Public Opinion Disclaimer on Enforcement of Public Activity Restrictions (PPKM): A Content Analysis

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Abstract

The high increase in Covid-19 in Indonesia is a concern for many parties. Thus, the policy taken by the government is the Imposition of Emergency Community Activity Restrictions (PPKM). The policy reaped the pros and cons in the community. This study aims to analyze the community's perspective (netizens) expressed through social media in assessing the implementation of emergency PPKM. This study utilizes qualitative descriptive methods and uses secondary data through social media in the form of Twitter and is analyzed using a content analysis approach. This study focuses on analyzing the trend of public perception (citizens) regarding the topic of conversation about rejection and demonstration (Tolak & Demo) of PPKM through the results of Social Network Analysis (SNA) obtained through Drone Emprit. The results show that most PPKM policies get widespread rejection in the community because the impacts are mostly negative, such as getting poorer people because of limited access to work. The domination of the denial was driven by pro-opposition accounts that campaigned against PPKM in the form of demonstrations. The contribution of this research shows that Twitter can be a space for public participation in responding to government policies (democracy). This research has limitations because it only focuses on Twitter, so further studies need to look at the use of other social media such as Instagram and YouTube.

Keywords: PPKM, Jokowi, Demo, Twitter, Drone Emprit.

Abstrak

Tingginya kenaikan angka Covid-19 di Indonesia menjadi kekhawatiran banyak pihak. Dengan demikian, kebijakan yang diambil oleh pemerintah adalah dengan Pemberlakuan Pembatasan Kegiatan Masyarakat (PPKM) darurat. Kebijakan tersebut menuai pro dan kontra ditengah

masyarakat. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis perspektif masyarakat (warganet) yang diungkapkan melalui sosial media dalam menilai pemberlakukan PPKM darurat. Penelitian ini memanfaatkan metode deskriptif kualitatif serta menggunakan data sekunder melalui sosial media berupa Twitter dan dianalisa dengan menggunakan pendekatan analisis konten. Penelitian ini berfokus pada analisa kecenderungan persepsi publik (warganet) mengenai topik percakapan tentang penolakan dan demonstrasi (Tolak dan Demo) PPKM melalui hasil Social Network Analysis (SNA) yang diperoleh melalui Drone Emprit. Hasilnya menunjukan bahwa kebijakan PPKM mayoritas mendapatkan penolakan luas ditengah masyarakat karena dampak yang ditimbulkan sebagian besar bersifat negatif seperti semakin miskinnya masyarakat karena akses bekerja dibatasi. Dominiasi penolakan tersebut karena digerakan oleh akun-akun pro oposisi yang mengkampanyekan penolakan PPKM dalam bentuk demonstrasi. Kontribusi penelitian ini menunjukan bahwa twitter dapat menjadi ruang partisipasi publik dalam merespon kebijakan pemerintah (demokrasi). Adapun penelitian ini memiliki keterbatasan karena hanya fokus pada twiter sehingga studi selanjutnya perlu melihat penggunaan media-media sosial yang lainya seperti instagram dan youtube.

Kata Kunci: PPKM, Jokowi, Demonstrasi, Twitter, Drone Emprit.

INTRODUCTION

It has been more than a year since the Covid-19 virus variant in Indonesia, and the status or percentage of the spread and Covid-19 patients has not subsided. There are already three variants of the Covid-19 virus that have spread in Indonesia (Septiani, 2021). Finally, the Delta variant, which is suspected to be one of the variants, is the main cause of Indonesia's increasing number of positive cases. June was the starting point for the increase in Covid-19 cases in Indonesia in 2021. The monitoring data results show that the increase in the positivity rate for Covid-19 cases has doubled from the previous month, namely May. Data shows that the positivity rate was 10.78 percent in May, and in June, it reached 20.10 percent (Lidwina & Bayu, 2021).

The government then stipulated the PPKM policy (Implementation of Restrictions on Community Activities) after implementing several similar policies, synonymous with the lockdown policy and PSBB (Large-Scale Social Restrictions). Atalan (2020) stated that the government has started implementing social restrictions to prevent this pandemic. Lockdown is at the forefront of limiting this community activity. Alfano & Ercolano (2020) also analyzed that the lockdown policy positively impacted the pandemic and reduced the number of COVID-19 cases in countries that implemented it.

The term for using the PPKM policy first appeared in early 2021, to be precise, on January 11, 2021 (Arnani & Nugroho, 2021). The PPKM policy is again the government's option in suppressing the increase in the number of Covid-19 cases, which increased in June, impacting the following months. For this reason, the scenario chosen by the government is to establish an Emergency PPKM policy starting on July 3 – July 20, 2021, as stated in the Instruction of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 15 of 2021 concerning the Enforcement of Restrictions on Emergency Community Activities for Corona Virus Disease 2019 in the Java

and Bali Regions (INMENDAGRI NO 15, 2021).

Implementing the PPKM policy also does not necessarily escape various criticisms from the community. Community responses to this policy also varied. Several groups support the implementation of this policy. However, some groups are still reluctant to implement this policy because several things have become their concern. Several times, there was inequality in implementing PPKM in the field (Nelwan, 2021). The implementation of the PPKM policy immediately invites public interaction through the views expressed on social media, namely Twitter (Krisdiyanto & Nurharyanto, 2021).

It is then related to the most significant impact caused by the implementation of the PPKM policy, which is the economic impact, which is felt both by the community, small and medium business owners, and high-ranking officials in large companies. The implementation of social distancing has impacted various existing business sectors, such as shopping centers, restaurants, and markets (Chetty et al., 2020; Rizal et al., 2021). In addition, the implementation of PPKM is considered to have changed people's spending habits by utilizing online platforms through the market places (Bartik et al., 2020).

The existence of protests through social media occurred due to policies that were seen as unfair. In a democracy, demonstrations are used as a way to convey aspirations. Not only in Indonesia, but students in various parts of the world also hold rallies as a form of protest against state policies (Anwar et al., 2020). Social media is very conducive to mobilization, as invitations to participate and information about issues flows through social networks (Jost et al., 2018; Boulianne et al., 2020; Poell & Dijck, 2017; Neumayer & Rossi, 2018). Freelon et al. (2018) stated that social media has become an essential tool for 21st-century social movements

People's protests against the policies of a government are not new. However, the community's form of protest will continue to experience innovation as the government's responsiveness is low in responding to community calls. Thus, protest actions by casting various narratives through social media, in this case, Twitter, are a mainstay for the community. Although previously there have been many protest narratives, such as the #GejayanMecall action, this study looks at and analyzes other things or the latest findings in protest actions through social media, namely community participation in responding to Emergency PPKM policies. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the public's perspective expressed through social media in assessing the implementation of government policies and assessing how the President's decisions are judged not to be based on the community's interests in general. Therefore, the research objective of this article is to analyze how Twitter users interact in responding to topics related to the PPKM demo and deputizing the President.

Several studies in Indonesia have looked at social media as a means for society to articulate its political participation. Anam et al. (2020) showed that social media is quite effective in campaigning against the reclamation of Jakarta Bay in many areas. Public sensitivity and awareness arise through information disseminated through social media, especially Twitter, about the great dangers of Jakarta Bay. Putra et al. (2018) found that Instagram, through the memes used by the Forbali13 account, succeeded in propagating heroic messages to reject the reclamation of Benoa Bay in Bali. This is reinforced by the findings of

Galuh (2016) that said Twitter has contributed to mobilizing demonstrations by the Bali Reject Reclamation movement. Mahaswari (2017) concluded that social media, such as SMS Gateway, Yahoo Messenger Chat, Website, Twitter, Facebook, radio streaming, and webcam streaming that Jalin Merapi used, became facilitators of the Merapi disaster management social movement in the community. Nusa, (2019) saw that Facebook can show expressions of support and rejection of the issue of blasphemy by Ahok. Taufiq & Utama (2018) found that Indonesian Muslims had used social media to fight for their interests in the case of the movement against or protesting against Ahok's blasphemy. Pratiwi (2020) showed that the hashtag #GejayanMecall succeeded in getting public attention so that the demands made were known to many people. It also mobilized the masses/students to carry out demonstration movements. Daily (2021) showed that Feminists Yogyakarta and Women's March Yogyakarta can maximize social media to campaign for the anti-violence movement against women. Finally, Basuki et al. (2021) photographed the public's response through Twitter to the rice import plan, which was dominated by rejection because it was considered to be detrimental to farmers.

This research takes a different focus. First, the phenomenon seen by using content analysis is the PPKM policy, to which most public responds negatively. Second, using the SNA approach to see maps of support and rejection of PPKM policies and their arguments.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research method in this article is descriptive qualitative and uses secondary data through a social media approach in the form of Twitter. This study uses a content analysis approach to see the results of Social Network Analysis (SNA) from conversation topics about Reject and Demonstration of PPKM (Tolak & Demo PPKM) obtained through Drone Emprit. In this case, Drone Emprit analyzes public opinion/perceptions related to PPKM from 18-24 July 2021. Drone Emprit is a website from the Islamic University of Indonesia that displays data and analysis from social media based on interesting topics among the public with Artificial Intelligence (AI) (Fajrina et al., 2020). Drone Emprit Academic is a big data system that performs a semi-realtime and detailed analysis of conversation-specific social networks on Twitter. The form shown is in trend percentage, relationship retweet, mention trend graph, most retweet status, and conversation trend. Thus, these data can be used as a reference for reading various social phenomena that are happening today (Busro, 2021; Fahmi et al., 2021; Juairiah & Ubaya, 2020; Laagu & Setyo Arifin, 2020; Syarifudin, 2020)

The authors also looked for article references from Google Scholar, including Scopus, with the keywords PPKM impact and social media protest. Data analysis was strengthened by elaborating additional facts obtained from several articles in online news media. Furthermore, the data were analyzed using a content analysis approach, namely recording codes or systematic messages in the SNA Reject and PPKM demonstrations and then interpreting them to get the correct conclusions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Trend Reject and Demonstration PPKM

Within one week, from July 18 to July 24, 2021, there were fluctuations in the number of interactions between users of social media accounts on Twitter and online news related to the trend of rejecting hashtags and PPKM demonstration (Figure 1). In one week, the total

interaction volume between account users on Twitter reached 21,349 tweets, using keywords in the demo, reject, cancel, rewind, and snooze. In addition, 1,355 articles in online news also accompanied the high volume of conversation on Twitter. Combined, the number of interactions on the trend of rejecting hashtag narratives and PPKM demos reached 22,704 within one week, with the highest number of interactions between Twitter account users and online news article releases both on July 21.

**Figure 1.** Trend of "Tolak and Demo PPKM"

Source: Drone Emprit, 2021

Fuchs (2017) states that the use of currently popular keywords under certain conditions is intended for public outreach so that user activity can be observed. Like in the reject trend and the PPKM demonstration, keywords related to the narrative of the trend garnered a lot of public response, resulting in thousands of user activities in one day. This condition is undoubtedly a concern because the public who participates in these trend activities are considered to have been well mobilized. Likewise, the publication of hundreds of articles on these trends shows the euphoria in reporting community activism in response to government policies.

SNA: Reject and Demonstration PPKM

Using social media to mobilize messages or protest actions among the community is considered to have gone well and has a high level of urgency for involvement. Protests carried out in the mass media are considered to improve the process of building social identity in a political space where various types of opinions and ideas can be easily shared and accessed by social media users (Raynauld et al., 2018). Concerning the viral trend of rejecting and demonstrating on PPKM, stakeholders use Twitter to spread the message they want to convey and influence readers to have similar views and opinions. This condition can be seen in Figure 2.

Figure 2. SNA "Tolak & Demo PPKM"
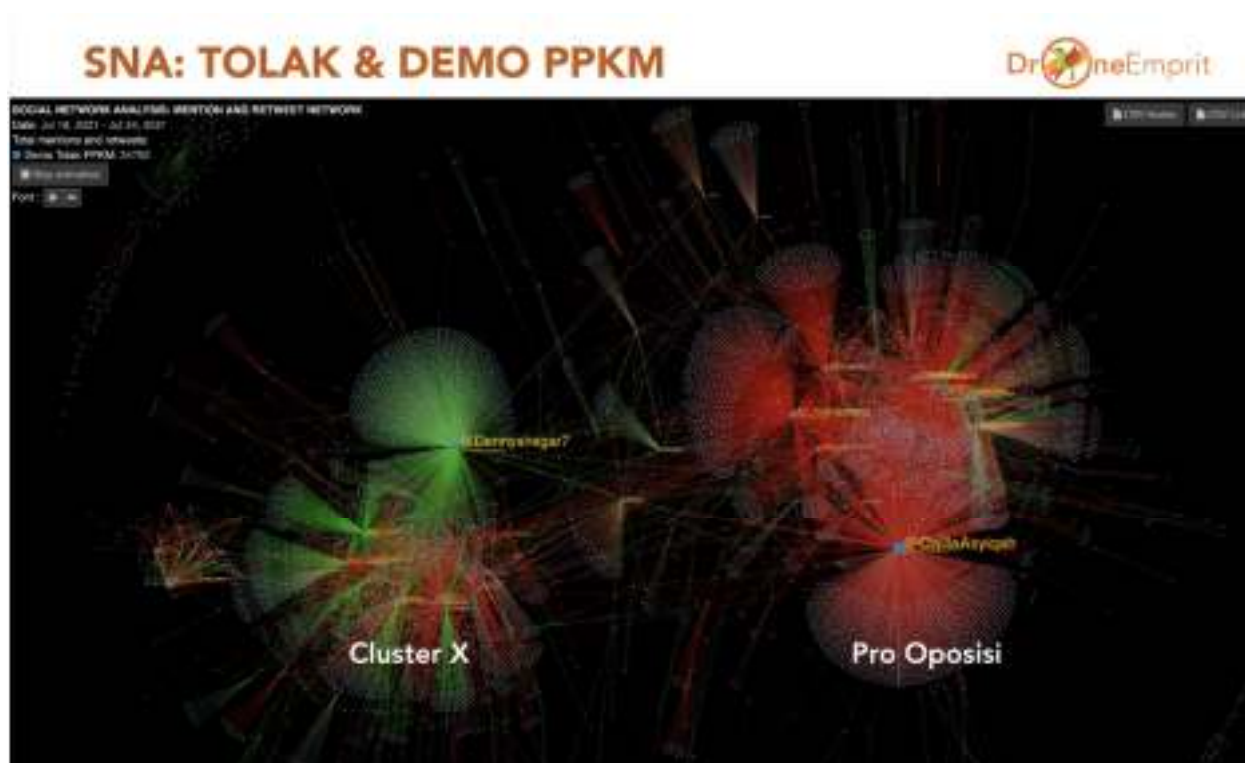
Source: Drone Emprit, 2021

The results of data processing using Social Network Analysis (SNA) on Reject and Demonstration PPKM show two large clusters on Twitter. The two clusters include the Pro-Opposition Cluster and Cluster X. The Pro-Opposition Cluster, namely those who tend to view negatively, object to and do not support the implementation of this Emergency PPKM policy, while cluster X in the visualization of the image above is marked by the appearance of two colors (red and green) indicates that there is a mixture of positive and negative sentiments in viewing this PPKM policy.

In line with the opinion of Raynauld et al. (2018) above, the figure shows that there are two types of conflicting views and opinions according to the interests and messages to be conveyed by each interest group. The visible impact is the ongoing mobilization of support from each group. Support in the form of shared views and opinions can be seen in the activities carried out by users. This condition is also in line with the opinion (Spaiser et al., 2017), who stated that social media had played an increasing role in social movement activities. It can bring together users to communicate on a large scale and in real-time to benefit stakeholders.

Reject Narrative and Demonstration PPKM

Each interest group formed based on the results of calculations by Social Network Analysis produces several top narratives that become mass mobilization tools for some people. Ogan & Varol (2017) mention that social media as a social network is used to communicate information, messages and persuade others to participate in spreading content or narratives that are under the views or opinions of users and are related to their role in existing conditions or

situations. Thus, Figure 3 shows on how the narrative built by each group describes their role in responding, supporting, or even rejecting the action.

Figure 3. Narartive "Tolak & Demo PPKM"
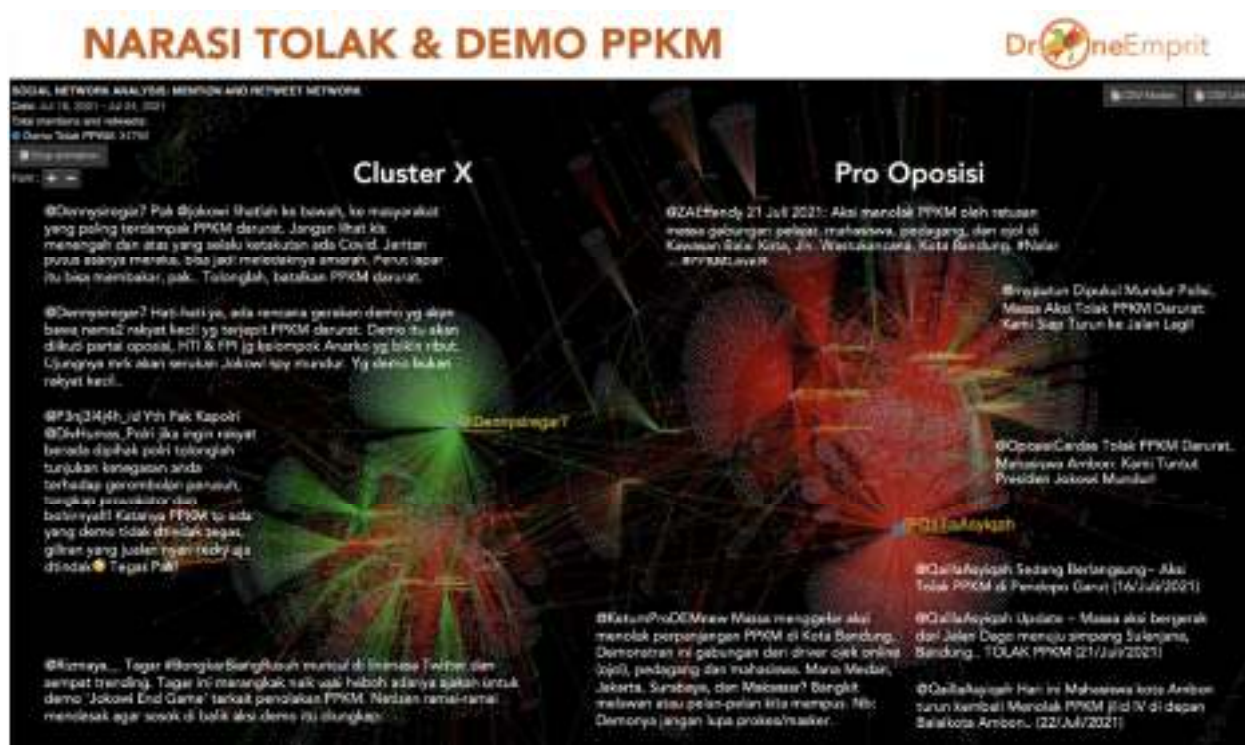
Source: Drone Emprit, 2021

The figure above shows some examples of the top narrative from each cluster. The SNA above has been automatically compiled based on conversation and interaction data for keywords and filters that have been determined according to topics and retweet relationships between Twitter account owners. Therefore, the results of monitoring the data above do not have a special database for each account, both pros and cons. Instead, the group is formed based on the results of their retweet activity or behavior.

Within one week from July 18-24, news coverage and interactions among the Pro-Opposition led to discussions of demonstrations against PPKM in various cities in Indonesia. The tweets belonging to the accounts @ZAEffendy, @myputun, @OppositionCerdas, @QaillaAisyah, and @KetumProDEMnew. The @QaillaAisyah account is visualized as the brightest, centered, and clear point among the rest.   This condition indicates that the narration of the tweet has the widest range of interactions.

Meanwhile, based on the visualization results belonging to the Cluster X group, they responded to the narratives echoed by the Pro-Opposition groups. They added several allegations related to the background of the PPKM Rejection Demo as the alleged presence of individuals who encouraged the demonstration. Like some examples of tweets with @DennySiregar7, @P3nj3l4j4_id, and @Rizmaya__. The @DennySiregar account looks very dominant, clear, and centered, which indicates that his tweet has the most dominant interaction

or conversation among the others.

Top Influencers: Reject and Demonstration PPKM

Jesus & Himelboim (2018) mentioned that social movements have begun to touch the realm of social media and have become an important aspect in carrying out social movement actions in recent years. This is because social media is considered to influence and mobilize the masses and the general public easily. However, this condition cannot be separated from important actors who are the main keys to the existence of influential social movements that aim to mobilize the wider masses. Thus, Figure 4 shows that top influencers' presence is considered an important key in the PPKM trend and demo.

Figure 4. Top Influencer "Tolak & Demo PPKM"

Source: Drone Emprit, 2021

Drone Emprit has gained 85 accounts in the spotlight and as a top influencer on this topic. Several large accounts with many followers dominate Top Influencers in PPKM Reject & Demo topics. The top five in order are, @QaillaAisyah, with 4,625 interactions; @DennySiregar, with 1,239 interactions; @CNNIndonesia, with 1,222 interactions; @geloraco, with 835 interactions; and @Smart Opposition with 733 interactions.

Several accounts that are the top influencers above are considered to influence other social media users. The written narratives are considered to have aspects that attract other users' attention and participation so that interactions or activities occur on Twitter. The accounts above are important actors in carrying out tweet activities regarding demos and rejecting

PPKM. They are considered to play an important role by spreading their views and opinions in general, which are then responded to by other users.

The @QaillaAisyah account is recorded as the account with the greatest number of interactions and is considered to be an important factor in mobilizing messages and information related to the demo trend against PPKM. As in the previous figure (**Error! Reference source not found.**) @QaillaAisyah's account became the focal point of the pro-opposition cluster. Like the @QaillaAisyah account, @DennySiregar's account is also a top influencer among cluster X because his narratives are considered the most vocal among the others. Thus, the two accounts with the most significant interactions are considered important actors in mobilizing users to have the same views and opinions according to each user's preferences.

Narrative Pro-Contra PPKM

As Siapera et al. (2018) stated, communication activity on Twitter is considered more likely to turn on votes because of their lower participation thresholds, interactive features, and affordability. Therefore, the affordability of social media is often considered exploited for civic purposes. The statement is also supported by Munger et al. (2019), who argued that social media has changed the way people communicate, whether aimed at themselves or even at state elites.

The top tweet from the topic "Reject & Demo PPKM" that received the most retweet behavior was the account @QaillaAisyah, with 1,024 retweets (Figure 5). The account @QaillaAisyah is one of the top accounts from the Pro-Opposition group, which seems active in reporting several situations of live-action PPKM demonstrations in various cities. For example, the account wrote a narration regarding the direct report on the PPKM demonstration in Ambon, Maluku, on July 19, 2021. Likewise, with other Top Tweets belonging to @QaillaAisyah with 14 retweets of behavior, also reporting the live-action of the PPKM demo in Ponorogo, 513 retweets and 417 reporting the situation. PPKM live demonstration action in Bandung. Furthermore, from the Cluster X group, there is the @DennySiregar7 account which has more than one million followers, including in the Top Tweets with related topics.

Figure 5. Top Tweet "Tolak & Demo PPKM"

Source: Drone Emprit, 2021

Some of the tweets above are categorized as the top ones due to the interactions after the tweet. Although there is no official statement regarding the meaning of retweets, it can be concluded that the narrative in the tweet has shown approval and standard views and opinions for users who have carried out activities in the form of retweets. One of the tweets that had the most activity was that which contained information or news related to the implementation of demonstrations that were currently taking place in several cities in Indonesia. Valenzuela et al. (2018) also stated that activity on Twitter is also a medium for injecting new information, such

as news, information mobility, and communication patterns are some of the actions in social movements.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the social media analysis above, public participation in protests or negotiations on social media has become a trend in gathering masses and a source of information for social media users, especially young participants, who are considered to lack paying attention to political issues. Although most of the accounts enlivening the trend come from a particular interest group, the decision to use social media as the main medium in carrying out social movements is considered the right one. The freedom of social media users to access a variety of new information and knowledge according to their wishes shows how participants do not have tendencies or pressures from other parties when expressing opinions or even having views or thoughts about what they believe. Likewise, the community's participation enlivened the use of keywords related to rejects and PPKM demonstration. Several times it was able to enter the Twitter Trending Topic category. The topic was considered to attract the attention of the public/citizens.

Therefore, the goal is to inform the general public and let them respond according to their views and thoughts to form a forum on social media so that social movements or social media activism can be carried out properly. This study further emphasizes the usefulness of social media to the community to articulate their political stance. Twitter can facilitate the formation of public political participation in responding to government policies, and it is one of the main characteristics of democracy. However, this research also has limitations because the data analyzed is only sourced from Twitter. Therefore, further research needs to expand other social media, such as Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube, which can facilitate public responses to government policies.

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