo identified 209 hoaxes in the political field, and this number was the highest since August 2018 (Haryanto, 2019). These political hoax contents include false news attacking the President and Vice President, political parties, and election organizers, both the General Elections Commission (KPU) and Elections Supervisory Board (Bawaslu).

The data analysis in this study is conducted by quantifying the data previously presented in a coding sheet in the quantitative sense is based on frequency, while in the qualitative sense, it involves interpretation and meaning derived from the intensity of occurrences (Noeng Muhadjir, 1996). Therefore, the quantification in this research refers to the presentation of tendencies found in each research unit from the political hoax content of the 2019 election present in both conventional and online media.

4. Results

4.1 Media, Politics and Information Disruption: Mapping 2019 Election News Hoaxes in the Media

Hoax became increasingly rampant throughout the 2019 election, both during the campaign, during voting, quick count results and after voting. This hoax also makes people anxious. The hoax news data in this research refers to data reported by the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo RI) which collected a number of hoaxes related to the 2019 Election.

The Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (Kominfo) successfully identified 771 hoax or fake news contents during the 2019 election period over the last seven months, from August 2018 to February 2019. The majority hoax contents were related to politics in the lead-up to the 2019 Presidential Election. In fact, the number of hoax contents doubled in February 2019.

Table 2. Kominfo Hoax Issues Findings by Category (August 2018 - April 23, 2019)

Category	Number / %
Politics	549
Health	199
Government	199
Defamation	159
Crime	105
Religion	92
Natural Disasters	88
Myths	56
Miscellaneous	54
International	45
Fraud	43
Trade	14
Education	7

Fake news or hoaxes became increasingly rampant throughout the 2019 Election, both during the campaign, voting, quick count results and after voting. This fake news also makes people anxious. The hoax data in this research refers to data reported by the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kemkominfo RI) which collected a number of hoaxes related to the 2019 Election. As in the data collection process that was carried out first. by ranking political hoax content in the top ten that emerged from conventional media and online media/social media. The following is a list of 10 political news hoaxes related to the 2019 Election in various media as described below.

Table 3. Findings of the Top 10 Selected Political Hoax News in the 2019 Election

Political News Hoax Content Title	Media Name
1. Photo of Audience Showing Two-Finger Salute at Millennial Road Safety Festival - Social Media "Facebook"	Social Media "Facebook"
2. Calculation of Quick Count Results on Metro TV Prabowo Wins	Television Media "Metro TV"
3. They are not a survey institute but Jokowi's team	Social Media "Facebook"
4. In Bekasi there were 6,000 polling stations and Prabowo won	Media Sosial "Twitter"
5. Ballots in Surabaya have been voted for candidate pair 01	Video Media
6. Prabowo expelled Sandiaga Uno because he did not agree with the declarator	Television Media "SCTV"
7. "Quick Count" Is Called a Form of Election Results Fraud	Social Media "Twitter"
8. TPS2 Exit Poll Results in Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand Absolute Win for Prabowo-Sandi	Social Media "Twitter"
9. Amien Rais Doesn't Believe in the Constitution, Provokes Efforts to Delegitimize the General Election Commission	Social Media "Facebook"
10. Sheikh Ali Jaber Supports Jokowi	Social Media "Facebook"

From the 10 political news hoaxes above, the researcher then carried out a review and analysis using qualitative textual analysis with item analysis units through coding sheets or cross-sections. The item analysis unit consists of several

characteristics including; 1) Theme, 2) Content, 3) Setting, 4) Function of Writing, 5) Construction of Public Space, 6) Relevance to current conditions, 7) Writing style, 8) Use of language, and 9) Use of visualization.

Theme Title Content Hoax Political News Selected based on the results of research findings that have been carried out in relation to the theme of political news hoax content titles, it can be concluded that of the 10 selected political news hoax titles, in fact there are 9 political news hoax content titles whose authors deliberately took the theme of political support for the presidential and vice presidential candidates serial number. Prabowo-Sandiaga, who at that time was contesting with the incumbent President's opponent, namely the presidential candidate pair number one Jokowi-Maruf.

a. Fill In The Title Of The Selected Political News Hoax Content

Based on the content of the titles of hoax political news content that is currently viral, the researchers based the 10 selected hoax news content titles, all of which showed that there was no match between the photo/meme and the narrative facts of the respective news articles. The content of this news article also shows that there are conflicts of different political interests which the author deliberately raises for the public. Even the contents of political news hoax content titles are closely related to the logical, intellectual and emotional development of the author.

b. Background To The Title Of Selected Political News Hoax Content

The findings of this research show that the 10 selected political news hoax content titles, when viewed from the background of the political news hoax content titles, can be classified according to the place and time of the events narrated in the political news hoax content. If you look at the photos/memes in the titles of political news hoax content in the 10 political news hoax content titles, it appears that there was engineering by the author. This is because it is not the same as a photo/meme with a written narrative that describes each title of the political news hoax content. Looking at the place where the event or incident took place as narrated does not match the place where the photo/meme was intentionally displayed.

c. Function of Writing Title of Selected Political News Hoax Content

If you look at the written narratives of the 10 political news hoax content titles selected in this research, then referring to the existing media functions, it seems that there are two (2) media functions that often appear and are carried out; First, to provide information where the author of these 10 political news hoax content titles wants to inform the audience about the existence of events or happenings as depicted in the written narrative and which are accompanied by photos/memes by the author. In this condition, it is also intended to divert public attention and provoke the emotions of other candidate pairs, in this case the presidential and vice presidential candidate pair number two Prabowo-Sandiaga and the presidential and vice presidential candidate number one candidate pair Jokowi-Maruf Amin. Second, the function is to influence (to influence) the audience by providing confidence and justification for the writing that appears, namely the circulation of a written tweet on social media such as; Twitter, Facebook, Video, even television media, actually give strong signals to influence voters to be in line and agree with the choice of presidential and vice presidential candidates as in the choice of the writer/disseminator of the 10 selected political news hoax content titles.

d. Construction of Public Space Title of Hoax Content Selected Political News

From the research findings on Media, Politics and Information Disruption: Mapping 2019 Election News Hoaxes in the Media, it describes 10 selected political news hoax content titles that actually all utilize conventional mass media and online media/social media. As found and described from the 10 selected political news hoax content titles, the researchers classified them into conventional media sources and online media/social media which can be mapped into: 4 political news hoax content titles sourced from Facebook social media; 3 titles of hoax political news content sourced from social media Twitter; 2 political news hoax content titles sourced from television media; and only 1 title of hoax political news content came from Video media.

e. Relevance to Current Conditions of Selected Political Hoax News Titles

If you look closely at the findings of this research, the 10 selected political news hoax content titles actually have relevance to the current situation. Where the construction of this political news hoax was written with the situation and conditions coinciding with the socialization and campaign period for the 2019 Presidential Election, at which time there were two presidential and vice presidential candidates contesting. Of course, this momentum was taken because it has its own news value.

f. Writing Selected Political News Hoax Content Titles

It seems that if you look closely at the findings of this research, it becomes clear that the authors of the 10 selected political news hoax content titles seem to have a writing style that is pithy, straightforward and newsworthy. The choice of this kind of writing style is certainly intended so that readers believe in the information presented by the author. Moreover, there is a match between the news articles and photos which are identical to the support for the presidential candidate pair

number one Jokowi-Maruf Amin and the presidential candidate pair number two Prabowo-Gibran during the 2019 presidential election stages.

g. Use of Selected Political News Hoax Content Title Language

The language used is; Indonesian (as national language). And international language (as English). This probably means that the target readers of Facebook social media members are the majority of millennials. Of course, this language style is easier to reach the target reader.

h. After carefully observing the use of Visualization of Selected Political News Hoax Content Titles

Based on research findings related to Media, Politics and Information Disruption: Mapping 2019 Election News Hoaxes in the Media as Ammunition for Smart Community Media Skills Ahead of the 2024 Election, has given a convincing impression in influencing audiences, selected political news hoax content writers should continue to utilize visualization in the form of photos/memes that complement the writing in the narrative of the results of this research. The choice of photos/memes, and in the title of the hoax content of the selected political news, of course provides a symbol that identifies support for the number one presidential candidate pair, Jokowi-Maruf Amin, and the number two presidential candidate pair, Prabowo-Sandiaga.

4.2 Media, Politics, and Information Disruption: Sources of Political News Hoaxes in the 2019 Election News

The analysis shows that social media platforms, especially Facebook and Twitter, are significant sources of political news hoaxes out of the 10 hoax titles analyzed :

- a. 4 originated from Facebook.
- b. 3 came from Twitter.
- c. 2 were from television media.
- d. 1 was sourced from video media.

This distribution indicates that social media is a primary avenue for spreading political misinformation, with traditional media like television also playing a role, albeit to a lesser extent. The fact that video media had the least number of hoaxes suggests that while videos can be influential, they are less frequently used for this purpose compared to text and image-based content on social media.

The researchers categorized the political hoaxes into different forms, including photos, writing, and videos. The variation in formats—photos combined with text, purely written content, and videos—reflects the adaptability of hoax creators in using various media to reach and influence different audiences.

Furthermore, the hoaxes were classified according to the seven forms/types of misinformation as identified by (Firstdraft, 2017). These include:

- a. Satire/Parody: Content that might seem harmless but can be misleading if not recognized as a joke. For instance, a hoax on Facebook claiming a group was not a survey institute but Jokowi's campaign team.
- b. False Connection: Mismatched titles and content, such as a hoax on SCTV claiming Sandiaga Uno was expelled by Prabowo.
- c. False Context: Accurate information presented in a misleading context, like the hoax on Facebook alleging Amien Rais provoked an effort to delegitimize the General Election Commission.
- d. Misleading Content: Distorted content designed to discredit, exemplified by a Twitter hoax claiming that a "Quick Count" was a form of election fraud.
- e. Manipulated Content: Genuine content that has been altered, such as a Twitter hoax about exit poll results favoring Prabowo-Sandi.
- f. Fabricated Content: Completely fake content, like the hoax on Facebook showing a "Compact Photo of Spectators Holding Up Two Fingers" at an event, which was fabricated.

These findings underscore the complexity and sophistication of political misinformation. The use of various platforms and formats to spread hoaxes reflects a calculated approach to influence public opinion and manipulate electoral outcomes. Social media's role as a primary conduit for these hoaxes highlights the need for robust media literacy and effective strategies for identifying and countering misinformation. Moreover, the alignment of these hoaxes with the seven forms of misinformation defined by Firstdraft demonstrates how widespread and varied these tactics are, making it even more challenging to combat their effects. Understanding these patterns is crucial for developing targeted interventions to prevent the spread of political misinformation and protect the integrity of the electoral process.

4.3 Media Agenda Setting and the 2019 Election Hoax Findings

The media agenda setting theory suggests that the media does not directly instill specific attitudes or behaviors in the audience but rather influences which issues are deemed important by the audience (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2020; Reese, 1991). In the context of the 2019 elections in Indonesia, both conventional media and social media played a key role in disseminating information, including false information or hoaxes. Data shows that out of 1,610 hoaxes found during the period from August 2018 to April 23, 2019, 549 were political hoaxes. The peak of hoax dissemination occurred in March 2019 with 453 hoax issues. According to the agenda setting theory, media has the ability to influence what the public considers important. Hoaxes spread during the elections, such as incorrect quick count results or allegations of vote manipulation, created confusion and distrust in the election process. This demonstrates how media, through the spread of hoaxes, can influence public perception and agenda.

In the 2019 elections, social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter became the primary avenues for hoax dissemination. Of the 10 political hoaxes analyzed, 7 originated from social media. This shows how social media has become a key arena for spreading misleading information and how it can shape the public agenda. Hoaxes often use photos and videos to strengthen false narratives. In the 2019 elections, many hoaxes used visual content to make false information appear more credible. This aligns with the agenda setting theory where the use of visuals can enhance the media's influence in determining which issues are considered important by the public.

The two main functions of media in the dissemination of hoaxes are providing information and influencing. Hoaxes not only provide false information but also aim to influence public views on certain candidates. This is clearly seen from hoaxes circulating about the support or victory of certain candidates that do not match the facts. Research findings show that the hoaxes spread had relevance to the social and political conditions at the time, such as the campaign and election periods. This indicates that hoax disseminators take advantage of important moments to reinforce their agendas.

Both conventional media like television and online media like Facebook and Twitter played a role in the dissemination of hoaxes. The hoaxes originating from television and social media show that all forms of media can be used to influence the public agenda. In facing the 2024 elections, it is crucial for the public to improve media literacy. Media literacy is the ability to access, analyze, evaluate, and create media in various forms. It equips individuals with the skills needed to critically assess the information they consume, helping them distinguish between reliable and unreliable sources. In an era where misinformation and fake news are widespread, media literacy is essential for understanding the influence of media on society and making informed decisions (Jennifer Fleming & Christopher Karadjov, 2020; Mallon, 2018). Understanding the political and election processes, and have skills in checking and verifying information sources. This will help the public not to be easily influenced by hoaxes and to ensure the information they receive is accurate and reliable.

The media agenda setting theory can be used to understand how hoaxes during the 2019 elections influenced public perception and the political agenda. With social media being the primary platform for hoax dissemination, it is important for the public to enhance media literacy and critical skills in dealing with received information, especially ahead of the 2024 elections.

4.4 Diverse Arsenal of Media Literacy Skills for the Public Election

In facing the 2024 election, the public needs to have smart media skills to be able to map news hoaxes related to the election. In mapping news hoaxes about the 2019 election in the media as ammunition for people's smart media skills ahead of the 2024 election, there are several steps that can be taken:

- a. *Strengthen Media Literacy.* The public needs to improve their ability to use digital media, including understanding the characteristics of hoax news and verifying the information they receive.
- b. *Developing an Understanding of Politics and the Election Process.* The public needs to have a deep understanding of politics and the election process so they can critically analyze news related to the election (Kusno, 2019).
- c. *Improve Skills in Checking and Verifying Information Sources.* This is important to ensure that the information received is truly accurate and reliable.
- d. *Follow trusted media and platforms.* The public needs to follow and pay attention to trusted media and platforms to get accurate information and not be influenced by hoax news.

In the 2019 election, there were various cases of hoaxes and false information which were then believed to be true by some people. These hoax cases, among others, include accusations of fraud in vote counting, defamation of presidential candidates, spreading slander against candidates, manipulation of survey data, and a number of other negative news. Various cases of hoaxes and misinformation that emerged during the 2019 elections had a significant impact on the general election itself and the democratic process as a whole. In the context of agenda setting, the media has a very important role

in determining what issues are of concern to the public during the election period. The media has the power to determine the issues that get public attention during elections (Levitskaya & Fedorov, 2020; Reese, 1991) The spread of hoaxes and misinformation that occurred during the 2019 elections is a clear example of how agenda setting is carried out by the media. In general elections, the media has the ability to organize its audience in determining the main issues or most popular issues that will be discussed and debated. This can produce significant effects, where certain issues become dominant and shape public opinion and people's views on the candidates involved in the election.

In the 2019 Election, the media has an important role in influencing agenda setting and the spread of hoaxes and misinformation. The media has the power to determine the issues that get public attention during elections and can manipulate public perceptions of the candidates involved. The impact of the spread of hoaxes and misinformation during the 2019 election includes the impact on candidate reputation, societal polarization, the sustainability of democracy, and the legitimacy of general election results. The spread of hoaxes and misinformation can also cause public doubt about the integrity of general elections, trigger panic and uncertainty, and threaten political and social stability.

The research findings reveal a concerning trend where the overwhelming availability of information in the digital age has made it difficult for society to distinguish between true and false information. This issue is particularly significant in Indonesia, where the majority of the population adheres to Islam. The Islamic faith places great emphasis on honesty and prohibits the spread of false information, as emphasized in Surah An-Nur (24:19). The presence of hoaxes on platforms that are expected to maintain journalistic integrity, such as television, indicates a significant breakdown in the ethical dissemination of information. The example of false reports on Quick Count results during the 2019 elections on Metro TV and Indosiar demonstrates how even reputable media outlets can become conduits for misinformation, which is contrary to the ethical guidelines and Islamic teachings. The findings of this research show that these principles are not always upheld in practice.

5. Conclusion

The research concludes that the phenomenon of media information disruption through the qualitative textual analysis of political hoax news in the 2019 election coverage reveals several critical insights for an intelligent media-savvy society in the 2024 elections. The media agenda setting theory provides a useful framework for understanding the impact of hoaxes during the 2019 elections in Indonesia. The rampant spread of political hoaxes, particularly through social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter, illustrates the media's power in shaping public perception and the political agenda.

Media, both conventional and social, played a significant role in disseminating information and hoaxes, influencing which issues the public considered important during the election period. Hoaxes created confusion and distrust in the electoral process, demonstrating the media's ability to influence public perceptions and attitudes towards political events and candidates. The use of photos and videos in hoaxes made false information appear more credible, enhancing the media's influence in setting the public agenda. In the other hand the primary functions of media in spreading hoaxes were to provide false information and to influence public opinion, often aligning with the agendas of specific political candidates.

The timing and content of hoaxes were closely related to the social and political context of the 2019 elections, showing how hoax disseminators exploited significant moments for greater impact. Both conventional and online media were instrumental in the dissemination of hoaxes, highlighting the pervasive nature of misinformation across all media types. To combat the influence of hoaxes in future elections, particularly the 2024 elections, the public needs to improve media literacy, understand political processes, and develop skills in verifying information sources. Overall, the spread of hoaxes during the 2019 elections underscores the critical need for enhanced media literacy and critical thinking skills among the public to ensure they are not easily swayed by false information. This will be vital in fostering a more informed and resilient electorate in future elections.

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Authors contributions

GGH were responsible for providing research ideas and writing research proposals. MZ were responsible for field research and preparation of the initial manuscript. GGH, MZ and YDA were responsible for data collection. MZ and YDA drafted the manuscript. MZ and YDA were responsible to make a revision. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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