

The Centrality of the Actor-Network of the Manpower Bill in Tempo's Weekly Magazine Reporting

Radita Gora

UPN Veteran Jakarta

Jalan RS. Fatmawati Raya, Pd. Labu, Kec. Cilandak, Kota Depok, Jawa Barat 12450

*Email: raditagora@upnvj.ac.id

ABSTRACT

The drafting of the Job Creation Bill (RUU) invites public controversy to the occurrence of a community movement rejecting the Job Creation Bill and also the omnibus law. This has invited Tempo magazine to report on the draft regulation by placing statements of certain actors in the news as well as Tempo's tendency to involve actors in its communication network. So here it is indicated that there is a problem of ambiguity in the involvement of political actors in the news. Through the use of media sovereignty theory to examine the media in utilizing their freedom of authority, as well as analysis of communication networks to identify the presence of the central actor in Tempo's reporting. Here it is found that the network density is low, the relationship between actors and actors needs to go through several steps so that the network distribution is very wide. In addition, Tempo has an imbalance in placing political actors in Tempo's reporting, so political actors are not fully explained in terms of their relationships, including the network relations between these political actors.

Keyword : Abstract, Business, management, manuscript template.



INTRODUCTION

Every change in the draft law (RUU) will certainly be a pro and contra among the political elite who dwell in parliament. Each member of parliament certainly does not always agree on changes to the draft law, but the machinations of changing the draft law are not enough to reach the parliament, but also penetrate the controversy among the people who are so fiercely opposed to the Job Creation Bill in 2020.

Demonstrations against the ratification of the omnibus law on the job creation law took place in various regions in Indonesia until October 2020. Many of the actions carried out by workers and students ended in chaos. The action was marked by burning tires, disturbing police cars, and knocking down government office gates.

Several regulations on the job creation bill are considered controversial, including those related to contract workers (certain time work agreements), worker wages, severance pay for workers or other workers, the labour relations system to industrial problems, reviewing the mechanism for termination of employment (PHK), making schemes. regulations on industrial relations disputes, as well as the provision of social security and other benefits.

The Job Creation Act is seen as a culmination of a dead-end without gaps, without hope. This bill was approved in the plenary session of the House of Representatives (DPR) on October 5, and the law is in the hands of the President for approval and promulgation.

The drafting of the Omnibus Law Job Creation Bill has indeed become a topic of discussion in the community and the media. This is based on the disagreement of the public, the government, including the media in interpreting the contents of the law that is detrimental to workers or workers and benefits the entrepreneur or company that employs the workers. This is certainly not fitting from the negative speculation of the audience, including the media, so that the circulation of hoaxes and even hate speech continues to pass through mass communication media, including social media that can encourage public opinion. This is what then drives the motivation of scientists to research the polemic of the draft bill on job creation.

It has been widely discussed in various political discussion forums how bad the impact of the law is on the welfare of workers, the environment, eradicating corps, and even the investment climate. The controversy over this bill has arisen because there have been many issues circulating about how bad the legislative process for the formation of the law was carried out in secret, did not involve the public, and was decided in a meeting that merely fulfils democratic procedures but leaves the substance of democracy itself. After the hammer was hammered on the draft, it was discovered that the DPR was still adding and subtracting several articles that violated the law. The violations were even more complete when outside the DPR building, the demonstrators who protested this rule were beaten and arrested. So that this bill later became a polemic and also invited complications other than mental violence that led to physical violence.

The hectic controversy over the Omnibus Law Job Creation Bill as well as the massive demonstration that took place in October 2020, of course, not only made it crowded among the wider community, especially workers and students but was also busy in mass media coverage. As was the case with the news in the weekly magazine Tempo with a very hardcover title with a satirical stigma in its title " Siasat Pinocchio Senayan " which wrote in the subtitle that "For seven working days after the plenary meeting of the ratification of the Copyright Act, members are still tinkering. the omnibus law manuscript. Allegedly there is a contraband article". Judging from the cover title, it can be seen that Tempo justified the alleged abuse of the Job Creation Bill. Such justification is of course feared that there will be indications of a *cover both side violation* or the absence of a presumption of innocence in

reporting as stated in Article 4 paragraph 4 of the Press Law No. 40/1999 (Purnomo, Wayan Agus; Putri, n.d.).

Tempo emphasized that the job creation bill was based on the short-term political interests of the people behind the parliament. Likewise, the opposing camp, involved several members of community organizations such as liberal groups such as the Coalition for Action to Save Indonesia (KAMI) and the Alumni 212 fraternity who rode a protest against the Job Creation Bill and indicated the impeachment of President Jokowi. So Tempo indicated the involvement of many actors in the planning, preparation and ratification of the Job Creation Bill in the political reporting in the Main Report of Tempo Weekly Magazine.

Tempo does not explicitly indicate who the main actors in the drafting and initiating of the Job Creation Bill are, this is the basis for the author to seek and examine who the actors behind the Job Creation Bill were controversial in mid-2020. Readers are shown that there is interference from many parties in this Omnibus Law Job Creation Bill and also the arbitrariness of the Omnibus Law in implementing laws that force society and industry to comply with the given rules.

Although it does not clearly show the main actors behind the job creation bill, Tempo's storytelling or reporting narration links the relationship between actors with one another. So this is seen as a network of relationships between actors.

Media actors have their interpretations in linking the existence of the actors involved with each other. So that in this case, the actors shown are actors who are shown in the media and are seen as an ecosystem of work relationships that are strung together in one report, especially related to events (Putri & Patria, 2018).

In modern democracies, communication between political actors and citizens is difficult to do face-to-face. Therefore, today's political communication is carried out mediated through the mass media or called *mediated politics* (Bennett and Entman, 2001). Furthermore, the media is also not only a means of communication but also a public space for political deliberation in which citizens can participate actively, thanks to technological advances and the increasingly independent media economy, so that it is free from state intervention. (Simarmata, 2014).

In practice, the media does not only transmit the information as it is but actively participates in addressing the political reality as political actors for themselves. The media monitors and evaluates the political process that the public considers necessary to know (Hertanto et al., 2016).

As was the case with the weekly magazine Tempo, which was very detailed in supervising the political process in the drafting of the job creation law and releasing the names of those involved in its reporting. The job creation bill was viewed by Tempo as a political event that created widespread controversy among the people and thus turned the political event into a political news story.

The process of forming political news according to Hamad (2004) is always preceded by political events, both those involving political institutions, political actors, and political policies. The construction of reality by this media will form certain meanings and images that are influenced by various aspects related to the media such as the operating system of the media, internal and external factors, as well as the tools for forming news discourse, including the function of strategic language in news framing and agenda-setting (Atmadja, Nengah Bawa; Ariyani, 2018).

The reference to a prominent person (*prominence*) as an actor occurs in two contexts, *first*, the person as the object of the news, and second, the person as the source of the news.

News sources are a very crucial component in the preparation of news. Besides aiming to ensure *cover both sides*, this action was taken to carry out the *check and recheck process* on the data. Meanwhile, Wolfside and Sheafter (2006) found that political elites tend to exert influence on the media to control the political process. However, for an elite to be part of a news story, according to them, it is influenced by three factors, namely a person's status in the formal political structure, his charismatic communication skills, and the relevance of one's knowledge to an issue or event. (Simarmata, 2014).

So here it can be understood that the media is placed as a functional element that can create social balance in society. Each element in the system has had its function that allows the system to exist (Gora, 2016; Irawan, 2018). This approach also sees that social change will occur in an evolutionary manner and according to a certain consensus so that it does not cause tension in the system. So this approach does not describe dynamic reality (Martono, 2016).

Leading opinion is not only done by the media in choosing words or sentences as an effort to emphasize, including using metaphors. However, here Tempo subtly provides a guideline by placing several positions of actors involved in the news regarding the involvement of several actors and covertly placing central actors who are not mentioned directly but need to be identified where the central actor is in Tempo magazine's coverage.

Therefore, in this study, the existence of the actors involved and the role of the central actor in it are questioned. This research seeks to find the actors involved in the job creation bill that was published in Tempo magazine, and also in this study to find the central actor who played a role in the creation of the job creation bill which became controversial in 2021 in weekly magazine coverage Tempo.

The pressor journalism is described as the Fourth Estate, with the specific task of monitoring the government and holding it accountable — hence, a supervisory function. Media sovereignty theories deal with the degree to which the media are autonomous and independent concerning government interference, commercial requirements, anti-terrorism laws, and foreign policy demands. The basic theories of the press, such as the 4 theories of the press as put forward by Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm in his book entitled *Four Theories of the Press* (1956) as a normative theory that rooted in as well as provides derivative theories that discuss media sovereignty in determining news point of view to the placement of actors in the news (Siebert, Fred S.; Peterson, Theodore; Schramm, 1986).

In *Media Sovereignty Theory*, one could argue that the media, unlike the state, at best experience relative sovereignty, given that state, public, and commercial media have to compete for audience loyalty and are controlled by various domestic and international laws. Sovereignty is inseparable from the freedom of the media in determining the direction of news and the involvement of actors in it (Littlejohn, Stephen W. & Foss, 2016).

Second, there is the issue of whether sovereignty limits understanding of the role of the media in today's society and offers room for authoritarian justification and regulation for media control. There is also a need to recognize the boundaries of media sovereignty by taking into account the diversity of media, the diversity of audiences, the proliferation of new media platforms, and the multiple roles of the media in contemporary society (Littlejohn, Stephen W. & Foss, 2016).

Third, there is a need to understand the complexities of media sovereignty in contexts characterized by transnational media, the increase in international trade in media products, the strengthening of global media governance, the accentuation of global information and communication flows, and in response to all of these, efforts by countries to liberalize and

protect domestic and international media markets and the flow of information and communications. Furthermore, the satellite and cable revolution, the Internet, global networks, and the accentuation of global information and communication flows have all contributed to the diminishing potential for an explanation of concepts. The conceptual frameworks of media sovereignty overlap and are related to media democracy, media imperialism, the political economy of communication, media ethics, and media identity, to name just a few. (Littlejohn, Stephen W. & Foss, 2017) . In this case, sovereignty is seen as a network of connected actors placing actors in the news according to the interpretation of the media crew.

METHOD

This research uses a quantitative - descriptive method with a network approach type. The analytical model used is network analysis on printed newspaper texts. Network analysis here can simply be defined as an analysis of a set of relationships (relationships) among social actors. Based on this definition, there are two important parts of network analysis, namely actors and relationships between actors.

The communication network is a regular pattern of relationships between individuals that can be identified as an exchange of information experienced by a person in his social system (Hertanto et al., 2016). A communication network is synonymous with connectivity between two or more actors. The study of communication networks emphasizes the relationship between one actor and another in a particular social structure. Wasserman and Faust (1994) explain in more detail that a communication network consists of a set of actors (nodes) and relationships (ties) between actors. Actors (nodes) can be individuals, groups, organizations or communities. While the relationship (ties) may occur between individuals with individuals or occur between individuals with certain groups and so on (Eriyanto, 2014) .

The communication network is a description of " *how to talk to whom* " (who talks to whom) in a social system. Communication networks describe interpersonal communication, where there are opinion leaders and followers who have mutual communication relationships on a particular topic, which occurs in a certain social system, such as a community, organization, or company (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981 in Eriyanto, 2014).

A network, apart from consisting of actors (nodes) and links (edges) also has several elements including components, clicks, *bridges*, *hubs*, *cutpoints*, and remotes. Actors (nodes) are not always individuals (people). Actors can also be organizations, countries, institutions, companies, and so on (Borgatti, Stephen P.; Everett, Martin G.; Johnson, 2013).

The research paradigm used in this study uses the positivism paradigm, which is a basic belief rooted in the ontology of realism which states that reality exists (exist) in reality that runs according to natural laws (Liliweri, 2018).

The data collection technique was carried out using a survey method in which the survey here is not to be distributed to the public but a questionnaire filled out based on observations made by researchers in the Tempo weekly magazine 19-25 October 2020 edition in the Main Report rubric as the sample studied was 7 pages by identifying actors to involved in it.

The data analysis technique uses communication network analysis with the level of analysis at the actor level. The measure used in network analysis is *centrality*. This refers to how the position of actors (*nodes*) in the whole network. How central are the actors in a network? In the study of network analysis, an important question is who is the prominent and

most decisive actor (*node*) in the network. Who determines or stands out is called centrality – people who have a prominent position or power in the network.

The measurements carried out by the researchers here start from analysis at the system level, such as density, then diameter, reciprocity, and components until there is a degree of centrality. In addition, at the system level it is also to identify the existence and creation of social gaps between actors, then the creation of clicks between these actors.

There are four most widely used measures of centrality, namely degree centrality, closeness, and *eigenvectors*. When describing the position of actors in a *complete network*, we identify who the actors in the network are whose positions are at the level of centrality (*degree*), closeness, intermediary, and *eigenvectors* (*eigenvectors*) (Eriyanto, 2014). For the analysis software used here, the researcher uses UCInet as the analysis tool. The value of the relationship between actors was measured using the Gutman scale with a value of 1 = contact, and 0 = no contact.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Several manuscripts of the Copyright Act appeared after it was passed. Differences arise in each draft, some of which relate to substance. Several factions insisted on maintaining the taxation cluster, which emerged later. Allegedly never decided together. The journey of the Job Creation Act is always full of controversy. Starting from the drafting carried out by businessmen to the discussion and ratification of the rules, which were filled with various irregularities. Several articles changed into being brought to the palace. Not only there are word corrections, but also the addition of substance. However, the leadership of the People's Representative Council insisted that the discussion and ratification of the universal sweeping rule be following the procedure.

The chronology of the stipulation of the Work Copyright Act was ratified at the DPR plenary meeting on October 5, 2020. Circulated a 905-page manuscript, then on 07 October. Then the legislative body of the DPR is still changing several markets for the Nusantara I DPR building to be locked at night for reasons of COVID. On October 9, President Joko Widodo responded to the ratification of the omnibus law and asked dissatisfied parties to file a complaint with the Constitutional Court. In addition, a 1,052-page manuscript of the Job Creation Law was circulated (Purnomo, Wayan Agus; Putri, n.d.).

On October 12, 2020, the Omnibuslaw manuscript was circulated twice, with a thickness of 1,035 pages and 812 pages. Then on October 13, the Secretary-General of the DPR, Indra Iskandar, confirmed that the final manuscript of the Copyright Act totalled 812 pages. Dissatisfied with the bill, demonstrations by the masses against the *omnibus law* again ended in chaos. Towards noon, thousands of people calling themselves the National Anti-Communist Alliance of the Republic of Indonesia began to crowd around the area around the Horse Statue, Central Jakarta. In addition to rejecting the universal sweeping law, the job creation law, they also voiced several other demands, such as the rejection of the draft law on ideology and Pancasila and the disbandment of the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency. Then on October 14, the Secretary-General of the DPR, Indra Iskandar, sent the final manuscript of the 812-page work of copyright law to the Palace. However, this manuscript was not taken for granted by the masses, especially among the workers, who were quite persistent in their opposition to the ratification of the *omnibus law*. They considered that there were several provisions in the regulation which were considered detrimental to workers (Purnomo, Wayan Agus; Putri, n.d.).

Based on the chronological sequence as well as the events of this riot, it can be explained that in the preparation of the Job Creation Bill, there were indeed many political elite actors in parliament, the majority of whom were members of the Legislation, in addition to government actors from various ministries.

According to the researcher's search, there are 33 actors involved in various lines and networks of the interconnected work creation bill. Then starting from the government sector, parliament, to the private sector and social organizations including the community. In addition, the creation of a network in which there is a message exchange transaction between one actor and another that prioritizes the existence of a meeting point for the polemic of the Job Creation Bill, even to the point of not agreeing.

When viewed from the following network image:

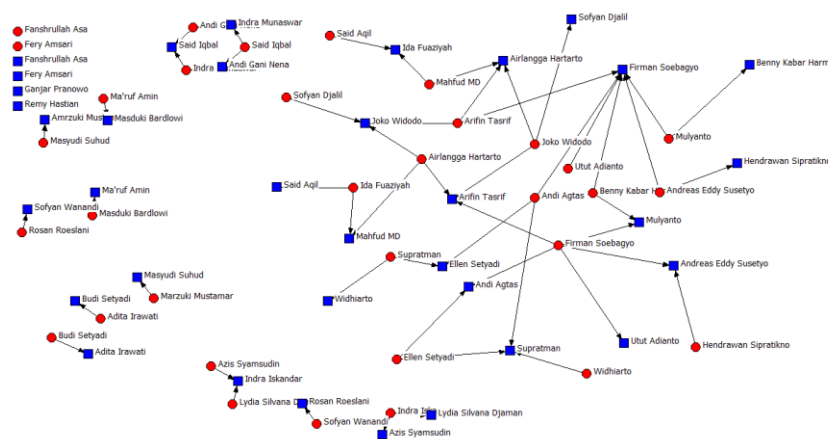


Figure 1. Overall Communication Network

It can be explained that there is a network gap solving in which in total there are 13 network clusters. Here, some actors are interconnected and unrelated in their network connections. In the actor-network, 12 clusters are separate or not in direct contact with the main actor or connected to the central actor-network. So it can be called a separate network that forms its gap.

The *density value* does not reach 0.00 or 0.1 so it can be stated that the *density value* is classified as low and the density level is low. The results of the analysis here found a density value of 0.047. At the same level of density in the ego network as the intact network. A dense ego network is characterized by a lack of links (*links*) between alters, whereas a non-dense ego network is characterized by a lack of *links* between alters. This shows that the discussion on the Job Creation Bill in Tempo Weekly Magazine involves many parties, but the parties reported by Tempo do not show much mutual relation or interconnection. Some are separated into different gaps or clusters, such as the Said Iqbal gap, which dominantly communicates with labour unions, then Said Aqil, who predominantly communicates with the PBNU organization, and Sofyan Wanandi and Rosan Roeslan only communicate with fellow businessmen associations. The existence of these associations and employers is related to employment issues.

When measured from the density of the network that has a connection with the central actor either directly or indirectly, it consists of 16 actors. The central actor known here is Firman Soebagyo, an Indonesian politician as well as legislation from the Golkar Party who became the central actor in the initiation and follow-up of the 2020 Job Creation Bill. Firman

Soebagyo's statement discussed more the omnibus law provisions and their derivatives in the form of the job creation bill related to the labour article.

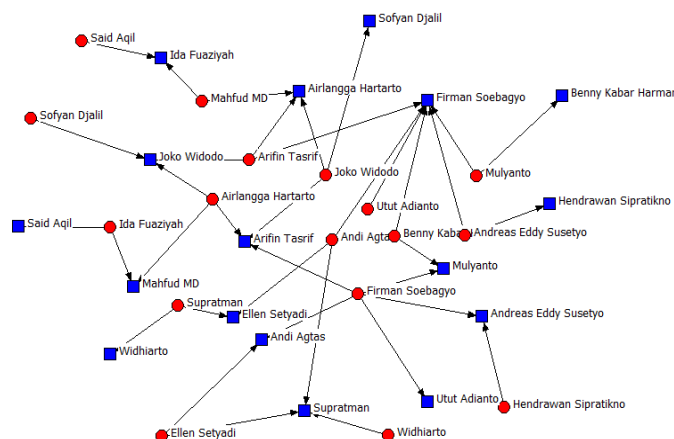


Figure 2. Network of connected actors Central Actor

In Firman Soebagyo's network, it can be seen that more central actors are contacting through the network than going out. The total connectedness value of the network connected to the central actor reaches 20,334 which is quite large, so it assumes that the distribution of the network is wide enough to involve many actors in it. When measured from the degree of centrality, it shows the number 0 or there is no value because the network does not form any clicks and also does not form a circular or *square network*. So it can be said that Tempo magazine is only limited to building a description of the opinions of various actors but does not explain much about the statements and the relationship between one actor and another. This, of course, does not attempt to connect statements in the relationship between actors, but only as descriptive without a structured narrative in telling statements between actors in a news report.

The number of diameters found from the measurement of the distance score between actors is 4 or the majority of actors under the central actor including the sub to be able to connect with the majority central actor through 4 steps of the actors with each other. So efforts to connect with actors must examine the network of other actors first. So it can be said that to connect with the central actor must pass through 4 other actor networks.

The *geo distance* shows the *average value* (average value) of 1.0 with a standard deviation of 0.0 which means that there is communication that exists because the actors interact with each other. The principle in calculating the distance and diameter of the ego network is the same as that of the intact tissue. The perfect density range on the network reaches 1.0. This is because all actors (both ego and alter) can contact and interact at a maximum distance of 1 step. Actor Firman Soebagyo in a position like a commando can only interact with people around him in 1-2 steps. While other actors interact and connect with the central actor can reach 4 steps. This of course takes into account the role and position of the main actors in Tempo Magazine's coverage.

When measured from the *component ratio value* of 0.2500, from the component value here with a score close to 1 it can be assumed that actors still have interaction and although not much reciprocal communication occurs. Here the component is a grouping that includes all actors (nodes) as long as these actors have a *link* (*edge*) with the network. So, as long as

the actor (*node*) has at least one *link* with the network, it can be counted as part of the component. The interaction here does not always have closeness but there is still direct interaction in the context of various relationships, including work relationships.

Table 1. Network Analysis Results (System)

Analysis	Data
Vertices	33
Total Edges	20
Diameter	4
Density	0.047
Distance	1.0
Centralization	0.81

Source: Research construction and analysis results, 2022

When measured from the degree of centrality, based on the calculation of *degree centrality* it has a score of 0.81 or above 0.5. The *degree* shows the actor's popularity in the social network. Degree (*degree*) is the number of links to and from the actor. In a *directed network* (having direction), this degree can be in the form of *indegree* (number of links or *ties* that point to the actor) and *out-degree* (number of links coming out of the actor). Theoretically, the maximum number of degrees of centrality *for* actors is $N-1$. If the population in this study is 33, then the maximum link for an actor (*node*) is $33 - 1$ or 32. This means that the actor contacts (*outdegree*) or is contacted (*indegree*) *all* other actors in the network.

It can be assumed that the interaction relationship is continuing even though several separate networks are forming their gap. However, the close relationship of interaction between actors is still connected with the same form of communication with the number of *out-degree* actors building an outgoing network being greater than the number of actors who contact the central actor. In the central actor, the value of *out-degree* is greater with a value of 33,000 compared to *in degree* of 27,000.

When viewed from the *closeness centrality* or the degree of proximity of actors with other actors. Proximity centrality measures which actor reaches all other actors in the network the fastest, either directly or indirectly through the intermediary of other actors. Actors who are at the centre of the network, have a higher probability of occupying proximity centrality compared to actors who are at the periphery of the network (Smith and Shalley, 2003 Eriyanto, 2014).

In this case, several actors have a high degree of closeness, such as Azis Syamsudin, Deputy Chairman of the DPR with an *in-close score* of 18,000; Mulyanto, an Indonesian politician who serves as Member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2019-2024 period from the Prosperous Justice Party Faction with an *in-close value* of 19,000; and also Widhiarto Head of the Central Legislative Section with an *in-close value* of 18,000. Meanwhile, the highest value of eigenvector centrality is 59,178. So that the level of interaction between actors is massive and interactive.

The majority of the closeness of this network are members of the legislature, who also in the role of the network here is as an extension of the central actor to other actors to be involved in the communication network for planning and drafting the Job Creation Bill. The scope of network connectivity involves many parties such as executives such as the President

and Vice President, then the Ministry, to associations of entrepreneurs and labour unions so that a series of actors are involved in expanding the distribution network.

Discussion

Based on the results of the analysis, shows that the level of network density tends to be below, this is an indication that the distribution of the network is so wide and involves many parties related to the Job Creation Bill. According to Tempo, the involvement of actor here who play the most major role is Firman Soebagyo, while several actors involved who are close to the centrality of the closeness of the majority are members of legislation. In Tempo's report here, the role of legislation is so great in determining the ratification of the Job Creation Bill and also the passage of the *omnibus law*, so Tempo tries to show the many actors involved in reporting the Job Creation Bill.

In reporting on Tempo and the other actors involved, Tempo did not present the figure of Puan Maharani, who had been touted as the main actor in the Job Creation Bill. Tempo did not show Puan's role in reporting and more often featured other members of the legislature who were involved. However, Tempo emphasizes Firman Soebagyo more as an actor who plays more of a role in the drafting process of the Job Creation Bill.

Likewise, in reporting on Jokowi's role as an executive, Ma'ruf Amin is also not widely featured in the news, and Tempo mostly contains statements from members of the legislature involved in the drafting of the Job Creation Bill. Tempo in loading the statements of members of the legislature discusses more in terms of taxation, labour or labour as well as the economic sector.

When viewed from the actor's role in terms of actor centrality, it is similar to *closeness centrality*, that is, closeness to the central actor or actor who is closer and acts as a forwarder of network messages to other actors. The role of centrality is to connect actor networks to other actor networks so that actors can expand their network coverage. In addition, the actor's interaction and communication model is running more actively.

When viewed from the size of the *eigenvector centrality value*, it shows that the level of the centrality of the value obtained shows that the eigenvector value rate is so large that there is an active interaction between actors with one another, especially from the central actor to other actors who communicate actively and massively. Thus, according to Tempo, the drafting of the job creation bill has been organized by legislators as their dominant role.

Here, in its sovereignty, the media places only dominant actors or actors who have a much bigger role than other actors. So that some actors who are not widely featured in the media are also not shown by Tempo. So Tempo places more of a dominant actor on the news and focuses on legislative statements.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis of the data and the discussion here, it shows that Tempo did not involve all actors in the drafting of the Job Creation Bill and several actors were not featured in the news. The existence of actors is more organized by the legislature, including in moving the *omnibus law*.

Apart from that, Tempo also did not tell about the involvement of one actor with another, this is indicated by the gaps that are not connected with the central actor. However, Tempo did not explain the flow and transition of the explanation of actor involvement chronologically or in a descriptive explanation. So here the sovereignty of the media is to place the dominant actors in their opinion so that it is found that Tempo does not pay attention

to cover both sides or is not balanced in reporting on the Job Creation Bill and also only places the dominant actors and does not pay attention to the other actors involved.

The network of actors in the news on the job creation bill at Tempo showed that the presence of actors and their closeness to other actors tended to be below, but the distribution of the network was found to be widespread and also involved many actors so that the drafting of the copyright bill involved many actors from various sectors, not just the government.

REFERENSI

- Atmadja, Nengah Bawa; Ariyani, L. P. S. (2018). *Sosiologi Media. Perspektif Teori Kritis* (1st ed.). Rajawali Press.
- Borgatti, Stephen P.; Everett, Martin G.; Johnson, J. C. (2013). *Analyzing Social Networks* (1 ed.); 1st ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Eriyanto. (2014). *Analisis Jaringan Komunikasi* (Eriyanto (ed.); 1st ed.). Kencana Prenada Media.
- Gora, R. I. (2016). *Hukum, Etika, & Etika Media (Regulasi, Praktik dan Teori)* (1st ed.). Deepublish.
- Hertanto, D., Sugiyanto, S., & Safitri, R. (2016). Analisis Struktur Jaringan Komunikasi dan Peran Aktor Dalam Penerapan Teknologi Budidaya Kentang (Petani Kentang Desa Ngantru Kecamatan Ngantang Kabupaten Malang). *Habitat*, 27(2), 55–65. <https://doi.org/10.21776/ub.habitat.2016.027.2.7>
- Irawan. (2018). Hate Speech di Indonesia: Bahaya dan Solusi Irawan. *Jurnal Dakwah Dan Pengembangan Sosial Kemanusiaan*, 9(1), 1–17.
- Littlejohn, Stephen W. & Foss, K. (2016). *Ensiklopedia Teori Komunikasi* (1st ed.). Kencana Prenada Media.
- Littlejohn, Stephen W. & Foss, K. (2017). *Theories of Human Communication* (11th ed.). Wave Land Press Inc.
- Martono, N. (2016). *Perubahan Sosial. Perspektif Klasik, Modern, Posmodern, dan Poskolonial* (1st ed.). Rajawali Press.
- Purnomo, Wayan Agus; Putri, B. U. (n.d.). Siasat Pinokio Senayan. *Tempo Magazine*, 5.
- Putri, G. H., & Patria, B. (2018). Pengaruh Endorsement Selebriti Instagram terhadap Minat Beli Remaja Putri. *Gajah Mada Journal of Professional Psychology (GamaJPP)*, 4(1), 33. <https://doi.org/10.22146/gamajpp.45347>
- Siebert, Fred S.; Peterson, Theodore; Schramm, W. (1986). *Empat Teori Pers* (1st ed.). Penerbit Intermedia.
- Simarmata, S. (2014). *Media & Politik* (1st ed.). Buku Obor.