Public Opinion on The Postponing the 2024 Election on Twitter Social Media by Online Media of Koran Tempo

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A R T I C L E   I N F O

ABSTRACT

Mass media have a role in the formation of public opinion. Public opinion starts from several factors, one of which is a person's fear of having different opinions in society. For this reason, an individual will monitor the opinion that is formed dominantly in the general public, so that someone will be afraid to express an opinion according to his own expression, but an individual will adjust to become part of the dominant opinion. The problem that will be discussed in this research is the formation of public opinion related to the issue of the postponement of the 2024 Election which is rolling in the Koran Tempo Online Media, so that it becomes a dominant opinion that has an influence on the views and behavior of the audience. This study aims to determine the extent to which Koran Tempo has succeeded in turning the issue of the postponement of the 2024 election into a debatable public opinion. From this research, it is concluded that the media agenda created by online media Koran Tempo with frequency density can shape public opinion of the agenda for postponement of the 2024 election and the extension of the presidential term. Second, the formation of public attitudes and views due to the media exposure of Koran Tempo regarding the postponement of the 2024 election, so that various waves of pros and cons in the social media continue to roll.

ABSTRAK

Media massa memiliki peran dalam pembentukan opini publik. Opini publik berangkat dari beberapa faktor, salah satunya dari ketakutan seseorang untuk berbeda opini di masyarakat. Untuk itu, seorang individu akan memantau opini yang terbentuk dominan di khalayak umum, sehingga seseorang akan takut untuk mengungkapkan opini sesuai ekspesinya sendiri, melainkan seorang individu akan menyesuaikan diri untuk menjadi bagian dari opini dominan. Permasalahan yang akan dibahas dalam penelitian ini adalah pembentukan opini publik terkait sebuah isu Penundaan Pemilu 2024 yang bergulir di Media Online Koran Tempo, sehingga menjadi sebuah opini dominan yang memiliki pengaruh terhadap pandangan dan perilaku khalayak. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui sejauh mana Koran Tempo berhasil dalam menggulirkan isu Penundaan Pemilu 2024 menjadi opini publik yang diperdebatkan. Dari penelitian ini, diperoleh kesimpulan bahwa agenda media yang diciptakan oleh media online Koran Tempo dengan kerapatan frekuensi dapat membentuk opini publik tentang agenda Penundaan Pemilu 2024 dan Perpanjangan Masa Presiden. Kedua, terbentuknya perilaku dan pandangan khalayak karena terpaan media Koran Tempo tentang Penundaan Pemilu 2024, sehingga berbagai gelombang pro dan kontra di media sosial tersebut terus bergulir.

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I.   INTRODUCTION

The buzzer phenomenon is very synonymous with leading opinion on an issue in the news. The term buzzer emerged when social media was growing rapidly in Indonesia. This robotic account frames an issue to form public opinion, the opinion that is formed because the issue that is thrown is repeated in such a way. Buzzers are parties who talk about certain content massively and repeatedly so that the public is ultimately interested and accepts it (Girsang, 2020). In addition, the media has the ability to create which issues are important to rise and which are not. This is called the media agenda setting. Opinions formed in the public do not look at whether the news is of high quality or not, people only see that news or issues that continue to fill every face of the media are considered important issues (Ardianto et al., 2009). Agenda setting can influence and even change the focus of public opinion. As in countries with weak levels of democracy, the state still controls the media so that the government can actively play an agenda setting to form public opinion (Field et al., 2018). However, in today's digital era, various assumptions about agenda setting arise due to a more diversified media environment and more agendas than ever before. The audience looks for their own clues in the diversity of issues in the media, and the internet media also has a more specific target. So that the causal relationship between the media agenda and the public agenda is more complex (Eriyanto, 2019).

When the Indonesian people are faced with the polemic of a suffocating increase in cooking oil prices, which has an impact on scarcity which causes changes in public behavior, when people focus on every cooking oil news in the media, when people wait for every policy related to the news of the increase, other issues roll on continuously. A mainstream media that is considered sharp and actual by the public, has its own media agenda in the midst of reports from other media that rise news of rising cooking oil, the media is busy blowing the issue of postponing the 2024 election. The media is making efforts to solve public focus, to create other issues that will be considered more important than other issues. Other social media have many variants of themes in raising news in the community, but online media Koran Tempo straightforwardly discusses the news of the postponement of the 2024 election by uploading the information over and over again with the same editor, thus creating a separate thread.

Koran Tempo carried out an agenda setting, then framed the issue into an important issue to lead massive opinion, so Koran Tempo could raise this issue up to 80% in one day compared to other reports. According to Entmant, reality selection is a key in emphasizing a communication text so that certain realities are more prominent, this is called framing (Eriyanto, 2019). The emphasis in framing can be in the form of problems, causes of problems, and certain solutions. This prominent part can be in the form of repetition or prominent placement in a news text, so that the audience can easily remember it. Through this framing, Koran Tempo's online media can simplify reality and make it easy for audiences to understand. The power of framing in political issues influences a public opinion and policy (Mendelsohn et al., 2021). The postponement of the 2024 election is a political issue where the public play a key role in creating a frame, this is done by online media Koran Tempo. Framing itself can have an impact on the audience's understanding of an issue.

In this case, the role of buzzers or robotic accounts created to capture issues and turn them into public opinion is very significant in raising a particular issue. Public opinion itself arises from the attitude of a person or group towards certain problems. As stated by Doob, that public opinion is formed from an experience of a person or group that is latent in nature, but if an issue arises in it then public opinion develops and is active (Soemirat & Ardianto, 2010). Through persuasive communication, public opinion will be easily moved because it has the same interest in certain issues.

The intervention of paid accounts forms an issues which then becomes a public agenda in society as a whole. Thus, the buzzer's hands serve as a connector in the formation of public opinion regarding the postponement of the 2024 election and the extension of the president's term of office. Koran Tempo itself is available on the Twitter social media platform. Currently, there are many active Twitter accounts or community activists in voicing their respective opinions, reactive, responsive and

communicative netizens really make the Twitter world crowded and in the end, it is in demand by buzzer accounts.

Many others researchers has done research on spiral of silence theory in various social objects. Oren Soffer and Galit Gordoni in their journal explain that the majority opinion in online media gives a positive effect on user comments to express opinions in general public. Minority opinion clearly brings a fear of isolation for internet users to express opinions in cyberspace rather than when speaking face-to-face (Soffer & Gordoni, 2018). Elizabeth Dubois and Julia Szwarc have another opinion about the spiral of silence theory on their political views in the four countries studied, namely France, Germany, United State and United Kingdom. It is said that individuals will provide self-censorship of opinions that develop in the internet media. The climate of opinion that has developed on social media has turned out to provide choices for public opinion, especially in the political climate (Dubois & Szwarc, 2018).

In one of the national journals, it was found that individuals have a fear of isolation from the growing climate. Public opinion that develops in the community can influence public bevavior, in this case it occurs when the direct election of regional heads makes individuals have to make their choices against one candidate. The researcher concludes that there is a group called the 'hard core' group who are not afraid of the threat of isolation that persists at the end point of the process (Rahmawati et al., 2018).

Public opinion determines which direction the audience will express their opinion on social media. Public opinion is often a driving force in the formation of public policy, so research conducted by James W. Stoutenborough wants to ensure that what the public thinks can be changed from various perspectives (Stoutenborough, 2020). Meanwhile, other research suggests that social media is a reference in reflecting the growing public opinion (McGregor, 2019).

II. METHOD OF RESEARCH

In this study, researchers used a virtual ethnographic method with a qualitative approach. Virtual ethnography, or what can be called *netnography* is a form of new method in the communication research on consumer behavior in the use of new media (new media). The purpose of ethnography in cyberspace is to understand the importance and implications of using the internet (Mayasari, 2022).

The methodology in virtual ethnography is used as an exploration for each user or internet user who can reflect on the possibilities that occur in virtual communication. So that this qualitative approach can understand an event that occurs in the virtual world community. This virtual ethnography can use online observation and interviews. With this method, researchers can specifically describe the habits of a virtual world community in using internet technology.

By using virtual ethnography, exploration can be carried out on internet entities. The method used in a recent study that uses a qualitative approach to identify patterns and behaviors in life and social relations on the virtual world, namely social media (Nasrullah, 2017). The development of social life which is balanced with advances in information and communication technology has given birth to cultural changes. People (called by *netizen*) participate in the existence of cyberspace, they express all emotions, beliefs, values, and new cultures in social life.

Qualitative research is a method used for natural objects so that researchers become the key instrument with research results that emphasize meaning rather than generalization (Nurdin & Hartati, 2019). This research is based on an interpretive paradigm in which an object is seen as a whole, not partial, because qualitative research as a dynamic result of the construction of a thought and interpretation of the object being observed. In qualitative research, reality is not only what is seen but what is behind what is visible.

Qualitative research demands creativity and builds interpretations after obtaining empirical data in the field whose findings are poured into writing (Denzin & Lincoln, 2009). Methods that can be used by researchers can be in the form of empirical data collection, such as interviews or direct observation, analysis of cultural records and documents, to analysis of pictorial objects and personal experiences. Researchers can process and interpret data or documents as an interpretation stage that involves a researcher's skills and assumptions.

Qualitative research is a multi-method study in one particular focus, because the object of the problem being studied controls the object of the research. The use of multiple methods or commonly called triangulation is an attempt to gain an understanding of the phenomenon being analyzed in depth. Triangulation is an alternative proof so that the combination of methods used in processing empirical materials, observations, two points of view, is a good way to strengthen and provide depth in research (Salim, 2006).

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Spiral of Silence Theory on Forming Public Opinion

Public opinion is formed from the process of mutual influence between interpersonal communication, mass communication, and individual perceptions of their own opinions related to the opinions of others in society (Bungin, 2013). In this case, individual opinion depends on what other people think. In the spiral of silence theory, there is an assumption that individuals are trying to avoid isolation in society. So that the public will observe the surrounding conditions regarding which opinions get a lot of support and survive, and which ones are not popular or dominant. When a person feels that his opinion does not fit into the dominant group, then there will be fear in expressing it, for fear of isolation in the dominant society. As Noelle-Neuman points out, in shaping public opinion, the mass media also has a significant role in shaping the perception of the dominant opinion so that this affects personal opinion (Bungin, 2013).

The spiral of silence theory developed by Noelle-Neuman has a concept of the interaction of four elements, namely interpersonal communication, individual opinions, individual perceptions in their own social environment, and the role of the mass media (McQuail, 2011). This theory has the main assumption that a person is afraid of experiencing continuous isolation. So, this fear makes other individuals continue to observe the evolving climate of opinion. In addition, the audience poses a threat to individuals who deviate from isolation, so that this can change the behavior of the audience in the public regarding their willingness to express their opinions openly or not. The audience will hide their opinions if they feel they are in the minority, and acknowledge other views that are more dominant so that these dominant perceptions get a stronger foundation as public opinion. In other words, a person will be silent when he feels that his opinion is marginalized, where his opinion feels contrary to the opinion of the majority then he will choose to remain silent for fear of segregation and isolation (Shabir et al., 2019).

Noelle-Neumann's Spiral of Silence
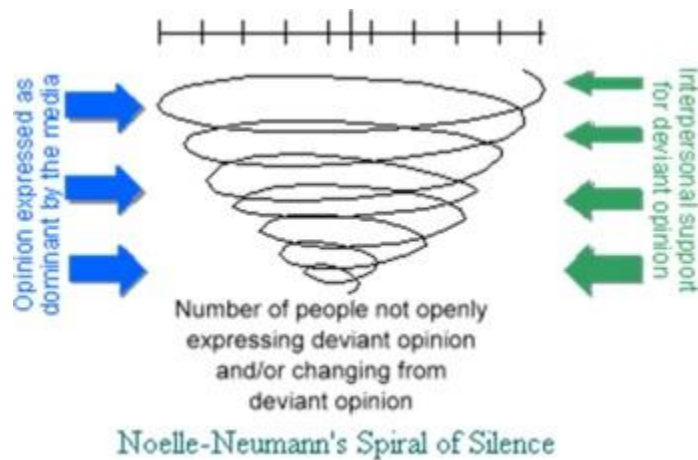
The mass media has a role in shaping public opinion because today's society has easier access to the mass media and uses the media as a benchmark to observe dominant views which then become the stage in forming an opinion. As Neumann said that media attention will be greater on the views of the majority and suppress the views of minorities, so that minorities become less assertive in expressing their opinions in society, on the contrary, the majority are confident and motivated to express their opinions in public (Morissan, 2013). In other words, those who are in the minority will be careful in expressing their opinion or will even remain silent, which only reinforces that their opinion is weak. So that the majority opinion will be stronger to rise to the surface.

As long as the audience is monitoring a majority opinion, the opinion of each individual will not be permanent, because opinions change or modify along by the development of technology and information. In addition, the mass media greatly influences a person's opinion, subtly and imperceptibly, but so strongly and directly exposed (Morissan et al., 2010).

2. Public Opinion on Media Digital Era

Public opinion belongs to a social category that can change, based on certain values and political culture that is vulnerable to influence and change. The opinion of a figure or leader and a certain event can be the basis of comparison of a certain group of decisions made by the leader (Mitrovic, 2021).

Before entering the new media (internet era), television became the most influential medium in the formation of public opinion. The concept of opinion formation through the process of agenda setting, framing and priming is still relevant and proven by various researches that continue to develop. Currently, the presence of the internet has brought changes to the process of forming public opinion because the information presented is so diverse and plentiful. So that the way audiences consume information is different, from passive to active audiences (Eriyanto, 2019). The digital era that presents social media space has shifted the trend by displaying new features that were previously unimaginable, no longer dominated by mainstream media such as television, radio and newspapers. So that, the formation of public opinion changes.

Chaffee and Metzger revealed that the growth of the internet has changed the concept of mass communication which is actually relevant to the old media into media communication after the internet era was born (Eriyanto, 2019). According to him, the most fundamental change lies in the channel. In mass communication, it can be identified by the sender of the message and the recipient, namely the audience. Then, for controlling of the message delivered is on the sender's side. In essence, mass communication is identical to an institution, such as newspapers, radio, and television. While in media communication, the message channel is not only single, but very many, so that everyone can function as a channel for the message. Because the audience is no longer one, but diverse and

fragmented. In addition, the presence of the internet makes the audience active and able to find the information they need, this allows communication to be two-way, no longer one-way like the era of mass communication. The way the audience consumes news or information does not necessarily accept what is presented (passive), but the public can choose their own content and media according to what they want.

Before the digital era, an issue could be determined by the government, the elite, and public officials as a source of forming public opinion. Currently, by the number of social media and audience segmentation that is formed, every actor or individual can create an issue an. The presence of the internet certainly changes the position of actors in creating issues in the public. Every individual who has his own channel, creates his own content or issue, and repeats it by spreading information through all channels. Throw it to the public, then reviewed by various groups to repost. Fry the issue by reviews from various points of view, because everyone wants to express their own opinion. Then the public opinion was created, where the concept of the media as a determinant of public opinion, turned into a public activity that creates agendas and opinions in the media.

The power of the media, as a symbolic and relational force, can shape public opinion. It is said to be a symbolic power, because the media has the potential to shape the minds of its consumers. Meanwhile, with relational power, public minds are interconnected through the power of news actors, such as the state, platforms, media, institutions, independent media, and the public as media consumers (Wang, 2019).

3. Postponement Issue of 2024 Election

The General Election is a prestigious political event that is routinely carried out by Indonesian citizens every five years. Election rules have been stated in Law no. 7 of 2017 concerning elections. This event is an opportunity for representatives of the people who have the political ability to win the hearts of the people to be appointed and trusted as the head of the State of Indonesia or RI 1. All Indonesian citizens are euphoric in welcoming this grand event with all the polemics and dynamics that occur. The next election will be held in 2024, in which the incumbent Joko Widodo team, who currently serves as President of the Republic of Indonesia, has entered its second term. The current rules are in accordance with the 1945 Constitution for the presidential term of office for 5 years for two terms.

The year of 2019 is the period of the covid-19 pandemic starting until now, this condition has made all aspects of life slump, one by one, especially in the economic aspect. The unpredictable situation of the pandemic and the decline in the economic aspect that resulted in a lot of turmoil in society became the reasons for the postponement of the 2024 election. This voice came when the Minister of Investment, Bahlil Lahadalia, who was joined by several political parties such as PKB, PAN, and Golkar, issued business aspirations about postponing elections 2024. Of course, this is considered a democratic setback that some people feel is unreasonable, the pretext of the economic downturn due to the pandemic is not considered rational to postpone an event that has constitutional rules. On the other case, the regional elections that have been held in 2020 will continue to run according to the COVID-19 prevention process without causing significant election clusters.

Opinions are mixed in the media, the discourse of postponing the 2024 election is considered unconstitutional because it has violated the existing constitution and can even rob citizens of their rights. This is where the issue started in the midst of another hot issue, namely the news about the scarcity of cooking oil.

4. The Influence of Public Opinion on Audience Behavior

When the mainstream media throws the issue to the public, the agenda has been determined to shape public opinion. The spiral of silence theory still applies to this event, the social media Koran Tempo had done on the Twitter in early March, which researchers have monitored from March 1 to March 5, 2022. In which the content of the increase and scarcity of cooking oil is becoming a polemic.

In all lines of society, causing a shift in the behavior of citizens in social life. Koran Tempo's social media flowed out from other social media which at that time were active in repeating and updating news about cooking oil and the Russo-Ukrainian war. Koran Tempo's social media boldly lead public opinion to pay the little attention to the discourse of postponing the 2024 election which will automatically extend the current president's term of office.

The news of the postponement of the 2024 election was blown from top to bottom. Koran Tempo's social media created an issue the issue and wanted to form public opinion on awareness to reject the discourse. The spiral of silence that occurs is at the bottom, meaning that issues are rising and bustling on the surface. The repetition of Koran Tempo's social media is so close and intense at the top that other audiences as a minority will feel isolated if they reject the majority opinion.

Koran Tempo's social media has an agenda to encourage the public to shift their attention from reporting on cooking oil to this discourse issue. Within a day, Koran Tempo can upload this narration up to 70%. Within a few days, Koran Tempo did not care about the news that cooking oil was starting to run out in various regions. The social media consistently calls for news about the discourse of postponing the 2024 election. Public opinion is formed quietly at the bottom, and active on the surface. This silence in public opinion is formed from the encouragement of the majority opinion which presses strongly so that in general there will be a uniform opinion in all circles. Even though at this time mass communication no longer runs in one direction, because of the development of information that makes audiences appear with various different segments and participate directly in cyberspace which causes communication to be two-way. However, Koran Tempo's social media managed to hypnotize the audience with its media agenda.

Finally, various opinions from experts, intellectuals, politicians, and the public are moved to reject the discourse of postponing the 2024 election. The news is getting more diverse, other social media have started broadcasting the news of the postponement of the 2024 election. And the issues created by robotic hands can spread by slowly but surely. In addition to the repetition of the news by Koran Tempo, the social media also makes this news narrative by creating threads. So that the news becomes deeper, more complete, emotional and persuasive has succeeded in presenting the information to an audience who is active on the Twitter platform. This movement against the flow of news with other mainstream media is carried out consistently for several days so that the public or netizens want to know this information. Due to exposure to media information.

The discourse on the postponement of the 2024 election was carried out so that the public would be aware that if it was done it would damage the democracy that was already running and the rights of the citizens could be taken away. So that people are led to move against the discourse. Such as making a petition against the postponement of the 2024 election. However, behind the formation of public opinion into the awareness of the attitude of rejection, that robotic accounts that have their own political agendas have succeeded in diverting bad news about the scarcity of cooking oil. This discourse automatically stirs the emotions of the audience about the rights of their citizens who are injured.

In addition, the issue of the discourse of postponing the 2024 election will have an impact on extending the term of office of the president, which in fact, according to constitutional rules, only has two terms. The public was finally triggered to follow the idea that if the 2024 elections were postponed, the president's term would be longer, which is in stark contrast to the regulations that have been set. The formation of such an opinion will make people have two different opinions. First, the public also rejects the discourse of postponing the 2024 election. Second, the formation of public opinion that the issue of postponing the 2024 election and extending the presidential term is more important and crucial than the news about the scarcity of cooking oil that is heating up.

When an issue on social media spreads to all circles, the media agenda for the public has succeeded. It remains only for the public to determine the attitude towards following up on the issue or being

apathetic. Until now, the public is still pro and contra against Jokowi's leadership. For those who are pro, of course they will provide support in the issue of postponing the 2024 election, because automatically the president's term of office will continue and hope for the progress of the people can continue to be achieved. Meanwhile, for the cons, the public will certainly show slanted opinions in an effort to thwart the postponement of the 2024 election. President Joko Widodo's silent response in responding to this issue is considered to lack a firm policy, meaning that some people still have concerns about President Joko Widodo's decision to pass this discourse.

IV. Conclusion

Based on the spiral of silence theory, regarding the formation of opinions that can be created due to the pressure of majority public opinion on minority voices. This issue has an influence on the behavior of netizens or users of cyberspace. The entities or internet users after knowing this information will observe the opinion on the surrounding environment in which direction this opinion will move. Even though the news that is developing is the problem of the increase and scarcity of cooking oil.

Koran Tempo's online media has succeeded in forming opinions and addressing issues regarding the rejection of the postponement of the 2024 election and the extension of President Joko Widodo's term in office. Until now, there is still news about this issue in several online media even though it is not as close as in early March 2022.

However, in fact, the public is not much influenced to make various opinions on the issue of postponing the 2024 election. The public remains focused on the news of expensive and rare cooking oil on the market. It is because this issue has a direct impact on economic stability and people's lives. The issue of postponement the 2024 election only applies to a few groups, and the buzzer accounts or paid accounts have target to audience, so that the issues that develop in society are divided into several issues.

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