

Degradation of the Role of the Indonesian Press as a Means of Political Propaganda in the Post-Truth Era

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Received: December,2, 2024 | Revised: December,18, 2024 | Accepted: December,20, 2024

Abstract. The function of the press is very important in the democratic process of a country, including Indonesia. This is because the press is a channel for information and education for the public to also be involved in supporting democracy in Indonesia. The important position of the press is not in line with the fate of the press in the post-truth era which is increasingly being degraded by the interests of authoritarian power that is political in nature, thus making the press an institution that is no longer independent. This article uses an empirical method in discussing issues related to the degradation of the role of the press as a medium for political propaganda today. Based on the study conducted, it can be understood that the press institution which initially had a function as a medium for information, education, entertainment, and social control, has been degraded into a propaganda media for the political purposes of the rulers, this is the impact of the fact that most people trust news on social media more than news from a press institution, making the press institution increasingly depressed and unable to develop, the influence of an authoritarian government captivates press freedom, has caused press news to experience degradation related to truth, and more following the political framing made by the rulers, and the minimal development of the press and public interest in press products and the influence of authoritarian power, has led to a decline in the welfare of journalists so that many journalists abuse their profession to seek economic welfare illegally.

Keywords: Press; Politics; Propaganda; Post-Truth

INTRODUCTION

All countries in various parts of the world are entering a new chapter of history, namely the chapter of globalization. Globalization is a process of coordination between human life in various countries through advances in technology and information. Advances in technology and information bring about a very disruptive social life order. This brings social convergence in society that changes the perspective and way of life of people who depend on the flow of information and communication digitally, this dependence causes people to face international relations directly which brings various dynamic and uncertain changes.¹

This has an impact on the cultural transplantation of a nation which then follows the culture of society in another country.² In addition, globalization and digitalization of information and communication also gave birth to the state borderless. Jumadi explained that:³

¹Robby Darwis Nasution, "Pengaruh Kesenjangan Digital Terhadap Pembangunan Pedesaan (Rural Development)", *Jurnal Penelitian Komunikasi Dan Opini Publik*, Vol. 20 No.1, hlm. 32.

²Hari Purwadi, *Pendekatan Baru Dalam Studi Perbandingan Hukum: "Critical Comparative Law" Dan Transplantasi Hukum Di Indonesia, Dalam Wajah Hukum Di Era Reformasi*, PT. Citra Aditya Bakti, Bandung, 2000, hlm. 225.

³Jumadi, "Perkembangan Ekonomi Global Terhadap Kebijakan Politik Ekonomi Indonesia", *Proyeksi - Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, Vol.22. No.1, hlm. 59.

The process of globalization has also integrated nation states towards a state borderless. Globalization also has very complex implications, namely the emergence of interdependence in almost all dimensions of life in relations between nation states and transnational relations.

Transplantation of culture and lifestyle as well as social perspective through the increasingly rapid pace of digitalization of information and communication with the existence of state borderless, has caused cultural degradation of society which has led to the degradation of the spirit of nations in Indonesia. The presence of a new culture that is contrary to the culture of the Indonesian nation becomes a perspective that is captured and carried out by society through advances in information and communication technology so that society is influenced by foreign cultures and chooses to leave the culture of the Indonesian nation. So that cultural transplantation through world coordination brought through globalization becomes the social capital of countries that are the winners in the mainstream of globalization as social capital in forming a new order in other countries. In relation to this, Coleman describes how social capital plays a role in creating human capital by showing what is happening in families and communities in the process of developing children's education. aspects of the social structure that create confinement in a social network that makes everyone connected in such a way that obligations and sanctions can be imposed on everyone who is a member of the network. the existence of social organizations that can be used to achieve common goals.⁴ The order formed through Coleman's social capital then creates a new premature culture in the midst of society that gives birth to many deviations. One of the deviations that occurs is the existence of an image culture that is intended to cover up a rotten social system, including the political system. These phenomena make all aspects of society's life negatively affected systematically and evenly, including in terms of the dimension of information life in the social order.

Ethical Journalism Network, a coalition of independent journalists based in the UK, published a 50-page book highlighting a number of important issues concerning media work throughout 2017. EJNI Director Aidan White in one of the anthologies, touched on Facebook's role in the production and distribution of information in the post-Truth era. The world is very concerned about the circulation of twisted news and fake information circulating and spreading quickly on Facebook. Most parties blame the technology giant's practice of making a profit by allowing negative content to circulate freely on Facebook's timeline. Others blame the mainstream media for failing to maintain the quality of news reporting, thus encouraging people to seek alternative information on social media.⁵ The anxiety of the Ethical Journalism Network journalist coalition is not without reason, because EJNI's prediction is true. The national press world is experiencing a stuttering post-truth era, one of which can be seen in the news of the transfer of the National Capital to the Indonesian Capital. As time goes by, the mass media are now flocking to digital or electronic versions so that they can continue to provide actual and factual information. It is proven that the spread of information through online news is delivered faster than printed news. Therefore, many hotly discussed issues will immediately spread to the wider community. One of the issues that is currently being widely discussed is the East Kalimantan region which will be the destination for the transfer of the National Capital (IKN), with the name Nusantara or also called the Indonesian Capital.

⁴Rusydi Syahra, "Modal Sosial: Konsep Dan Aplikasi", *Jurnal Masyarakat dan Budaya*, Volume 5 No. 1, 2003, hlm. 4.

⁵Kharisma Dhimas Syuhada, "Etika Media di Era "Post-Truth"", *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia*, Volume VI, Nomor 1, hlm. 75.

One of the online news media that is actively presenting news about the transfer of the national capital is Kompas.com and IDN Times. Both online media have their own way of framing news. Framing information in an event can be called framing. Framing is one of the journalistic media communication strategies, which aims to create a certain image, impression, and meaning desired by the media or institutions, and is considered important by the media. Agenda setting in the news contains elements of issue selection and highlighting aspects to create public opinion that leads to certain goals that are desired to be achieved, in this case wanting to show that Joko Widodo has been able to carve out a new history by forming the IKN as if for the people's purposes.⁶ However, in reality, various elements of society represented by Non-Governmental Organizations actually explained that there were problems that showed that the development of the IKN by Joko Widodo was an inappropriate action for the people.

YLBHI together with 17 LBH Offices throughout Indonesia and the Clean Indonesia Civil Society Coalition consisting of #CleanIndonesia, Sajogyo Institute, Srikandi Lestari Foundation, East Kalimantan Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM), stated their position that:⁷

1. Reject the relocation of the National Capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan because it is not based on a clear feasibility study. Second, urge the Indonesian House of Representatives and the Government to revoke the IKN Law. Third, urge the Indonesian Government to resolve various problems in Jakarta and East Kalimantan without having to move the National Capital to East Kalimantan.
2. Urge the Indonesian House of Representatives and the Government to revoke the IKN Law. Urge the Indonesian Government to resolve various problems in Jakarta and East Kalimantan without having to move the Capital to East Kalimantan.

The inconsistency of the framing related to the IKN news was also revealed by the Tempo mass media. Tempo stated that the construction of the IKN which cost a budget of Rp. 466 trillion had various problems, namely the construction of IKN housing was not feasible because it was chasing targets, the construction of public facilities was still not finished so that public facilities in the IKN were not yet able to function, budget investment by the private sector was still absent, and the IKN was in a flood-prone area.⁸ Musta'in as the root of Sociology of Development of Airlangga University (UNAIR) views that in the development of IKN there is still a reality in the form of a lack of attention to the psychological and social impacts arising from this sudden relocation. Musta'in assesses that the IKN authority is still lacking in monitoring and providing emotional support for the affected community.⁹

Director of the Center of Economic and Law Studies (Celios) Bhima Yudhistira Adhinegara said that the reason investors refused to invest in the IKN was because foreign investors still doubted the details of the IKN development plan. Including among these

⁶Ngesthi Puspita Sari dan Markhamah, "Wacana Berita Ikn Nusantara Di Idn Times Dan Kompas Menurut Framing Dan Agenda Setting", *BAHTERA INDONESIA: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 2024, hlm. 628-629.

⁷Hukum Online, Beragam Alasan Penolakan Atas Pengesahan UU IKN, diakses melalui <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/beragam-alasan-penolakan-atas-pengesahan-uu-ikn-lt61e84a9e80b74/?page=2>, pada 12 Mei 2024.

⁸Tempo, <https://koran.tempo.co/read/ekonomi-dan-bisnis/482106/7-fakta-pembangunan-ikn-dari-kendala-biaya-hingga-ancaman-banjir>, diakses pada 12 Mei 2024.

⁹Universitas Airlangga, Pakar UNAIR Soroti Risiko Konflik Pemindahan Masyarakat Adat di IKN, diakses melalui <https://unair.ac.id/pakar-unair-soroti-risiko-konflik-pemindahan-masyarakat-adat-di-ikn/> pada 12 Mei 2024.

doubts related to the population projections that will occupy the new capital city.¹⁰ Various facts related to the condition of the IKN have been explained by experts, however, there are still mass media that are not honest in reporting the current condition of the IKN in real terms. One of the mass media that explains that the development of the IKN is running smoothly and has no weaknesses is Media Indonesia. According to Media Indonesia, the development of the IKN is a historic effort to advance the nation, this news clearly eliminates the issue of the rights of affected indigenous peoples and eliminates ecological justice for the communities around the IKN who are affected.¹¹ Based on this fact, it is clear that the press institution is no longer an institution that presents information and public education, but has metamorphosed into an institution that creates hoaxes in the current post-truth era. This article aims to examine in more depth the degradation of the function of the press institution which has now become a framing institution that presents a hypocritical image of a social event which ultimately results in misinformation and public knowledge that can lead to the stability of democracy in the country and nation.

METHOD

Qualitative research is also called naturalistic research, phenomenological method, impressionistic method, and post-positivistic method. The characteristics of this type of research are as follows:¹²

1. Using inductive thinking patterns (empirical - rational or bottom-up).
2. Qualitative methods are often used to produce grounded theory, which is a theory that arises from data, not from hypotheses as in quantitative methods. On that basis, the research is of a generating theory nature, so that the resulting theory is a substantive theory.
3. The emic/participant perspective is highly prioritized and highly valued. The researcher's interest is largely focused on how perceptions and meanings are according to the perspective of the participants being studied, so that they can find what are called phenomenological facts.
4. Qualitative research does not use a standard research design. The research design develops during the research process.
5. Data collection is carried out based on phenomenological principles, namely by deeply understanding the symptoms or phenomena faced.
6. Researchers also function as data collection tools so that their existence is inseparable from what is being studied.
7. Data analysis can be carried out while the research is ongoing and has been ongoing.
8. The results of the research are in the form of descriptions and interpretations in the context of time and certain situations.
9. Qualitative research is also called natural research or naturalistic inquiry.

¹⁰Kompas, Alasan Investor Asing Tak Kunjung Berinvestasi di IKN, diakses melalui <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2023/11/18/123000565/alasan-investor-asing-tak-kunjung-berinvestasi-di-ikn?page=all>, pada 12 Mei 2024.

¹¹Media Indonesia, IKN dan Kemerdekaan Kita, diakses melalui https://mediaindonesia.com/editorials/detail_editorials/3630-IKN%20dan%20Kemerdekaan%20Kita, pada 12 September 2024.

¹²Ismail Nurdin Dan Sri Hartati, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial*, Media Sahabat Cendekia, Surabaya, 2019. Hlm. 78-79

The research in this article uses an empirical method because the reality that is the object of research in the discussion of this article is the behavior of press culture that has been degraded into an action with a post-truth paradigm and is practical in following the goals of a power that can make the press do framing and far from the goals of the press itself.

DISCUSSION

1. Framing Culture in Press Reporting in the Post-Truth Era

Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang said, "The mass media forces attention to certain issues. The mass media builds public images of political figures."¹³ Mass media constantly shows what individuals in society want to consider, know, and feel. According to McComb and Donald L. Shaw, agenda setting theory assumes that the media has the ability to transfer issues to influence the public agenda. Agenda determination theory or often called Agenda Setting theory is a theory that states that mass media acts as a center for determining truth with the ability of mass media to transfer two elements, namely awareness and information, into the public agenda by directing public awareness and attention to issues that are considered important to the mass media.¹⁴ In the process of news that will be published, each media has its own agenda. According to Everet Rogers and James Dearing, there are three stages of the linear process in agenda setting, namely:¹⁵

- a. Media Agenda, which is the determination of issue priorities by the mass media or determining what is considered important by the media.
- b. Public Agenda, is the mass media processing news on a case by thinking about what is considered important by the public. So that it will influence or can be with what is on the public's mind which will produce a public agenda.
- c. Policy agenda, with the existence of a public agenda that interacts in such a way with what is considered important by policy makers, namely the government, with this interaction it will produce a policy agenda.

Based on several theories about agenda setting above, it is clear that in addition to being a medium of information and education for the public, the press can also be a political medium by depicting an event by highlighting or exaggerating a part of a social event that is interesting for public consumption, regardless of whether it contains truth or not. This can also be said as framing, according to Frank D. Durham framing is a way in which events are presented by the media. The presentation is done by emphasizing certain parts, highlighting certain aspects and exaggerating certain ways of telling stories from a reality.¹⁶

The existence of framing by the mass media in Indonesia is currently increasingly widespread, because the mass media has become a means for conducting political promotions. The purpose of political promotion is to gain public sympathy, so that the public gives its political support to political figures, especially when the democratic party takes place. This can be seen in the fact of framing of political figures in political

¹³Apriadi Tambuaraka, *Agenda Setting Media Massa*, Rajawali Pers, Jakarta, 2012, hlm. 22.

¹⁴Rachmat Kriyantono, *Teknik Praktis Riset Komunikasi*, Prenada Media Group, Jakarta, 2009, cet. 4, hlm. 222.

¹⁵Morissan, M.A, dkk, *Teori Komunikasi Massa*, PT Ghalia Indonesia, Bogor, 2010, hlm. 95.

¹⁶Ayub Dwi Anggoro, "Media, Politik Dan Kekuasaan (Analisis Framing Model Robert N. Entman Tentang Pemberitaan Hasil Pemilihan Presiden, 9 Juli 2014 Di Tv One Dan Metro Tv)", *Jurnal Aristo*, Vol.2 No. 2, 2014, Hlm. 28.

contests in the country. Robert Entman said there are four stages in seeing media reality when constructing news, namely:¹⁷

- a. Define Problem, is the most important frame or master frame. This main frame will emphasize how to view an event.
- b. Estimating the Source of the Problem (Diagnose Causes), is a framing element used to frame the cause of an event or problem. Cause here can mean what and also who is the cause.
- c. Making Moral Judgement, is a framing element used to provide arguments for problems or events that have been previously defined. The argument can be in the form of legitimacy or delegitimacy of an action.
- d. Emphasizing Problem Solving (Treatment Recommendation), is an element used to assess recommendations or expectations desired by journalists or the media in solving problems.

Based on Robert Entman's theory above, it can be understood that a framing action was carried out by the press from several news items that framed political figures, one of which can be captured from the issues during the 2024 presidential election:

- a. Tempo News Edition May 4, 2023 Ganjar is getting more aggressive, Anies Baswedan volunteers order their administrators to work harder

In this news framing, the problem is interpreted as competition between the supporting parties that have declared presidential candidates. Meanwhile, the cause of the problem in this news framing is the increasingly heated political competition. The moral assessment in this news shows that working harder and socializing more in society are the main determinants of Anies being elected as President in 2024. In this news, it is clear that the electronic mass media is trying to create a framing of strong political competition between Anies and Ganjar in achieving the position of President which is caused by the provocative attitude of Masril, who serves as the coordinator of Anies Baswedan volunteers who seems to be carrying out orders that can ensure that Anies volunteers can win Anies as President-elect in 2024.¹⁸

- b. Tempo News Edition May 7, 2023 Anies Less Interested in Commenting on Jokowi Not Inviting Surya Paloh to the Palace Define Problems

The problem that is framed as a problem in this news is Anies Baswedan's lack of interest in commenting on Jokowi's decision not to invite Surya Paloh to the Palace. Anies did this because the Nasdem Party already had its own coalition. Anies' morals as one of the presidential candidates in 2024 are shown in this news in the form of an attitude of not wanting to interfere regarding the non-invitation of the Nasdem Party to the State Palace. This news also shows that Anies prefers to prepare a vision and mission that can bring justice to society. In this news, the framing of the rift between Surya Paloh and Joko Widodo is very visible, but in this news it seems as if it is because of the

¹⁷Eriyanto, *Analisis Framing-Konstruksi, Ideologi Dan Politik Media*, Lkis, Yogyakarta, 2002, hlm. 225-227.

¹⁸Tempo, diakses melalui <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1721728/ganjar-makin-ngegas-relawan-anies-baswedan-perintahkan-pengurusnya-kerja-lebih-keras>, pada 12 Mei 2024.

relationship between Anies and Surya Paloh which makes the relationship between Joko Widodo and Surya Paloh have a rift. In fact, Anies should not be involved in the news frame regarding the relationship between Anies and Surya Paloh.¹⁹

Based on the two cases above, it is clear that the statement of Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang explains that, "The mass media forces attention to certain issues. The mass media builds a public image of political figures".²⁰ It has been proven true that the mass media is only oriented towards promoting political figures through conditions of societal convergence over social events in society.

2. The Degradation of the Role of the Indonesian Press as a Means of Political Propaganda in the Post-Truth Era

Functions of the Press According to Harold D. Lasswell and Charles R. Wright (mass media communications experts), there are three functions of the press, namely:²¹

a. As a Social Surveillance Tool

The press or mass media is an institution that collects and disseminates various information and objective understanding of various events that occur around them.

b. As a Socialization Tool

The press or mass media can function as a socialization tool regarding social values and pass them on from one generation to the next.

c. As a Social Correlation Tool

The press can also function as a unifying tool for various social groups in society. This can be achieved by disseminating various existing views so that a consensus is reached.

According to Article 3 of the Republic of Indonesia Law Number 40 of 1999 concerning the Press, the functions of the press include:

- (1) The national press has the function of being a medium for information, education, entertainment and social control.
- (2) In addition to the functions mentioned in paragraph (1), the national press can function as an economic institution.

The function of the press in its development has experienced degradation in the post-truth era, this is due to the dilemma of the lack of public news that is a press product when compared to digital information from social media which is not a news product from the press. The post-truth era is marked by the dominance of personal beliefs in information compared to the actual facts. This condition has led to the increasing spread of hoaxes or fake news, especially issues related to current socio-political issues. Sadjan as Secretary of the Directorate General of Informatics Applications explained that:²²

¹⁹Tempo, diakses melalui <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1722992/anies-kurang-berminat-komentari-jokowi-tidak-mengundang-surya-paloh-ke-istana>, pada 12 Mei 2024.

²⁰Apriadi Tambuaraka, *Agenda Setting Media Massa*, Rajawali Pers, Jakarta, 2012, hlm. 22.

²¹<https://dp3a.semarangkota.go.id/blog/post/hari-pers-nasional>, diakses pada 12 Mei 2024.

²² *Loc. cit.*

We are entering an era, namely the post-truth era, a condition where facts do not have much influence on public opinion or views compared to emotions, beliefs or personal bias towards information. This condition is what causes the emergence and spread of fake news.

This statement is clearly proven by the increase in hoax cases that occurred during the 2024 election season. Minister of Communication and Information Budi Arie Setiad in his statement stated that "the results of the identification showed 203 hoax issues with a total distribution on digital platforms of 2,882 contents".²³ Post truth is an era where lies can disguise themselves as truth, it is undeniable that social media makes information much more boisterous and noisy. Every minute there is a new photo or status that is updated, circulating the latest news or tips or being renewed, even news that reproduces. Through social media that crosses borders, any video can "flourish" on our platform accounts. One hour our account signs out, when we sign in it is immediately filled with the latest videos. So, the current information cycle moves very quickly. This cycle of waves and waves is then utilized by fabricated lies that lead the public to assume that the lie is the truth. Like the words of Joseph Goebbels, one of Hitler's loyalists, who stated that "a lie told once is a lie, but a lie told a thousand times will become the truth". The post truth phenomenon was initially utilized for political interests. However, over time, post truth is used in all lines of issues and agendas. There are similarities between post truth and hoax news. Both post truth and hoax, usually will be wrapped with bombastic headlines, ignoring data and facts, maybe even using fake data that is not clear the truth. Not to mention if there are paid accounts, popularly called buzzers, who deliberately raise the topic continuously, or comment on the news that causes social media users to become confused and even believe in the "truth" of the hoax news. This is getting worse, social media users are also influenced to not only believe the fake news, but also voluntarily distribute it through their accounts. With the power of social media users, it is not impossible that the fake news will circulate massively in cyberspace.²⁴ In this post-truth era, press news is no longer in demand by the public, this is due to the interest in reading and awareness of the importance of news from mere news which is information that has not been tested for its truth. This dilemma is increasingly widespread with the fact that the press has become a framing media that also reports a lot of things that are not true and sides with certain figures or ruling circles. This situation makes press institutions experience constipation problems which also have an impact on the development of press institutions and the welfare of journalists.

Media, power, and the public have a strategic relationship. Power in a country has a major influence on the press. Especially in the post-truth era which is marked by the dominance of power through digitalization. Digital space becomes a power in itself in understanding civil liberties. Expression, opinion, communication, and all daily activities are strongly influenced by the development of digital technology. Unfortunately, digital control or governance, also called digital governance, is often exploited by certain power relations to gain benefits in certain political and economic systems. In fact, these efforts are often used

²³CNBC, 203 Hoaks Pemilu 2024 Beredar di Medsos, Banyak yang Masih Viral, diakses melalui <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/tech/20240105080338-37-502925/203-hoaks-pemilu-2024-beredar-di-medsos-banyak-yang-masih-viral>, pada 12 Agustus 2025.

²⁴Kementrian Keuangan RI, Ladang Ranjau Post Truth dalam Medsos, diakses melalui <https://www.djkn.kemenkeu.go.id/kpkn-kisaran/baca-artikel/13938/Ladang-Ranjau-Post-Truth-dalam-Medsos#:~:text=Sederhananya%2C%20post%20truth%20adalah%20suatu,tapi%20sudah%20dan%20masih%20mengalaminya.>, pada 12 Juni 2024.

to attack certain citizens or groups, and such digital attacks cannot be held legally accountable, or impunity. Therefore, the regulation and arrangement of digital power needs to be carried out as an important part of maintaining its accountability as well as the function of protecting and fulfilling human rights, especially guaranteeing digital rights. Digital power in this case is interpreted as power that is manifested in the authority or authority to use and utilize digital technology, either as a regulator, platform provider, and/or digital data manager. Digital power is getting stronger when it is attached to a business entity, which allows the birth of digital technology itself. This centralizes enormous economic power with state collusion, resulting in expanded surveillance and control, widespread disinformation, and the crippling of citizens' rights. The 'State of Power' report reveals the actors, strategies and implications of this digital power struggle, and shares ideas on how civil society movements can bring technology back under citizens' control.²⁵ This situation often results in the dominance of power over press freedom, as can be seen from the many cases of online news journalists being imprisoned on charges of hate speech.²⁶ Muhammad Asrul, a journalist for Berita.news, was also detained for 36 days in January 2020 after being arrested on suspicion of hate speech based on his coverage of the alleged corruption of the son of the mayor of Palopo, South Sulawesi. In March 2020, Mohamad Sadli, the editor-in-chief of liputanpersada.com, was sentenced to two years in prison for his critical opinion on a road construction project.²⁷

At a time when news coverage was minimal and full of confusion, attacks occurred and doxing was experienced by human rights lawyer, Veronica Koman, who was actively reporting and commenting on the violence that occurred in Papua and West Papua. Meanwhile, journalists Victor Mambor and Febriana Firdaus in Papua received similar threats, to stop reporting with digital attacks. Moreover, the situation worsened when the Jokowi Government through the Ministry of Communication and Information actually made an internet shutdown policy, a policy that is common in authoritarian and anti-democratic countries.²⁸ Various cases show that there are attempts to strip away press freedom as a pillar of state democracy. As a result of this reality, most mass media are gripped by fear in reporting and voicing the truth.

The problem on the other hand is that the media often covers an event that is not neutral, even biased. Media owners and journalists often have their own interests in influencing society. The difficulty of developing a press institution and the lack of public interest in the press, indirectly kills the press institution slowly, one of which is in terms of the economic income of a press institution, the lack of economic income of a press institution will clearly have an impact on the lack of welfare of journalists and journalists, this triggers several journalists and journalists through their profession to seek profit through extortion of the community. In Pangkalpinang, a journalist was arrested by a joint team from the Prosecutor's Office and the Criminal Investigation Unit (Satreskrim) of the Pangkalpinang Police for blackmailing a teacher and junior high school student who were at that time

²⁵Tina Asnakius, dkk., State of Power 2023: Digital Power, diedit oleh Nick Buxton, Transnational Institute – www.TNI.org, diakses melalui 12 Mei 2024.

²⁶SAFE.net, "Kasus Muhamad Asrul," diakses melalui <https://safenet.or.id/id/2020/02/kasus-muhamad-asrul/>, pada 12 Mei 2024.

²⁷SAFE.net, "Kasus Mohamad Sadli," diakses melalui <https://safenet.or.id/id/2020/02/kasus-mohamad-sadli/>, pada 12 Mei 2024.

²⁸Tirto.id, "Represi di Tanah Papua: Blokir Internet, Doxing, dan Hukum Aktivis," diakses melalui <https://tirto.id/epSx>, diakses 31/12/2019, pada 12 Mei 2024.

involved in an immoral case. The modus operandi used was to threaten to publish sensitive information related to the immoral case, unless the related party was willing to provide a sum of money to withhold further news coverage. Not only that, the perpetrator was also reported to have blackmailed a network contractor company, PT Cakra Grup, which was working on a longsmement project at Pasir Padi Beach.²⁹

Based on the various existing problems, it is clear that the reality is that:

- a. Most people trust news on social media more than news from a press institution, making the press institution increasingly depressed and unable to develop.
- b. The influence of an authoritarian government that captivates press freedom has caused press news to experience degradation in terms of truth, and more of it follows the political framing made by the authorities.
- c. The lack of press development and public interest in press products and the influence of authoritarian power have led to a decline in the welfare of journalists so that many journalists abuse their profession to seek economic welfare illegally.

In reality, it has degraded the press institution into an institution that functions to carry out political hegemony for the political purposes of the rulers, in addition to being helpless due to public interest in the press in the post-truth era, the influence of authoritarian rulers on press freedom, is also influenced by the economic welfare of press institutions and workers. So that the role of the Indonesian press has been degraded into a means of political propaganda in the post-truth era.

CONCLUSION

The press institution which initially had the function as a medium for information, education, entertainment, and social control, has been degraded into a propaganda media for the political purposes of the rulers, this is the impact of the fact that most people trust news on social media more than news from a press institution, making the press institution increasingly depressed and unable to develop, the influence of an authoritarian government captivates press freedom, has caused press news to experience degradation related to truth, and more following the political framing made by the rulers, and the minimal development of the press and public interest in press products and the influence of authoritarian power, has led to a decline in the welfare of journalists so that many journalists abuse their profession to seek economic welfare illegally. The solution that can be done is to guarantee press freedom so that it can be realized more clearly, for the government it is necessary to provide legal protection rights for press personnel in voicing the truth through the news they present, the community needs to be directly involved in monitoring and guarding against oppression for press personnel in reporting the truth they report.

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²⁹Mapikor, Oknum Wartawan Media Online Terjaring OTT, Diduga Memeras Rp 20 Juta, diakses melalui <https://mapikornews.com/daerah/oknum-wartawan-media-online-terjaring-ott-diduga-memeras-rp-20-juta/>, pada 12 Mei 2024.

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