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自然災害期間的假新聞：印度尼西亞的信息流，新聞實踐和
事實核查

Fake News during Natural Disaster: Information Flow, News Practices
and Fact-Checking in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Social media has become the digital public sphere for virally disseminating fake news and challenging professional journalism. As one of the largest social media nations, fake news in Indonesia is worsened with low literacy, rapid digital growth, and a politically polarized public (Kaur et al., 2018). This study defines fake news as the intentional and unintentional production and dissemination of false information on social media (Waisbord, 2018; Klein & Wueller, 2017). Examining the case of Palu earthquake and tsunami disaster fake news in Indonesia, this study aims to address the research gap of scholarly studies regarding journalistic and fact check practices regarding disaster-related fake news in non-Western contexts.

Hierarchy of Influences model (HOI) (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016) was utilized as a theoretic basis to examine individual, routine, organizational, social institutions, and social systems levels of influences on news and fact-check professionals. Employing a mixed-method approach (web observation and interview), this study first analyzed information flows and patterns of three types of post-Palu disaster fake news (i.e., disaster threat, political-infused, and social tragedy). Additionally, web observation identified three types of news organizations: (1) two organizations affiliated with traditional media with different levels (*Kompas.com* and *Medcom.id*), and (2) one web-only, independent news organization (*Tempo.co*). Next, the researcher used a purposive and snowball sampling to conduct in-depth interviews with seven news professionals in the three news media, in order to investigate contextual influences of different newsrooms. Also, five respondents were selected from the only fact-check organization (*Mafindo*) and a collaborative fact-checking initiative between *Mafindo* and 24 online media (*CekFakta*). The interview data were thematically analyzed with 10 codes and 18 sub-codes.

Web observation results showed different types of disaster-related fake news yielded different information flows and patterns. High-risk fake news was carefully handled by Indonesian news media, especially by traditionally-affiliated media, when government's announcements were prioritized by news media to debunk false information. Whereas low-risk fake news was treated as standardized journalism that news media would do fact-check to verify news truthfulness and clarify factuality. When high-risk fake news contained controversial elements (e.g., politics and religion), complex information flows were developed by waves of debates from polarized publics. However, information flows of low-risk information (e.g., scientific information) were simple, as the clarifications were easily accepted by the publics.

Among the HOI dimensions, the interview results showed that factors at the routine and organizational levels shaped respondents' disaster fake news practices greatly. At the routine level, when dealing with high-risk fake news, respondents from all three media shared similarities to wait for government's official statements before publishing relevant news. However, news angle(s) driven by organizational characteristics (ownership and news orientation) were likely to differ across newsrooms, ranging from glossing over the fake news to clarifying and educating the public. At an organizational level, Traditional media affiliated news organizations tended to be cautious when reporting (disaster) fake news with political/sensitive elements or high risks. Meanwhile, independent news media that exhibited a liberal standpoint might express skepticism on the government's information regarding post-Palu disaster fake news.

Next, fact-checking has become the new journalistic norm because newsrooms took initiatives in training their reporters to combat fake news. The emergence a third-party fact-checking organization (*Mafindo*) positioned itself as agenda-less compared with news media. Results showed that fact-checking procedures and publishing formats were handled consistently and coherently by staff at when checking disaster fake news and other misinformation. Additionally, third-party fact-checking not only complements Indonesian journalism, but also serves as a new space for the public to directly report suspicious online information and ask for clarifications. Lastly, the increasing trends for fact-checking and debunking fake news were further enhanced by the *CekFakta*, the collective effort between the third-party fact-checkers and news media to rebuild media trust and promote public awareness of fake news literacy.

Theoretically, this study took a mixed-method approach to extend s the knowledge of disaster fake news in non-political and Western context. Study 1 shows the information flow(s) between controversial and non-controversial fake news and distinct patterns of various stakeholders. While study 2 analyzed the internal working practices of newsrooms and third-party fact-check organization in handling disaster fake news. This study also expands the application of HOI Model in the context of Indonesian disaster fake newsroom practices that identify patterns and models of different types of fake news in three news media types. Next, the present study introduced two types of fact-checking models in Indonesia (third-party independent organization and a collaborative network formed by news media) and examined the practices inside, outside, and in-between newsrooms. These enhance readers' understanding of Indonesian unique fake news practices in news media and fact-check media ecology. Practically, this study enables news and fact-check professionals to evaluate their procedures when debunking fake news.

Keywords: *fake news, disinformation, misinformation, fact-checking, journalism, hierarchy of influences, natural disaster*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

The changes in digital media ecology have altered the way people seek and consume information (Bakir & McStay, 2018). For many people, the internet has become their main source for news, specifically social media that allows people to receive news in timely and less expensive manners, along with the ease to disseminate news content to their networks (Shu, Sliva, Wang, Tang & Liu, 2017). Traditional media under gatekeeping mechanisms tend to obey strict regulations (Austin & Jin, 2016; van der Meer, Verhoeven, Beentjes & Vliegenthart, 2016), while online media have light-touched content regulation and licensing. The increasing popularity of social media that generates myriad of unfiltered user-generated content has not only empowered ordinary users to voice out in the online public sphere but also developed the hotbed for creating and disseminating false information easily and rapidly.

Dubbed as the "word of the year" by an Australian dictionary in 2016 (Jankowski, 2018), fake news has been the buzzword in recent years, because of its surge and huge impacts on society and politics. The term, fake news, acquired its prominence and attention after the 2016 United States Presidential election (Gelfert, 2018). In general, fake news is understood as the intentional production and dissemination of false information in order to deceive others (Klein & Wueller, 2017). Several studies even pointed out that fake news can mimic the form of news (Nelson & Taneja, 2018; Waisbord, 2018). Despite that, the term fake news does not necessarily refer to news

media itself, but towards false information produced by non-media personnel (Bârgăoanu & Radu, 2018).

Fake news is considered as a form of information disorder, and to further grasp this concept, disinformation and misinformation are utilized for further explanation. In the context of information disorder, disinformation refers to the intentional creation and dissemination of false information, while misinformation refers to the unintentional or unknowingly spread of false information (Lima Quintanilha, Silva & Lapa, 2019). In response to the term fake news, both dis- and misinformation elaborates the conception of how false information is created and disseminated.

The public is not the only entity affected by fake news, but the news media also received its impacts. For example, the decrease of the public's trust towards news media and the increasing likelihood of being labeled as "fake news" when journalistic errors occurred (Pangrazio, 2018; Wishart, 2017). Simultaneously, fact-checking had started to emerge as a means to address fake news. Fact-checking has been an inherent characteristic of journalism, but with tight deadlines and working pressures, journalists oftentimes skip through fact-checking, allowing fake news to slip through their radar (Beach, 2019). Thus, third-party fact-checking organizations have emerged in recent years, taking up the job of fact-checking, and positioning themselves as neutral and impartial as compared to agenda-based news media (Myers, 2014).

With the proliferation of fake news globally, Indonesia as one of the largest social media nations are struggling with fake news (Nguyen, 2017). Indonesia currently has more than 50% of people with internet access but its citizens are still prone to fake news. As there are still many Indonesians living in rural or under-developed areas who are less savvy in using the internet doubled with low digital literacy makes them susceptible to fake news (Renaldi, 2018; Walden, 2018). Commonly heard in Indonesia, fake news is referred to as "hoax", but its contextual

meaning refers to both dis- and misinformation, and even politically-related black campaigns (Kaur et al., 2018; Handley, 2017).

Although fake news can have detrimental effects on political activities, fake news also takes place in other contexts, including natural disasters, such as the disaster that struck Palu, a city in Indonesia, on September 28, 2018, killing thousands of people. After Palu was struck with an earthquake followed by a tsunami, fake news started to emerge. The fake news includes false information related to aftershocks and even humanitarian aids (Riana, 2018; Walden, 2018). Within several days after the disaster, the Ministry of Communication and Information held a press conference to debunk several post-Palu disaster fake news (Lyons & Lambs, 2018). Moreover, the police had also arrested eight people responsible for creating and spreading fake news on Facebook (Purtill, 2018). News media reported on the fake news and even posted it on social media as shown from preliminary observation. Results have also shown that the only third-party fact-check organization in the country, "Mafindo" also took part in debunking the fake news.

As this research investigated fake news in the aftermath of a natural disaster, taking upon previous literature on fake news, and Indonesia's version of fake news, this study consolidated the definition of fake news. In this study, fake news is referred to as the production and dissemination both intentionally and unintentionally by non-media personnel on social media. This study takes upon the case of fake news in the context of a natural disaster in Indonesia.

Recent scholarships about fake news focused on conceptualizing what is meant by fake news (Gelfert, 2018; Tandoc Jr. et al., 2018; Waisbord, 2018). Some other scholars attempted to detect fake news (Shu et al., 2018) and explored how traditional media and social networking sites (SNS) presented fake news (Al-Rawi, 2018). An overarching finding from existing literature showed that much research focuses on Western and political contexts (Lima Quintanilha, Silva & Lapa, 2019;

Ross & Rivers, 2018; Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017). Discussions on fake news' negative impacts include the disruptions of election results, engaging in violence, and even loss of trust on news media (Pangrazio, 2018; Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; McGonagle, 2017). Likewise, other discussions also focused on fake news from the public's perspectives or their trust in news media.

Based on the existing literature, there are several research gaps. First, there is a lack of fake news research in non-Western contexts, especially in Indonesia, a country that is not often studied. Secondly, most studies emphasized political contexts, resulting in more research needed to address fake news in other contexts. Third, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, there is little research about newsroom practices when handling fake news. Lastly, there is still room for exploration of third-party fact-check organizations, especially outside the context of politics.

To address these research gaps, this study examined the information flow and pattern, news and fact-checking practices of fake news in Indonesia during a natural disaster. In order to conduct this study, a mixed approach to web observation and in-depth interviews were conducted. Web observation focused on three different fake news cases, (1) scientific-related fake news, (2) negative societal impact fake news, and (3) politically related fake news. Findings from web observation provided overall insights on fake news ecology in Indonesia, and also triangulates findings from in-depth interviews.

Similarly, in-depth interview was employed to interview news and third-party fact-check professionals. News professional respondents were selected from three news media organizations, namely (1) Kompas.com, (2) Medcom.id, and (3) Tempo.co due to their activities in handling post-Palu disaster fake news, as found from preliminary observation. Furthermore, these three news organizations also have different backgrounds (i.e. traditional media affiliated and independent news media), highlighting certain differences in their news practices.

Respondents from Mafindo, as the sole third-party fact-checking organization in Indonesia, were also interviewed to understand their fact-checking practices. As fact-checking is a relatively new practice in Indonesia, this study also investigated a collaborative fact-checking initiative between Mafindo and 24 Indonesian online news media, known as CekFakta. This was conducted in response to newsrooms' efforts in combating fake news and to provide further insights on fact-checking practices in Indonesia.

The current study adopts the Hierarchy of Influences model introduced by Reese and Shoemaker (2016). HOI model exhibits the internal and external influences news professionals receive and in return, affects the way news content is produced. There are five levels of HOI, divided into internal and external influences. Internal influences encompass (1) individual, (2) routine, and (3) organizational level. On the other hand, the external influences encompass (4) social institutions and (5) social system level. This study's conceptual model is heavily based on the first four levels of HOI, as a social system (e.g. culture, economy, and politics) is out of the research's scope. However, existing literature reviews, web observation, and interview results were able to contribute to some insights for the social system level.

This study selected the case of Palu disaster due to several reasons. First, as political fake news dominates Indonesia (Mafindo, 2018), an investigation on non-political fake news. An interesting dimension of this case is the fact that certain political elements were present in post-Palu disaster fake news, making it an interesting case. Secondly, existing literature had stated that journalism in Indonesia tends to be cautious when covering sensitive issues (e.g. politics and religion), Thus, when combined with a highly polarized public (Mokhtar, 2019), this study investigated that news practices when certain sensitive elements were included in a natural disaster fake news.

Indonesia is selected as the research locale for this study due to its digital ecology. Indonesia is known as one of the nations with the fastest growth of internet use, with 50% of the population having access to the internet and 49% having social media accounts (We are Social & Hootsuite, 2018). Along with the growth of internet users in Indonesia, social media, especially Facebook, tops the chart as the most used social media platform by Indonesians and placing third worldwide by October 2018 (Statista, 2018). Despite that, there are still problems related to low digital literacy, diminishing trust in news media, and exposure and (unknowingly) dissemination of fake news on social media (Eka, 2018; Walden, 2018). Therefore, these reasons make the country suffer from more fake news and making it worthy to be studied.

1.2 Research Purposes

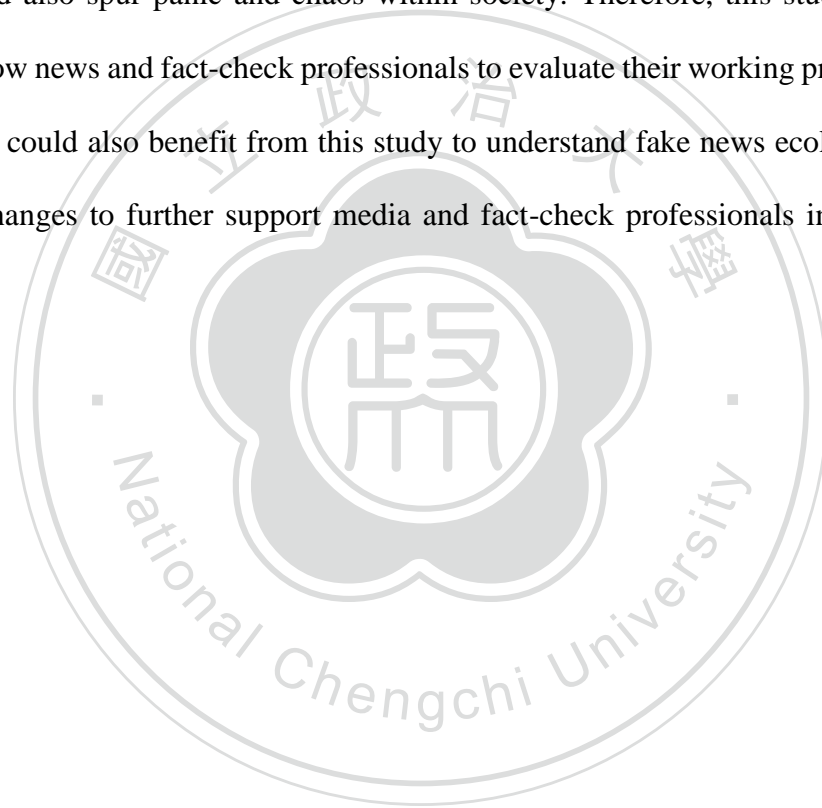
The purpose of this study is to explore the information flow, news and fact-checking practices in a less-studied context and country, namely, natural disaster and Indonesia. Web observation as the first part of this study zooms into three fake news cases to draw out important insights to understand information of fake news during natural disaster. Findings resulted into two types of information flow models, with each being unrelated and related to political elements. The second part of this study investigates the practices of news and fact-check professionals, with the purpose to find out how non-political fake news were addressed within the circles of their working environment. Lastly, the collaborative fact-checking initiative project was also examined to complete findings on news and fact-checking practices in Indonesia.

1.3 Research Significance

In response to existing research about fake news, this study has several theoretical significances. First, this study fills in the gaps in contributing to studies on non-political and Western fake news. Secondly, this study also enriches the knowledge of fake news ecology and

both news and fact-checking practices. Thus, this study could expand literature about journalism and fact-checking in the age of fake news, specifically in terms of its internal mechanisms. Furthermore, the present study also enriches the application of the HOI model, expanding it the context of fake news and understanding influences that fosters or impedes fake news debunking.

Simultaneously, fake news can be a challenge for industry experts as many Indonesians are inclined to believe in information found on social media. In addition, fake news in the context of fake news could also spur panic and chaos within society. Therefore, this study could provide insights and allow news and fact-check professionals to evaluate their working procedures. Lastly, the government could also benefit from this study to understand fake news ecology in Indonesia and consider changes to further support media and fact-check professionals in debunking fake news.



CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In Chapter 2, past literatures will be discussed in order to build the foundation to understand fake news and its relations with both news media and third-party fact-check. Section 2.1 begins with explaining how fake news is defined, its differences with other types of false information, and current fake news situation in Indonesia. Section 2.2 discusses on different media roles during crisis especially how online platforms can facilitate both spread and control of fake news. Additionally, this section also discusses journalism and fake news, different processes of news production in relations to maintaining quality, accuracy and newsworthiness and lastly, discusses the role of fact-checking. Next, section 2.3 gives more detailed information in regards to media landscape in Indonesia, current fake news situation in the country and the case of fake news during Palu disaster. Section 2.4 examines components of Hierarchy of Influences model (HOI) and lastly, section 2.5 entails information on the proposed conceptual framework.

2.1 What is Fake News?

Fake news is a broad term coined to refer to information that is not factual. It has several dimensions and layers to it (Lima Quintanilha et al., 2019). The term has been a recent uproar phenomenon that brings challenges to define what exactly fake news is due to the term casually and flexibly used (Gelfert, 2018; Waisbord, 2018; McGonagle, 2017). It has been used in recent years to label everything that is considered as questionable or untrue, making them term open to various interpretations. Originally, fake news is considered as a form of satire that parodies real news events (Klein & Wueller, 2017). It was until the 2016 US Presidential Election when President Trump conveyed his dissatisfaction towards certain media news coverage by labeling

them as “fake news,” that the term became a buzzword with prominence, which also prompted people to be concerned about the severity of this issue (Bârgăoanu & Radu, 2018; Pangrazio, 2018). However, the scope of fake news is not solely limited to political affairs but spans throughout other social aspects of society. For example, the 2017 London terror attack demonstrated that fake news was a challenging issue for journalistic practices (Brummette, DiStaso, Vafeiadis & Messner, 2018).

According to Klein and Wueller (2017) and McGonagle (2017), fake news is the intentional dissemination of fabricated online information. Gelfert (2018) and Shu et al. (2017) further highlight two major cores of fake news, namely the intention to mislead and questionable. Other scholars also shared these agreements by defining fake news as online information to mislead its readers (Bakir & McStay, 2018; Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017). Other definitions on fake news include framing it as articles that are intentionally false to mislead readers, often mimicking the looks of real news stories or coverage (Nelson & Taneja, 2018; Waisbord, 2018; Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017).

Bârgăoanu and Radu (2018) commented that the term “news” in fake news may confuse people with the concept of news media. The term may give the impression that fake news is derived from media or professional institutions (Brummette et al., 2018). Thus, it is important to address that fake news does not necessarily derive from news media, but from both news and user-generated information. Several studies have coined the term fake news differently, such as Finneman and Thomas (2018), in which the definition of fake news refers to false information produced by non-media personnel for the purpose of deceiving the mass.

This means fake news can originate from common and non-media people. Mirroring this concept, Waisbord (2018) stated that fake news phenomenon often happened outside the circle of

traditional journalism, while Bârgăoanu and Radu (2018) stated that the idea of fake news refers to information that cannot be categorized under traditional news, such as information with no adequate context, opinions presented as facts, or even visual contents such as videos or photos. Vosoughi, Roy and Aral (2018) who studied the dissemination of true and false news information on Twitter did not define news as information from institutional sources, but rather as false information distributed and found on tweets. These previous studies underline the notion that fake news means false information produced to mislead that goes beyond information produced by news media professionals. In general, fake news is understood as the intention to create and spread online false information to serve certain motives. The next section examines previous studies on fake news.

2.1.1 Past Studies on Fake News

Several studies have examined fake news, ranging from its conceptualization, defining it to examining fake news during 2016 US Presidential Election. According to Tandoc et al. (2018), fake news has been an existence for some time, but with new meanings attached to it along with bearing political weights after 2016 US Presidential Election, it is interesting to look how researchers in recent years framed fake news. Through EBSCOhost database search, the researcher used relevant keywords such as “fake news” and “false news” and filtered search results on completed communication and mass media sections. Next, the researcher filtered search results to articles published in 2016 forwards. This is because the 2016 US Presidential election was used as the benchmark for this study. After the results came in, the researcher manually selected research articles through several criteria. Articles that are non-academic, non-English and not related to journalism (e.g. marketing, advertising) were excluded. The researcher then read the abstracts and selected research articles that are related to examination of fake news as a term or phenomenon,

along with articles pertaining to news media, fact-checking, and the public as these concepts are highly relevant to the context of this study. Examinations particularly involved how fake news were defined. A total of 19 articles were selected and Table 1 summarizes these studies, arranged based on their methodologies and publication year.



Table 1. Summary of Existing Studies

Research method/s	Article title/ Journal	Year	Research site	Key Results
Quantitative Analysis (Based on secondary data survey)	Fake news and its impact on trust in the news. Using the Portuguese case to establish lines of differentiation / Communication and Society	2019	Portugal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any news that is non-factual, misleading or unverifiable, and has been received and read by at least a person. Investigated impacts of fake news on trust in news Trust in media is higher for those who used traditional media as main source for information. Low public polarization is one of the main reasons why trust in media is higher
Literature Review	“Fake news”: False fears or Real concerns? / Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights	2017	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Defined fake news as deliberate distribution of misleading information. Public figures used fake news as a weapon to decrease reputation of journalists or media.
	What’s New About “Fake News”? Critical Digital Literacies in an Era of Fake News, Post-Truth and Clickbait/ Páginas de Educación	2018	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fake news is a challenge due to decrease in media and journalists’ trust. Digital literacy is important to combat fake news. Infrastructures of digital platforms enable creation and dissemination of disinformation.
	Information Disorder in Asia/ Journalism and Media Studies Centre The University of Hong Kong	2018	India, Indonesia, Japan, Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Each country has its own definition and challenges of “fake news”. In Indonesia, fake news is both misinformation and disinformation. Hoax in Indonesia refers to fake news and black campaign.
	Is it Really Fake? - Towards an Understanding of Fake News in Social Media Communication / Lecture Notes in Computer Science	2018	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Defined fake news as false information intended to manipulate or deceive. Changes in digital environment made changes in the context, speed and message range of false information.

Qualitative Analysis (Comparative Analysis)	Defining “Fake News” /Digital Journalism	2018	Singapore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are seven typologies of fake news. • Fake news as false information that mimics the looks of news’ articles, websites and photos.
	Truth is What Happens to News On journalism, fake news, and post-truth/ Journalism Studies	2018	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fake news is not related to mainstream media. • Online media allows the spread of false information to become quicker and at a larger scale.
	A family of falsehoods Deception, media hoaxes and fake news / Newspaper Research Journal	2018	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fake news is produced by non-media professionals. • Actor and intention distinguish fake news from other forms of false information. • Creators of fake news never correct the audience nor their identities.
	The disinformation order: Disruptive communication and the decline of democratic institutions / European Journal of Communication	2018	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disinformation as intentional creation of false information for political purposes • Decline of trust in institutions drove people to sought information from alternative media
	Not Your Grandpa's Hoax: A Comparative History of Fake News / American Journalism	2018	US	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fake news is not something new in journalism • A series of events (e.g. bots, filter bubbles, false narratives, conspiracy theories, etc.) influenced distortion of information
	Fake News as a Critical Incident in Journalism/ Journalism Practices	2018	US	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examined how newspapers in the US made sense of fake news. • Fake news poses a challenge for journalism. • US newspapers blamed current political situations for surge on fake news. • Fake news is conceptualized based on intention and facticity.

Corpus Analysis	Discursive Deflection: Accusation of “Fake News” and the Spread of Mis- and Disinformation in the Tweets of President Trump / Social Media + Society	2018	US	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fake news as news that is not completely truthful and misleading. • Misinformation and disinformation prevail in this digital era. • Trump’s tweet discourse revealed that accusations toward fake news were used to conceal Trump’s own spread of mis- and disinformation.
Content Analysis	Read All About It: The Politicization of “Fake News” on Twitter / Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly	2018	US	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defined fake news as deliberate dissemination of online false information. • Fake news can also mimic to look like a news to mislead. • The term “fake news” became prevalent in social media and often used as weapons in politics.
Computational Method	Gatekeeping Fake News Discourses on Mainstream Media Versus Social Media / Social Science Computer Review	2018	US and Britain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fake news is heavily tied to misinformation and disinformation. • Examined how mainstream news media and SNS presented fake news. • Mainstream news media viewed fake news as a result of SNS’ minimal gatekeeping. • SNS presented fake news based on networked gatekeeping.
Survey	Fake News and the Third-Person Effect: They are More Influenced than Me and You / Journal of Media Research	2019	Romania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infers fake news as containing intentionality, hoax, and deceiving aspects making it different from other human errors. • Gender and fake news exposure frequency are the most significant variables in determining third person effects.
	Fake News or Disinformation 2.0? Some Insights into Romanians’ Digital Behaviour / Romanian Journal of European Affair	2018	Romania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refers fake news as digital disinformation. • Romanians have difficulties in coping up with fake news phenomenon. • Media is evaluated more positively compared to political or governmental institution

Content analysis and survey	When Fake News Becomes Real: Combined Exposure to Multiple News Sources and Political Attitudes of Inefficacy, Alienation, and Cynicism / Communication Research	2014	Israel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fake news is a form of satire by highlighting political inconsistencies by parodying the news. • Fake news is perceived as true when participants were highly exposed fake news and had low exposure to hard news.
	Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election / Journal of Economic Perspectives	2017	US	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conceptualized fake news as untruthful information. • Results suggested that fake news played a pivotal role on election result, including President Trump being elected.
Interview	STOPPING FAKE NEWS The work practices of peer-to-peer counter propaganda / Journalism Studies	2018	Ukraine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fact-checking used to counterattack peer-to-peer propaganda • Fact-checking employed to evaluation news pieces by journalists

Based on these previous studies, there are several highlights related to the concept of fake news. First, there has been a shift on how fake news is defined, Balmas (2014) defined fake news as a form of political satire however; on the contrary, after the 2016 US Presidential election, fake news is conceptualized differently. Instead of being conceptualized as political satire, fake news is currently understood as the online publication of false information intentionally produced to mislead or deceive others (Gelfert, 2018; Klein & Wueller, 2017; Shu et al., 2017).

As the hallmark of “fake news” era, a number of these studies positioned fake news within the context of US politics, specifically the 2016 US Presidential election (Nelson & Tanedja, 2018). Results revealed that fake news is powerful enough to influence election results (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017) and posed a challenge for journalism as fake news steers people away from news provided by legitimate news outlets (Tandoc Jr. et al., 2018). This is because the public still have difficulties in discerning which news is credible and how to spot fake news. Furthermore, as trust in news media declines, people are more inclined to look for information from alternative media (Bennet & Livingstong, 2018).

Secondly, a handful of existing literatures on fake news are conducted in Western contexts, especially the US (Ross & Rivers, 2018; Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017). Furthermore, a lot of studies also focused their research in political contexts (Lima Quintanilha et al., 2019; Bennet & Linvingston, 2018; Haigh, Haigh & Kozak, 2017). Main discussions include the use of fake news as weapon for political gains and even fact-checking to keep track of political activities (Beach, 2019). A few studies did conduct studies on other countries, such as Singapore (Tandoc et al., 2018), Israel (Balmas, 2014) and an article studied fake news and politics in Asian countries (Kaur et al., 2018). The lack of fake news studies, especially in non-Western and political contexts

prompted the idea to conduct a study of fake news based on the event of a natural disaster in Indonesia.

Lastly, some of these past studies are users-centric or how social media assists dissemination of fake news, for example by through algorithms (Bârgăoanu & Radu, 2018). Examination of fake news from a user perspective yields understandings on how fake news travel on social media and how users evaluate news (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Shu et al., 2017). There is a research gap in which news practices are less studied. Some studies examined news in the context of fake news, such as trust on news media or news content itself, but does not emphasize on newsroom practices (Lima Quintanilha et al., 2019; Tandoc et al., 2018). Other study such as Al-Rawi (2018) examined the presentation of fake news between mainstream media and social networking sites. Currently, there is a limited amount of study that investigates the relations between newsroom practice and fake news. Therefore, to fill in this gap, this study aims to investigate how news professionals handled fake news, as discussed on the previous chapter.

2.1.2 Differentiating Rumors and Hoax with Fake News

When it comes to information disorder, terms such as rumors and hoax are often mentioned. As fake news can be loosely translated as false information, it can be confusing to discern the differences between these three terms. Rumor is defined as stories or opinions with questionable and ambiguous truthfulness that has never been confirmed (Zannettou, Sirivianos, Blackburn & Kourtellis, 2018). They are basically viral online information without any clear verification (Vosoughi, Roy & Aral, 2018; Kwon, Bang, Egnoto & Rao, 2016). The scale of a rumor is dependent on the importance of an issue is for the public; rumors become viral because they were perceived as being relevant for certain group of people and were expressions of fears, anxieties or hopes (Shin, Jian, Driscoll & Bar, 2017; Pang & Ng, 2017). These false statements travel via

grapevine and usually unverified by official sources, leading to potentials of creating misinformed public and at times panic. Rumor can be both disinformation and misinformation, depending on whether false information is deliberately disseminated or unintended (Pang & Ng, 2017). Compared with fake news, rumor emphasizes more on being a phenomenon where a particular claim is questionable, but they can be open to interpretations and not necessarily made to intentionally deceive others.

On the other hand, the origin of the term “hoax” can be traced to several centuries ago, dating as early as 1808 and even before, stemming from the phrase “hocus pocus”. Similar to rumor and fake news, hoax is a form of deception, however, the nature of this form of deception are for amusement of mischievous; a prank used to trick or to fool others (Finneman & Thomas, 2018). Burroughs and Burroughs (2011) stated that hoax can take on various forms, ranging from pictures, literary, and even utilizing journalistic descriptions that make it seem like they are unlikely to happen. Parallel to pranks such as April’s Fools, hoax is a temporal event, meaning that hoax unfolded in stages, starting from a piece of information was disseminated to people realizing that they were fooled and the hoaxers announced to the public that they were fooling around (Secor & Walsh, 2004). Although intensity and seriousness of hoaxes fall in a continuum, the basic nature of hoax still lies within the idea of duping and fooling around with others, and oftentimes, for the sake of entertainment.

It is the nature of rumor, hoax and fake news that distinguish them from each other. Rumor itself emphasizes more on the phenomenon of questionable statements circulating on social media whereas hoax emphasizes on deceptive forms of information used to fool or prank others, meaning that truth behind a hoax will eventually be known and truth will be revealed after certain period of time (Gelfert, 2018). Meanwhile, fake news is deceptive in nature and intentionally conducted with

ill-motives and not necessarily to prank others. Fake news emphasizes more on information being produced with deliberate intention, and usually, perpetrators of fake news don't reveal themselves nor the truth, unlike hoaxers (Burroughs & Burroughs, 2011).

2.1.3 Fake News during Crisis

Although fake news is commonly known to make its appearance in political context, fake news can also occur in different contexts. Fake news has profound impacts not only within politics, but on democracy, society and economy (Meinert, Mirbabaie, Dungs & Aker, 2018). In this information age and heavy load of information people are exposed to various type of information, although it can be overwhelming and not knowing which information should be trusted. False information lurks in particular on social media and can be highly problematic in times of crisis.

Since people have free reigns on social media, most fake news proliferates on these platforms. Social media enable ordinary and nonprofessional users to share the news content, even without significant filtering, fact-checking or professional judgment (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017). Likewise, with the ease of news sharing on social media, it is really simple for fake news to be circulated and exposed to users (Tandoc Jr. et al., 2018). Nelson and Taneja (2018) also added that social media algorithms are capable to push popular posts onto users' feeds; indicating that scale of fake news can be amplified even by algorithms.

Absence of gatekeepers or information filtering can be troublesome due to potentials of publishing and disseminating false information, leading to negative outcomes (Meinert et al., 2018). When fake news is positioned within the context of crisis, chances are people will hastily share information without certain verifications; this can lead to more panic and confusion among the publics. When official channels could not provide the information needed, people sought for other information to fill in the information void and are more prone to be exposed to rumors (Jones,

Thompson, Schetter & Silver, 2017). The following section will discuss different types of news media and how fake news in relations to journalism.

2.2 News Media during Crisis

During crisis, there is an urgent need to look for information, especially from news media. Being the first main source people sought for, media outlets have been playing important roles in disseminating information. During these unpredictable events, news media is expected to deliver the much needed information (van der Meer et al., 2016). The public makes sense of what is happening through news media and expects news media can provide them with relevant and accurate information.

2.2.1 Traditional & Web-Only News media

As one of the most common media tools used to communicate risks and emergencies, traditional media is an important information vehicle to deliver important information to the public (Parmer et al., 2016). As traditional news media pick up online trends, traditional news media started to utilize online platforms, such as by having social media accounts or establishing traditional affiliated news websites (Chung, Nam & Stephanone, 2012). Traditional affiliated news websites reproduced its offline news into online content whereas web-only news can be defined as only-online news sites, lacking their offline counterpart, however, they are still produced by professionals (Huang, Yang & Chyi, 2013; Smyrniaios, Marty & Rebillard, 2010). Lastly, through the practice of social media, news organizations are able to promote news content, strengthen relationships with readers and especially, to drive traffics to each respective news website via sharing news' hyperlinks (Ju, Jeong & Chyi, 2014).

Through online platforms, people are able to share the news with their networks. News sharing within an online context is defined as the use of social media to post or recommend news

content to a fixed group of people (Kümpel et al., 2015). Aside from traditional news media affiliated websites, as discussed in the above section, there are also news organizations that solely operate on online platforms. Known as web-only news or independent news online, they provide news without having its offline counterpart or newsroom structure of traditional news media, similarly, their scope is also only limited to their websites (Chung et al., 2012).

The shift of news consumption to online platforms can be seen as a prominence, especially during the state of emergency. In the context of a disaster crisis, people go to online platforms as they are in need of timely information (Cottle, 2014; Austin, Lu & Jin, 2012). Despite that, there is currently an issue faced by news professionals. First, trust in news media has diminished, leading people to seek information from alternative media (Bennett & Livingston, 2018; Pangrazio, 2018). One of the consequences would be higher exposure and risks of unverified information by professionals. Secondly, in this information age, there is a high expectation of news outlets to publish valid information not just to appease the public's concerns, but to avoid being labeled as "fake news" (Wishart, 2017; van der Meer et al., 2016).

2.2.2 Journalists during Crisis

As the aforementioned, the role of news media is crucial in the event of crisis, such as natural disaster. As one of the major sources of information, the public expects news media to always provide them with the latest and accurate updates. Scholarships on journalistic roles during crisis had noted several points, such as the positive and negative effects journalists could pose for victims (Ewart & McLean, 2018); acting as government watchdogs while handling disaster and providing positive assurance (Nieves-Pizzaro & Takahashi, 2019); and even being the institutions to “point” who should be responsible for a disaster (Ewart & McLean, 2014). Similarly, news media could also reflect local situations when non-local, nation-wide media might misreport

certain aspects of a disaster event (Matthews, 2017). There are multiple roles journalists could play in the event of a disaster crisis, aside from providing information, journalists might ease the worry of victims and also to keep tabs on what the government did to aid victims. Factors such as journalists' location (e.g., local or nationwide) or media's positioning might influence how journalists approach disaster reporting. Nevertheless, the newsroom will always be responsible to update the public and expected to be both timely and accurate. These demands stress journalists and overwhelms them with workloads. Despite that, factual information are still much needed especially in this age of disinformation.

2.2.3 News Practices and Fake News

News professionals play an important role to regulate fake news, being the individuals behind media contents, they need to be able to access relevant information in order to accurately report and verify false information (van der Meer et al., 2016). According to Tandoc et al., (2018), when fake news intersects with journalism, it puts journalism at a disadvantageous position as fake news pulls people away from trusted news sources. In addition, with global decline of media and journalistic trusts (Pangrazio, 2018), it is necessary for news professionals to take actions to debunk fake news and restore their public's faith in them.

Trust and credibility are important aspects of news media, regardless whether they are in the form of offline or online news. Both can both be understood based on how news is formed or sourced, the medium of news message and reputation (Fletcher and Park, 2017; Coleman, Morrison & Anthony, 2012). In a nutshell, journalists will always seek for accurate and valid information, thus different weight is placed on different news-sources, especially during crisis, where accuracy matters a lot. Aside from accurate reporting, given the threats posed by rampant circulations of fake news online, it is necessary for journalists to be committed in verifying

information (Richardson, 2017). This is relevant as internet is not only adopted by users, but journalists have embraced the internet as one of their many sources (Cassidy, 2007) and given the risks of being exposed to fake news or false information, verification is important.

Therefore, it is crucial to understand the whole process on how news is being produced in order to ensure quality and presenting truthful information. In general, news process can be categorized into (1) news gathering, (2) news production or processing, and (3) news distribution (Karlsson, 2011). In the following section, notions of news gathering and news production will be discussed, in relations to fake news, such as maintaining quality and accuracy. Fact-checking and verification will also be discussed as a step in newsroom process.

2.2.4 News Gathering and Ensuring Credibility

As the first step in providing news and information to the public, newsgathering refers to the process journalists undergo to collect needed raw materials (Karlsson, 2011). When looking for materials, journalists can seek information and sources from other people (van der Meer et al., 2016) and also on the internet (Cassidy, 2007). However, when evaluating these two different types of sources, journalists may evaluate them differently although for the same reason, which is to ensure that they have the right sources.

Journalism is a source-driven practice, and regardless of the issue context, such as coverage during the crisis, there are three relevant criteria utilized by journalists to evaluate their sources (van der Meer et al., 2016). These criteria are namely (1) journalistic judgment toward source qualities, (2) sources' activities and (3) the relationship between newsmakers and sources. Firstly, journalists evaluate the qualities of each respective source based on their credibility and knowledge. Credibility refers to whether a source can be accounted for their claims and to evaluate if a particular source can be evaluated as having accurate information.

According to Reich (2011), credibility evaluation is necessary to determine if a source's information is worthy to be included in news content. Whereas, knowledge refers to the extent a source portrays knowledge or having information related to the issue; knowledge is as important as being credible, but they differ as a source can possess the knowledge but not credible in the sense that they have their own hidden agenda.

Secondly, sources' activities are conceptualized by willingness and timeliness. Journalists have to ensure that a source is willing to share the information they have at hand but at the same time to acknowledge that they have time pressure (Broersma & Graham, 2013). Timeliness as an aspect of newsgathering is extremely important for news professionals. According to van der Meer et al., (2016), when crisis struck, there is a pressing need for information and journalists have a tighter deadline and as a result, they need to seek information from sources that not only have the information but they can provide relevant information in accordance with their time pressures. Lastly, van der Meer et al. (2016) also included the relationship between a source and journalist is also an important determinant when journalists undergo the process of obtaining information; journalists tend to reach out to sources they are both familiar and trusted. Based on the good rapport between sources and journalists, even during a crisis, there is a chance that these trusted sources indirectly influence news content.

2.2.5 News Processing and Content Quality

News processing is defined as the process of transforming raw materials gathered during news gathering into news content mediated by journalistic routines or procedures (Karlsson, 2011). The way information is journalistically processed will result in varying information quality, such as information that have not been filtered to meet audience needs will have lower quality (Himma-Kadakas, 2017). Information gathered during the news gathering process will be processed again

in order to fit in with requirements of news media organizations and at the same time, considering the audience too (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016; Tanikawa, 2016).

Additionally, during the process of creating news content, news professionals are guided with a set of news production processes in order to produce good journalism or to reduce bias and predispositions (Albæk, Skovsgaard & de Vreese, 2017). According to Himma-Kadakas (2017), within the context of fake news, there are times when news professional found themselves caught within the web of misinformation; usually, due to pressing deadlines or needs to produce large quantities of news, news professionals skipped or skimmed through steps (e.g. filtering) thus resulting to errors in reporting. In the news processing phase, not all information gathered in during the initial phase of news gathering will be selected as part of news constructions.

As the next step of producing news content, after information gathering, news professionals will go through news construction and news correction. Based on Himma-Kadakas (2017) study, news construction is defined as the writing, planning and organizing information gathered, followed by producing a draft. Meanwhile, news correcting is defined as the revision stage, where news professionals go through their content to check facts, rewrite and correcting writing errors such as grammar, style and typos.

Past studies on news construction such as Maat and de Jong (2012) on producing news from press-release revealed that journalists only used half of the original information they gathered during the stage of information gathering. Other studies also include processing and organizing information before news professionals construct news accordingly to their audience guided by organizational routines (Hodgetts et al., 2008). Likewise, news correction is necessary to not only avoid typing errors, but more importantly to ensure news content are suitable to be published. Both journalists and editors are responsible in revising and correcting information errors before

delivering it to the audience (Vandedaele, 2017). Study of Vandedaele, de Cuypere and Van Praet (2015) on sub-editors and correcting news content, results showed that oftentimes at this phase, one of the most revised news were those that were in high-stakes, for example if it will appear in headline news.

2.2.6 News Distribution on Social Media

Regardless of whether a news organization has its offline counterpart or not, trust is essential when distributing news via online platforms. Similar to traditional news media, information on online platforms have to be perceived as accurate and contents are credible (Chung et al., 2012). The digital era provided people with benefits of being exposed to multiple varieties of news sources, but at the same time, exposes them to unfiltered information (Fletcher & Park, 2017). Online platforms, especially social media such as Facebook has become a popular and relevant vehicle for distributing news (Lischka, 2018). Moreover, by using social media, news professionals can drive audience to their news websites to increase web traffic.

Tracing the development of news distributions from the past, compared to the past when news media relied on traditional one-way news distribution channel, such as TV or newspaper, by using the internet, news media can create their own traditional affiliated news sites (Chung, 2008). However, Al-Rawi (2016) stated that as social media gained prominence, news media organizations realized the importance to use social media as a vehicle to distribute information, such as to engage with the audience or the ease of distributing information. For example, in the instance of crisis or breaking news, people will sought for information on social media (Shu et al., 2017), and news organization have to make use of social media to deliver needed information.

With the surge of fake news in recent years especially on social media, news organizations are faced with challenges because fake news were able to attract more audience; as a result, news

organization have to even more compete for audience and ensure the public will consume news from legitimate sources (Lischka, 2018; Tandoc et al., 2018). Additionally, by using social media for news distribution, news organizations will be able to reach audience that may not be reached when distributing news from other media and also, to deliver quality-information for their audience (Al-Rawi, 2017).

2.3 Journalism and Fake News in Indonesia

Indonesia was under the authoritarian regime that lasted for more than 30 years in which media were tightly controlled and censored by the state and only experienced major changes after the fall of the regime, known as the Reformation era in 1998. Currently, most media are not state-owned, instead, are owned by conglomerates that changed the nature of Indonesian media into an oligarchy where powers are at the hands of a few people. Major media are owned by 12 conglomerate groups owning publications to major newspapers, online news portals, radio and TV networks (Mala & Hao, 2017; Lim, 2012).

On the other hand, the amount of influence the state has media is less significant as compared to media conglomerates. The state only owned one TV and radio channel known as TVRI and RRI. These forms of non-private ownership or commonly known as public broadcasting service (PBS) have their operational costs subsidized by the government (Mastudi, 2014). They aim to be alternative media to voice out the voiceless and restore balance amid in commercial saturated media ecology in Indonesia. However, with increasing financial constraints and tighter competition with other media, it has become even more difficult for Indonesian PBS to stay afloat with the competition.

Even though Indonesian journalists are not facing the same challenges back during the authoritarian regime, they are not facing a different set of challenges. As the world's third largest

democracy, Indonesia has its press freedom rated as party free from Freedom House (2019), an organization that advocates freedom and democracy. By being labeled as party free, this means that although Indonesian journalists have a certain degree of freedom, they are still facing certain hindrances to achieving press freedom. These hindrances come in the forms of influences from media owners and certain laws riddled with ambiguities (Savitri & Renaldi, 2018; Ida, 2011; Steele, 2011). In return, journalistic professionalism is disturbed and may cause journalists to self-censor themselves, which is an issue for freedom of speech

Table 2 is a summary of current media conglomerates adapted from Lim's (2012) study, the table shows conglomerates' ownership expansions, ranging from traditional media to new media. It shows the amount of media owned by each owner and ownership of media is concentrated within a few people only.

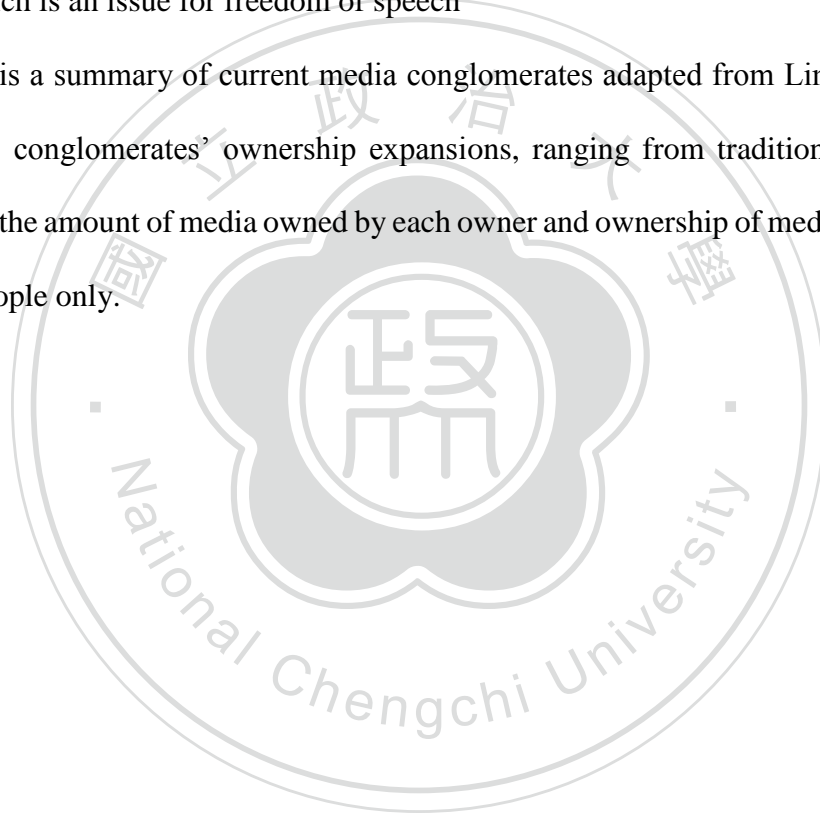


Table 2. Indonesian Media Groups

Media Group	Numbers of TV Stations (National and Local)	Numbers of Radio Stations	Numbers of Print Media (Newspapers and Magazines)	Numbers of Online Media	Other businesses
Media Nusantara Citra (MNC) Group	7	3	4	3	IT, talent management, automotive etc.
Mahaka Media Group	2	5	7	3	Entertainment and outdoor advertisements
Kompas Gramedia Group	1	4	+50	1	Hotels, PR, university, and telecommunication tower
Jawa Post Group	1	1	+100	1	Travel bureau and power plant
Media Bali Post Group (KMB)	14	8	8	2	0
Elang Mahkota Teknologi (EMTEK) Group	4	1	3	0	Wireless broadband, pay TV, banking, and etc.
Lippo Group	2	0	5	1	Property, education insurance, and hospital

Bakrie & Brothers (Visi Media Asia)	3	0	0	1	Gas and oil, property, telecommunication and etc.
Femina Group	0	2	19	4	Production house, event management, and etc.
Media Group	1	0	3	1	0
Mugi Reka Abadi	1	4	16	0	Holds the brand of several international boutiques
Trans Corpora Group	2	0	0	1	Resort, banking, cinema and etc.

Professionalism is defined as the commitment people adhere to in terms of services, morality and occupational standards (Guðmundsson & Kristinsson, 2017). The term journalistic professionalism is broad, according to several scholars, journalistic professionalism refers to the idea of independence, objectivity, fairness, ethics and so forth (Deuze, 2011; Li & Chitty, 2017). In general, journalists are regarded as the fourth estate, they are independent and considered as watchdogs of society. This may not be the case in Indonesia given the environment journalists are working.

Due to high political participation from media owners, media coverage tends to stray away from neutrality. Tapsell (2012) and Ida (2011) stated that media are often tied with business and politics, and as a result, media owners might use their media as leverages to promote their political interests. A survey shows that in 2015, the public's trust towards journalists declined to the point that it was lower than the public's trust towards social media ("Kepercayaan Publik Terhadap Media", 2018). Aside from politics, other agendas of media owners also influence journalists' work, as profit is prioritized, shifting journalism industry into a market-driven one (Steele, 2011).

Culture wise, newsroom practice also influence the way journalism operates. Steele (2011) study had shown that Indonesian journalists tend to be very cautious in what they write, ensuring that the information are verified and from official statements. In addition, journalists are also careful as to not offend a figure, group, or organization that adheres to certain ideals (e.g. religion). Similarly, the study of Hanitzsch and Hidayat (2012) also mentioned that journalists in this country are careful when reporting about sensitive issues. Journalists only publish verified information, even when they are skeptical of certain statement. As a result, produced content gives the impression that journalists are just reporting the "visible" aspects of an issue and tend to be episodic, instead of investigating further the underlying cause of certain issues.

2.3.1 The Law and Journalism

Aside from challenges stemming from media ownerships toward professionalism in Indonesia, Indonesian journalists are also facing challenges due to commonly referred to as "rubber" laws that can be utilized as weapons against journalists. These laws moreover, can dampen freedom of speech along with journalist roles as the state's watchdog. Likewise, some of the state's laws can also frame journalists as spreading "fake news."

The reality Indonesian journalists have to face is not limited to the influence they may receive from their news organization but the laws and regulations. Worrisome and ambiguous laws related to are namely (1) Revised Criminal Code (RKUHP) and (2) the revised Law on Representative Assemblies or commonly known as MD3 Law (AJI, 2018; Freedom House, 2017). Firstly, the revised Criminal Code (RKUHP) is problematic as it might be wrongly used to attack and even imprison journalists. Before the Criminal Codebook was revised, there were cases when journalists were sued and imprisoned under the pretense of the Criminal Code, specifically in the name of defamation. After the revision plan in 2018, the revised Criminal Code (RKUHP) is still deemed as problematic as controversies and gaps still exist (Faisal, 2018). These laws are not created for the Press but are open for multiple interpretations that can be used to sue journalists (AJI, 2018). This is an issue as they act as barriers for journalists' freedom of speech. Furthermore, these laws can be misused by others to press charges against the Press for the sake of personal motives.

Adapted from the Indonesian Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) report, Table 3 is a summary of problematic laws that can be used against the Press (AJI, 2018). It illustrates what are the problematic topics and its specific article number, followed by the minimal and maximum years of imprisonment if found guilty. These topics are highly related to the work of a journalist,

as an example, AJI zoomed into laws about broadcasting false or uncertain news. The law stated if anyone who spread information caused riot or disturbance, they can be penalized. The term "riot and disturbance" is flexible and ambiguous, there is no clear definition of what is meant by the term, thus, it can be manipulated to limit press freedom and criminalize journalists (AJI, 2018; Wargadiredja, 2018).

Table 3. Controversial Laws for Indonesian Journalism (AJI, 2018)

Topic	Article No.	Minimal year of imprisonment	Maximum years of imprisonment
Broadcasting false news and news with uncertainty	309; 310	1	2
Broadcasting false news for profit	644	-	4
Disruption and misdirection of court proceeding	328;329	-	5
Obstructing court proceeding	332	-	5
Crime of publishing and printing	771;772;773	-	1
Security, defense and state secrets, and leaking country's secrets	228;229;230 234;235;236 237;238;239	1	20
Job position and profession related secrets	551;552;553	1	5

Lastly, the MD3 law stated that one can be punished for criticizing the government and has the potential to limit and silence journalists. Currently, there is no line drawn between what it

means to be “insulting” and “criticizing”, therefore, journalists can be sued if they are considered as “insulting” the government. Not only does this law limit freedom of expression (i.e. public and news media), but threatens the journalistic function of check and balance in the society (AJI, 2018). In Indonesian media ecology, these laws, or commonly referred to as “rubber laws” have the capability to limit journalists’ movements. Journalistic qualities may be sacrificed in order to avoid being penalized and hindering journalists to fully conduct journalistic functions.

2.3.2 Fake News in Indonesia

Aside from having to face challenges posed by media ownership and ambiguous laws, Indonesian journalists are also faced with the fake news phenomenon in Indonesia. It is worrisome as trust in journalists experienced a sharp decline in 2015 and as a result, the public sought information from alternative media (“Kepercayaan Publik Terhadap Media”, 2018; Renaldi, 2018). Alternative media, such as social media are the perfect breeding grounds for fake news as they are not regulated compared to news media content. As Indonesians sought information from alternative media sources, a survey report stated that more than 70% of Indonesians received their information from Facebook (Eka, 2018).

Furthermore, polarization in ideologies and beliefs seem to be another amplifier of fake news. As an example, polarization in terms of political views has been an occurring issue in Indonesia and contributes to the rift between groups within the society (Mokhtar, 2019). Moreover, with internet advancements and high social media usage encourage people to be in their filter bubble (Spohr, 2017). People then become more attached to their views and supposedly, an impression that their online community share the same belief.

Internet has been experiencing ongoing rise and popularity. Indonesia is one of the most populous countries in the world, with an estimate of 265 million citizens, 50% of them uses the

internet and 49% are active social media users (“Digital in 2018”, 2018). Moreover, Indonesia is also one of the top countries with the highest amount of Facebook and Twitter users (Handley, 2018). Similarly, Sipahutar and Salna (2018) also stated that Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and WhatsApp are the most used online applications in the country.

The proliferation of internet shifts the position of mass media as the main source of information, in specific, both Facebook and WhatsApp are the main sources of information for Indonesians (Eka, 2018). However, more than 80% of respondents acknowledged that they encountered fake news mostly on Facebook and WhatsApp too. The survey concluded by stating that despite growing concerns of fake news, more than 50% of the respondents do not know how to detect fake news and around 30% of the respondents admitted that they are often unsure of the information validity. Indonesians became aware of hoaxes as a problematic issue when hoax intensified during the 2014 presidential election in which current President Jokowi was a candidate and became victims of fake news (Kwok, 2017). Another peak point of hoaxes is during the 2017 governor election, the campaign period was smeared with misinformation, viral memes and rhetoric full of religious and ethnic discriminations (Coca, 2018). The main culprits of Indonesian rampant fake news lie on rapid digital growth and low digital literacy (Kaur et al., 2018; Walden, 2018).

Fake news, or commonly known as “hoax” or black campaign in Indonesia has been an ongoing issue in the country; used as a weapon through social media, specifically Facebook and Twitter to divide the country for political gains by adding fuels to existing social, ethnic, and religions (Lamb, 2018). By 2017, there were around 800.000 fake news sites in Indonesia where most of them were related to either politics or religion (Yuliani, 2017). The top three fake news

narratives are politics, religion, and health issues (Mafindo, 2018) and in congruence with the data mentioned before, Facebook is still the number one platform for fake news dissemination.

To curb unverified rumors and the spread of hoaxes, the government had taken several measures including holding weekly briefings to debunk rumors and provide clarifications (Handley, 2018). The government also employed a team of 70 people to monitor and identify fake news (Lamb, 2018). News media also started to enhance their fact-checking skills through trainings and launched a collaborative project known as “CekFakta” composed of 24 online news media, a third-party fact-check organization, Google News Initiatives (GNI), the Alliance of Independent Journalist (AJI) and so forth (CekFakta, 2019; Liu, 2018 & Siddiq, 2018). Lastly, there has also been an effort by a civic organization known as “Mafindo” who took the role as third-party fact-checkers. These different roles took part in battling rampant fake news in the country, minimizing the impacts of fake news, and informing the public to minimize the number of misinformed people.

2.3.3 Post-Palu Disaster Fake News

In the evening of September 28, 2018, a sudden 7.5 magnitude earthquake struck the city of Palu and nearby area, the regency of Donggala, located in the island of Sulawesi on Indonesia (Irfan, 2018). The earthquake then triggered a tsunami that swept through the city, resulting in huge damages. With more than 2,000 death tolls, the city faced telecommunication problems; relatives from other parts of the country frantically tried to contact their relatives in affected areas, and condolences poured in on social media with some asking help to locate their missing relatives (Beech, Suhartono & Paddock, 2018; Hermes, 2018). In the midst of the crisis and just few days after the disaster occurred, Indonesians found themselves being exposed to fake news through platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Whatsapp such as huge impact aftershock, death of the

mayor, free flights and so forth (Ministry of Communication and Information Technology Indonesia, 2018; Rahma, 2018; Tani, 2018).

The government had to take action by releasing weekly statements through the ministry's website and press conferences to clarify and debunk false information. Moreover, by 2 October 2018, the police force had arrested eight people for spreading fake news and stated that they were able to identify 14 accounts used to spread hoax (Riana, 2018). Official sources stated that there were several motives, ranging from spreading fake news for entertainment reasons to creations of fake news as a form of protest against the government due to dissatisfaction and even wanting to create panic among the society (Permana, 2018; Santoso, 2018).

Based on the nature of each case, this study selected three post-Palu disaster fake news cases. The first two cases are closely related to the disaster, they are typical cases that often occurred during natural disasters namely (1) rumors on stronger and more potent aftershocks and (2) baby adoption (Haryanto, 2018; Napitulu, 2018; Ningtyas, 2018). Whereas the third fake news case is not a disaster-centric case but involves the government and FPI (Islamic Defender Front) an Islamic political organization about Palu disaster (CNN Indonesia, 2018; Fadhil, 2018; Ramdhani, 2018).

2.4 Fact-Checking, Third-party and Fake News Battle

In recent years, as an effort to combat fake news surge, fact-checking has been employed. Different from ordinary or standard journalism practices, fact-checking is not about reporting an event, but instead on examining claims. Aside from examining published information, fact-checking involves looking for evidences to back up results (Singer, 2018; Elizabeth, 2014). Various studies noted political fact-checking as an emerging trend, targeting politicians and their claims, while ensuring that those claims were indeed factual (Haigh, Haigh and Kozak, 2018;

Graves, 2016b). However, other studies have noted that political fact-checking was just a facet of fact-checking. Mena (2018) noted that claims viral enough to impact readers are worthy to be fact-checked, indicating that political claims are one of the major themes. In this study, fact-checking is defined as examining published viral claims for its factuality and evidences, especially those that might impact its readers (Vizoso, A. & Vázquez-Herrero, 2019; Mena, 2018; Elizabeth, 2014).

Inside the newsrooms, fact-checking has been adopted to dig into a viral claim and check if whole claim or certain aspects of it are misleading. Labelled as “intrapreneurs” by Singer (2018), news media’s in-house fact-checkers experienced several advantages. Graves and Cherubini (2016) found that newsroom fact-checkers tended to have more resources and ease of reaching audience. However, newsroom fact-checkers would also be constrained by editorials that might limit their fact-checking practices. This approach can restore positive effects for journalists because people perceived journalists as pursuers of truth. Fact-checking has been incorporated by news professionals as part of their routines, acknowledging the importance of fact-checking to maintain their professionalism in delivering information (Brandtzaeg et al., 2017; Graves et al., 2016).

Despite that, fact-checking is not exclusive for journalism only, in recent years there have been emerging fact-checking NGOs or third-party fact-checkers (Nieminen & Rapeli, 2018; Graves & Cherubini, 2016). Also labelled as “entrepreneurs” (Singer, 2018), these third-party fact-checkers are independent individuals or organizations that practice fact-checking without affiliating themselves to any newsrooms. Similar to newsroom fact-checking, third-party fact-checking also offers fact-checking or verification services that will assess accuracy and credibility of online contents (Brandtzaeg, Følstad & Domínguez, 2017). Opposite to newsroom fact-checkers, third-party fact-checkers tend to have more freedom and less constraints in fact-checking but struggles with resources and readerships (Graves & Cherubini, 2016).

These third-party fact checking organization have begun to take parts in the battle against fake news (Vargo, Guo & Amazeen, 2017). Emergence of fact-checkers highlight some issues among journalists such as prioritizing ideology in traditional news media, lack of fact-checking experience and time pressure (Myers, 2014). Fact-checkers also help readers avoid being misinformed; at the same time, they are able to assist journalists who often had less time to fact-check news content due to time pressures (Brandtzaeg et al., 2017).

2.4.1 Fact-Checking Procedures

To understand how fact-checking works, Graves (2016a) conducted the ethnographic fieldwork with two fact-checking organizations in the US and came up with five phases of fact-checking. Despite receiving criticism on the reliability due to lack of systematic case selection and empirical results, it is argued that the idea behind fact-checking is not to point out who lied the most, but to highlight the concept of clarification (Nieminen & Rapeli, 2018). Therefore, according to Grave's (2016) study, the five concepts of fact-checking are (1) choosing claims to check, (2) contacting the speaker, (3) tracing false claims, (4) dealing with experts, and (5) showing your work.

First, fact-checkers have to decide which claims that they need to fact-check. This is difficult in terms of measuring which claims to fact-check, and according to the study on two US fact-checking organization, each organization have their own process to choose which claims to fact-check. However, fact-checkers had to keep in mind that the claims they chose have to be (1) newsworthy, meaning it is to the best interest of their audience and (2) checkability, referring to whether it is possible to check a selected claim. The author did not provide much about the idea of checkability as this measurement has to be referred back to each organization.

Secondly, contacting the speaker refers to the idea of contacting the author/s of the suspected claims for confirmation seeking (Nieminen & Rapeli, 2018; Graves, 2016). This can be challenging for fact-checkers as sources often ignored them or prepared backup plan to refute the idea that they were not telling the truth. Third phase is tracing false claims or referred to as media footprint, is the process fact-checkers go through to check traces on where these claims appeared and how it circulates. By doing so, fact-checkers will be able to evaluate the accuracy of a claim based on how key actors react to it, for example how would the media respond to a certain claim and whether it would amplify it assists fact-checkers (Graves, 2016a).

The fourth phase is dealing with experts, meaning that fact-checkers need to consult experts or trusted sources to verify their fact-checking results. Graves (2016a) however, also stated that in each organization, fact-checkers are provided with a list of trusted sources to consult. Lastly, fact-checkers will have to show their works and present it to the public, the highlight of this phase is journalistic transparency. For example, fact-checkers can lay out their sources and explain why certain claims are “false” and why they chose to fact-check them. At times, fact-checkers are challenged when the public refused to believe in them, therefore, by being as transparent as possible, fact-checkers will be able to present their work.

2.4.2 Fact-Checking in Indonesia

. Similar to the aforementioned literature review, there are two forms of fact-checking, namely newsroom and third-party. In the context of Indonesia, third-party fact-checking is a relatively new concept and was only introduced in recent years. However, it was the third-party fact-checking that was first introduced and promoted on social media. Known as *Mafindo*, this organization is the first NGO third-party fact-check in the country, focusing on debunking and clarifying fake news. Established in 2016, this organization housed several fact-checkers, staffs,

and volunteers, and by August 2018 became the first non-media Indonesian organization certified by the International Fact-Checking Network (Renaldi, 2018). By having this certification, *Mafindo* has met all the five criteria needed to be an independent fact-check organization, such as transparency and non-partisanship (“What does it take to be a signatory”, 2019). Aside from third-party fact-checking, several Indonesian newsrooms also began to partake in fact-checking practice. Preliminary observation found that several newsrooms conducted fact-checking and would create affiliated web-pages to post their fact-checking results. Furthermore, a new form of fact-checking collaboration between online media and third-party fact-check emerged too Known as *CekFakta*, this collaboration is an initiative by 24 online newsrooms and *Mafindo* to conduct fact-checking together. Moreover, this initiative was supported by institutions such as Google News Initiatives and in partnership with various organizations, including the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) (Liu, 2018; Siddiq, 2018).

The practice of fact-checking in Indonesia could be viewed to cater to the changing information landscape. Not only do people prefer information from social media, distrust placed on news media, along with literacy level and polarization propelled the discrepancies between factual information and the public. Hence, several initiatives have been emerging to implement the practice in and outside the newsrooms along with introducing fact-checking and media literacy to the public.

2.5 The Hierarchy of Influences Model

Introduced by Shoemaker and Reese, the Hierarchy of Influences Model (HOI) is a framework to examine and understand internal and external driving forces that shape how media content is being produced within a media organization (Xu & Jin, 2017; Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). HOI is a multi-level analysis model analysis on media content production, it is not limited

to examining influences at an individual level, but considers influences from their media organization and even at a wider context, such as social system where the media organization is situated (Ferruci, 2018; Comfort, 2017; Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). This suggests that media production and news content are not purely produced by journalists and editors, but based on influences from different elements.

Previous studies mostly employed HOI to examine one or two inner levels of HOI (Comfort, 2017). However, Saldaña and Mourão (2018) stated that it is important to examine all levels or multilevel forces instead of zooming into one single level. Similarly, Figueroa (2017) also stated that with the changing media environment, the HOI model has been modified to reflect changes during news production involved in all levels. The HOI model is a popular model utilized to study journalism across different contexts, such as Chinese online journalists (Xu & Jin, 2017), environmental journalists (Figueroa, 2017), perceived regional bias (Hedrick, 2018) and news production on social media (Ferrucci, 2018).

The HOI model can serve as a suitable framework to investigate how Indonesian news professionals, influenced by internal and external forces, shaped their news practices in regards to fake news. Given the context of fake news during natural disasters, it is important to acknowledge that aside from news media (traditional and web-only media), other social institutions (e.g., the government and fact-checking organization) also influence production or dissemination of fake news and disinformation.

2.5.1 Components of HOI

According to Reese and Shoemaker (2016), HOI model can provide insights on the relationships from a micro-macro perspective and is divided into five levels of analyses. Five levels of analyses are (1) the individual, (2) journalists' communication routines, (3) the media

organization, (4) social institutions, and (5) the social system (Figure 1). Individual, routines, and media organizations are the internal components of HOI, whereas social institutions and social systems are external components of HOI.



Figure 1. The Hierarchy of Influences Model (Saldaña & Mourão, 2018)

2.4.1.1 Individual I

At the first and most micro level, the individual level refers to the news professional's characteristics that may influence production of news content (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). The background of a news professional is argued to be an indicator of their work performance such as gender and race (Craft & Wanta, 2004). However, other individual characteristics such as personal traits and professional values also influenced content production (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016; Shoemaker et al., 2001).

Even though news production is guided by certain standards and requirements, existing scholarships stated that news professionals as individuals poured certain personal traits into their

works (Albæk et al., 2017). The personal trait is defined as individual own beliefs and opinions that they always carry with themselves (Albæk et al., 2017; Shoemaker et al., 2001). As an example, the political view of each can influence news content, news professionals who expressed orientation certain party may reflect this on their writing.

Professional values are also considered influential on an individual level, referring to the way a news professional perceives his/her role as an information provider (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). Skovsgaard et al. (2013) also stated that professional values can further reflect the commitment of news professionals to serve the public. This is interesting as everyone has can have similar roles but different role perceptions. The importance of role perception has been shown in some studies, showing that even across cultures, the way a role is perceived can influence journalistic professionalism (Donsbach, 2012). Besides, role perception also affect how journalists interact with their sources, select information and producing it into news content.

2.4.1.2 Routine Level

The second level of the HOI model is the routine level and can be understood as the SOP or guidelines that are practiced by news professionals in their newsrooms (Ferrucci, 2018). They are developed to ensure that the process of news production will go smoothly and news professionals have a clear sense of what their roles are (Xu & Jin, 2017). According to Craft and Wanta (2004), compared to individual beliefs, newsroom policies have heavier weight in determining which news content to publish. This is because every news professional works for a newsroom where certain set of procedures have to be followed. Previous studies stated that newsroom routines do affect news content, and the shift to digital environment influences news on a routine level (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016; Cassidy, 2007).

A study by Lecheler and Kruikemeier (2015) revealed that the shift to online news culture changed newsroom practices, for example, news professionals started to use the internet for news sources yet at the same time, there is a need for verification as one of the requirements of newsroom practice. In this level, the routines determine how a news story should be produced and what procedures journalists have to adhere to for day-to-day news production basis (Reese, 2016; Reese, 2007). To further understand the routine flow of news production, Karlsonn (2011) pointed out three phases of news production, (1) news gathering as the process of gathering raw materials to produce news content, (2) news processing as the process of transforming gathered information into news content based on journalistic scrutiny, and (3) news distribution, defined as the dissemination of news content to the audience. Moreover, fact-checking that has been gaining prominence among news professionals are considered as part of the current news routine system (Graves, 2016a).

2.4.1.3 Organizational Level

As the third level, the organization is the influence that news professionals received from their organizations in order to shape news content accordingly to the organizational needs (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). For example, changes in ownership can influence the way news is produced or if the media is politically affiliated to certain groups (Milojević & Krstić, 2018). This means that news professionalism is negotiated to meet interests of media ownerships, topic selections, profitability and selective promotions of professionalism (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016; Reese, 2007; Shoemaker et al., 2001). As a result, news professionals will need to tailor their work in accordance with their affiliated companies and constraining news professionals.

The study of Sylvie and Gade (2009) pointed out the constraints media organizations on an organizational level faced is reflected on an organization's editorial policies. Editorial policy is

defined as the ideology and hierarchical structure of a news media organization that drives how news contents are produced and presented (Blanco-Castilla, Rodríguez & Molina, 2018). Editorial policy reflects the disposition of a news media organization, such as supporting a particular political figure or political party. Past studies such as a study conducted by Sylvie and Huang (2008) revealed based on editorial policies, editors make decisions based on the policies that reflect the organizational values.

Editorial policies reflect on how news is produced and this concept is geared towards how information content is formed. Another aspect of organizational influence is the organizational culture, which sets one news organization apart from the other and shapes the whole entity, including both news and management of a news media organization (Cowling, 2017). Organizational culture is defined as the shared beliefs, philosophies, and norms among people within an organization (Idowu, 2017). This suggests that at one a certain point, people's actions are constrained by the organizational culture.

It is also important to note that organizational culture is not static but ever-changing which can create a positive influence. An example would be how newsroom employees frequently have their innovation or creativity hindered by organizational culture and management but transformation can happen when both the newsroom and the management decided to take on a learning culture to foster innovation (Porcu, 2017). Similarly, study of Chowdhury and Akhther (2017) on news organizational culture in Bangladesh revealed that news media organization that run on a profit-oriented culture resulted on these news organizations shifting their content production on the bases of profit (e.g. covering certain corporate) instead of other important issues.

2.4.1.4 Social Institution Level

As the fourth level, social institutions or extramedia are included as the outer force that has influences on media content. Social institutions are organizations outside of news media that shape content, such as government, advertisers, interest groups, political institutions, etc. (Ferrucci, 2018; Saldaña & Mourão, 2018). In relation to a news organization, social institutions play a crucial role in shaping how journalism works as a product on the complex interaction of economic, political and media fields (Xu & Jin, 2017). Initially, this level is known as “extramedia” referring as organizations outside the media organization, and encompasses all types of organizations. However, social institution is later selected to replace extramedia, in order to not limit these organizations as influence from a single (outer) organization (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016).

2.4.1.5 Social System Level

Lastly, the social system, at the macro level, is conceptualized as the influence of economic, political and cultural subsystem where particular journalism operates (Xu & Jin, 2017). This can be understood as the culture, ideologies or politics and every country will have different social system, thus, influence news media productions accordingly (Ferrucci, 2018). In order to directly approach factors of social system, cross-nation analysis is considered as the most appropriate way (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016).

The HOI model is the primary conceptual framework of this research proposal. Using HOI model as the research guide, this study will be able to find out how internal and external factors influence fake news journalistic practices of traditional news media and web-only media. It will also be used to analyze the third-party fact check organizational practices as HOI model is also suitable to be implemented on organizations that are not media-oriented but embraces journalistic values to support their missions, for example NGOs that investigate, report and disseminate

information for their target audience (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). For this research, the fifth level of analysis, social system is excluded from the conceptual framework as it is out of the research scope (i.e. politics, economy and culture of Indonesia).

2.6 The Conceptual Framework

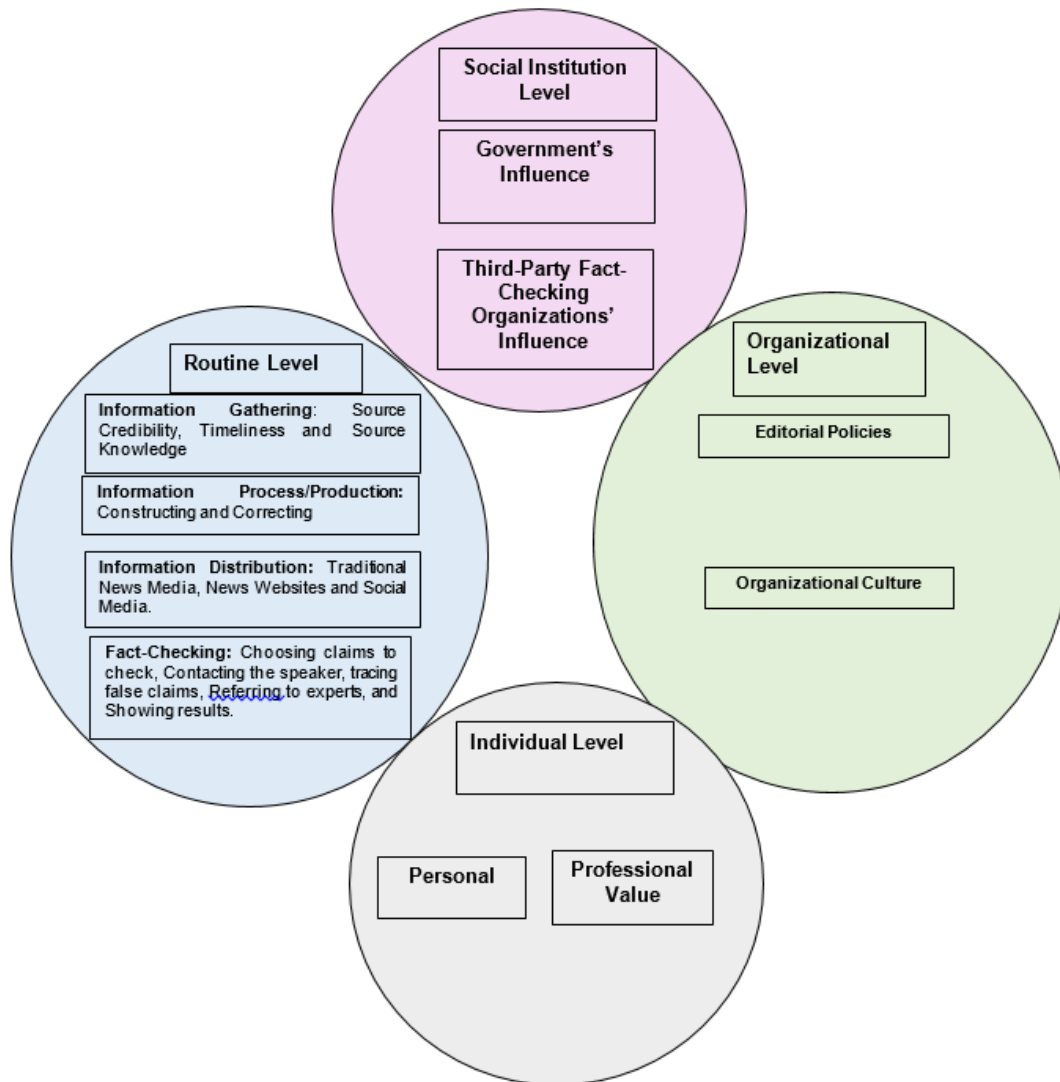
Figure 2 illustrates the conceptual framework of this research that is primarily built from the HOI model, this framework analyzed four levels of HOI namely (1) individual level, (2) routine level, (3) organization level, and (4) social institutions level (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). In addition, this study integrated other relevant concepts on personal traits and professional experience (Vergeer, 2018; Albæk et al., 2017), information gathering, processing and distributing (Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2017; Himma-Kadakas, 2017; van der Meer et al., 2016; Karlsson, 2011), fact-checking (Graves, 2016a) editorial policies (Blanco-Castilla, 2018) along with external social institutions related to Palu disaster case. Social system level (fifth level) is not part of this framework as it is out of this study's scope. The scope of this study is to examine factors that influenced news and fact-check practices (i.e., individual, routine, and organizational) along with the influence(s) from the government (i.e., social institution) while handling disaster fake news. Since this study is not a cross-country comparison or to specifically look into the influence media received solely based on their geographic location (Ferrucci, 2018) only the first four levels of analyses were examined. Despite that, contextual background of news or fact-check organization operates in was still necessary, thus had been discussed in the previous section (see sec. 2.3).

This conceptual framework was utilized to examine news professionals from both traditional and web-only news media, as well as third-party fact-check professionals on their work practices in dealing with information related to post-Palu disaster fake news. Adopted and modified from HOI model, this framework has four dimensions where each dimension will have

its own code and subcodes to be analyzed. Lastly, the term “news” will hereby be changed into “information” in order to have a more neutral expression to represent both news media and third-

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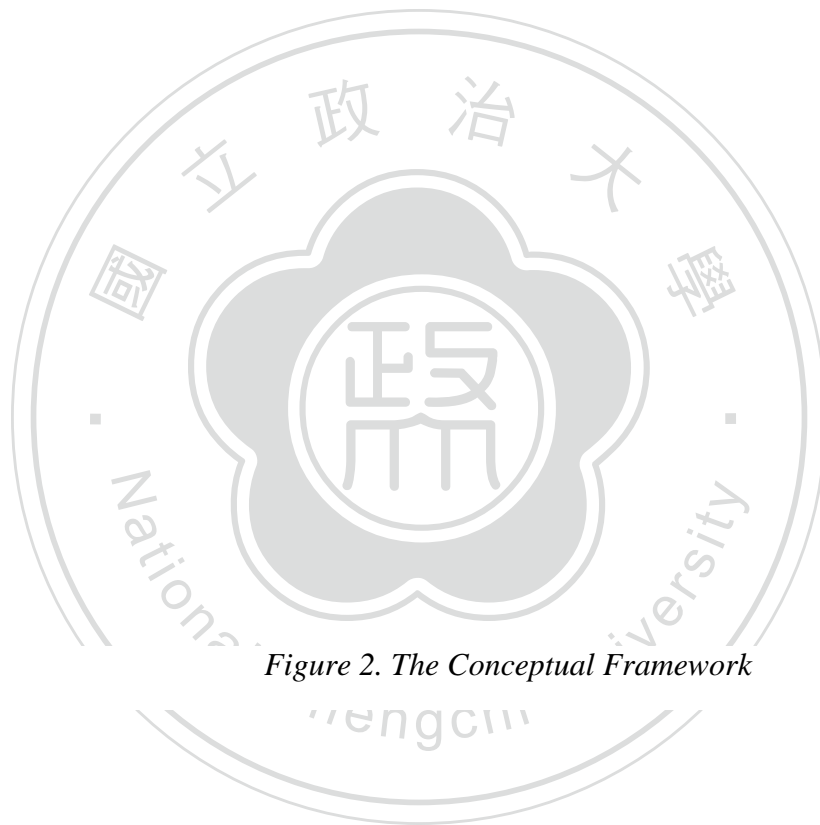


Figure 2. The Conceptual Framework

2.6.1 Individual Level

The first dimension is the individual level where news professionals as individuals can influence news content (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). In this level, the individual level is

conceptualized through the codes (1) personal traits and (2) professional experience adopted from Albæk et al. (2017) and Vergeer (2018) studies. Personal traits refer to the personal beliefs and opinions news and fact-check professionals carry with them (Albæk et al, 2017), whereas professional experience, is the accumulated experience news and fact-check professionals have in relation to their jobs (Vergeer, 2018).

Personal traits were examined to study how individuals' beliefs and/or opinions on fake news influence their approach to dealing with fake news when at work. On the other hand, based on news and fact-check professionals' professional experience, the researcher would like to study how they dealt with post-Palu disaster fake news. Through different experiences, the researcher will be able to gain insights on how accumulated professional experience in dealing with fake news-related information equipped these professionals when dealing with post-Palu disaster fake news.

2.6.2 Routine Level

The second dimension of this framework is the routine level which is defined as the set of requirements and practices news professionals and even fact-check professionals go through to produce information (Xu & Jin, 2017; Graves, 2016; Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). The routine level is especially important for this study as this research aims to investigate the work process on how news and fact-checking professionals dealt with fake news during Palu disaster.

In this level, there are four codes that will be examined, and they are concepts on the three phases of information production (1) information gathering, (2) information process/production, and (3) information distribution that derived from Karlsson's (2011) study and (4) fact-checking based on Grave's (2016) study. Information gathering, process/production, and distribution are relevant for this study as they are important phases needed to produce information content, and at

the same time, are routine practices that both news and fact-check professionals go through on a daily basis. In addition, fact-checking was also examined as it has been gaining relevance in the practice of information production (Brandtzaeg et al., 2017). Examination of these four codes will result in understanding the SOP of work practices when dealing with fake news, specifically, during Palu disaster.

First, information gathering was examined by the subcodes (1) source credibility referred as a source being able to be accounted for their claims, (2) timeliness, the ability for both source and news professionals to provide relevant information in a timely manner and (3) source knowledge, defined as a source possessing relevant information on an issue that are adopted from van der Meer et al. (2016) study. These subcodes are relevant especially in the context of fake news in the aftermath of a natural disaster, where people could be anxious for information and felt panic.

Secondly, information process/production will be further examined by two subcodes, and the first subcode is on constructing, which is the practice of ascribing certain values or emphasizing aspects of an issue to create newsworthiness of a content (Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2017). The second subcode is correcting, which refers to the process of revising the information, rewriting, and correcting errors (Himma-Kadakas, 2017). Examinations on the aspects of constructing and correction were employed to find out the routines of writing fake news content and the idea of correcting published content, especially within the context of fake news where little mistakes can lead up to accusations of being "fake" (Wishart, 2017).

Next, information distribution will be understood from the subcodes (1) traditional news media, which is the main media used by traditional news media to distributed information (Parmer et al., 2016), (2) news sites, referring to information distribution through traditional affiliated news

sites or web-only websites (Huang et al., 2013; Chung et al., 2012), and (3) social media which is the use of social media to deliver information (Lischka, 2018). Through the examination of different methods of distributing information, the researcher would then find out how in the context of Palu's earthquake do news and fact-check professionals utilized different distribution platforms to deal with Palu's fake news.

Lastly, built from Graves' (2016) study on fact-checking, the code fact-checking was further examined through the subcodes which are (1) choosing claims to check, referred as fact-checking suspected information, (2) contacting the speaker, which is to question claims from the source suspected of producing suspicious claims, (3) tracing false claims, defined as tracking down media footprint of suspected claims, (4) referring to experts, which is to seek experts' assistance to verify information, and (5) showing results, which is to communicate findings through information contents produced by news and fact-check professionals.

2.6.3 Organizational Level

Next, this framework also adopted the idea on how news content can be shaped due to influences from upper organizational level management (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). Based on Vergeer's (2018) study, organizational level employed the first code, editorial policy to examine how the predisposition of an organization influence information production. Editorial policy is defined as the organizational ideologies that drives how content are produced and presented. Additionally, organizational culture was also employed as the second code of this level. Organizational culture refers to the shared beliefs, philosophies, and norm among people within an organization (Idowu, 2017). This includes both news or fact-check professionals and their management in regards to their approach on certain issue, and in this research context, fake news in the event of Palu disaster.

The purpose of selecting these two codes is to investigate the limitations presented by editorials and even organizational culture. Previous research had shown that certain news practices influenced the way news professionals addressed an issue, including avoidance of certain issues or compulsory demand of official statements (Steele, 2011). Based on these conceptions on the influences on newsroom practices, this study extends its conceptions to the case of fake news and its applications in both news and third-party fact-check media.

2.6.4 Social Institutions Level

Lastly, on social institutions level, the framework examined influences from government and third-party fact-checking organizations to understand how they influenced news content on fake news (Ferrucci, 2018; Xu & Jin, 2017). The government is selected as one of the subcodes due to the nature of Palu case, which is natural disaster, and the government played a crucial role in providing information. Moreover, given the importance of official statement in Indonesian media, it is interesting to examine the influence of government in this study.

Aside from the government, the role and influence of third-party fact-checking organization, especially for news media was also examined. This is because the third-party fact-checking organization also played an active role in debunking post-Palu disaster fake news. With recent rise in third-party fact-checking within information ecology (Haigh et al., 2017), it would be fruitful to study the influence of third-party fact-checking in newsroom practices. Investigation on social institutions provides insights on its influence towards the internal mechanism of new and fact-check professionals. However, these insights also contribute to a more macro understanding of Indonesia's fake news ecology.



CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

To understand fake news distribution and combat practices, this study takes upon the case of fake news during a natural disaster in Palu, Indonesia. The prevalence of fake news during the disaster prompted the government to release weekly press releases to debunk fake news, news media published clarification content, and a third-party fact-check organization also provided clarifications (Rahma, 2018; Renaldi, 2018; Riana, 2018). This exploratory study employed a mixed-method approach consisting of web observation and in-depth interview to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: How were the information flows(s) and pattern (s) of fake news-related information mediated by Indonesian media (news media, fact-check media and social media) during Palu earthquake and tsunami?

RQ2: How did news professionals from traditional affiliated and independent news media handled post-Palu disaster fake news through their newsroom practices?

RQ3: What is the current fact-checking system in Indonesia? How did fact-checking organization operate in dealing with fake news and clarify post-Palu disaster fake news?

3.1 Web Observation

To answer RQ1, this study employed web observation to provide the overview of information flow process and information patterns of fake news-related information that had been mediated by Indonesian news media, fact-check organizations and social media during Palu earthquake and tsunami. “Information flow” refers to the process of information sequence and dissemination process (Peruani &Tabourier, 2011), while “information pattern” refers to the

practices and directions in producing information (Wisensfeld, Raghuram & Garud, 2006) that has been shaped by stakeholders (e.g., news media, third-party fact-check organizations, government and public). Web observation is a form of data collection method which is unobtrusive in nature and researchers are able to gather data from natural settings from the internet (Hine, 2011). In this study, web observations enable the researcher to find out the developmental process of Palu's fake news information, specifically to identify the key actors and their impacts on fake news as well as the time lapse of information distribution and content presentation.

The purpose of conducting web observation was to complement the HOI-based conceptual framework specifically, the social institutions level. As this level entails external components outside news and fact-check media, web observation results provided insights from non-professional (i.e. news and fact-check) point of views. As a result, web observation illustrates Indonesia's fake news ecology during a disaster, including the measures taken by stakeholders (i.e. news media, third-party fact-checkers, government, and public) to debunk post-Palu disaster fake news.

As there has been huge amount of fake news, this study selected three fake news cases based on their online information volume and salience for web observation: namely (1) aftershock, (2) baby adoption, and (3) FPI cases have different nature and focus. Preliminary observation categorized the first two cases into cases that are related to scientific information (i.e. aftershock) that induced panic and fake news that is may have negative social impacts (i.e. baby adoption) that evoked feelings of worry and pity. The third case is a case that has religious and political elements (i.e. FPI), which involved narrative battles between the government and an organization, and evoked strong responses from the public. Web observation results do not illustrate each case in

detail but utilized the three cases as part of post-Palu disaster fake news and examined the information flow(s) and pattern(s).

The disaster struck on the 28th of September, 2018 and preliminary observation showed that news related to Palu's fake news started to emerge on the 1st and 2nd of October. Using the keywords on “*gempa Palu*” (Palu earthquake) represented by the blue line, and “*tsunami Palu*” (Palu tsunami) represented by the red line, Figure 3 shows the online discussion volume of the disasters over time. The figure showed that search volume on these terms peaked during the first week of the disaster (September 28, 2018- October 2, 2018) and gradually declined, and by the one-month mark, the search volume had declined and became unremarkable as weeks went by.



Figure 3. Google Trend results on Palu disaster (Google Trend, 2018)

Figure 4 shows the interest over time on the keywords “*hoax gempa palu*” (hoax on Palu's earthquake) depicted by the blue line and “*hoax Palu*” (Palu's hoax) as depicted by the red line. Similar to Figure 3, the search volume peaked during the first week of the disaster, especially during October 2, 2018, when lots of news related to Palu's fake news were debunked. For example, the Ministry of Communication and Information released a statement report to debunk various fake news that was viral on WhatsApp and social media.

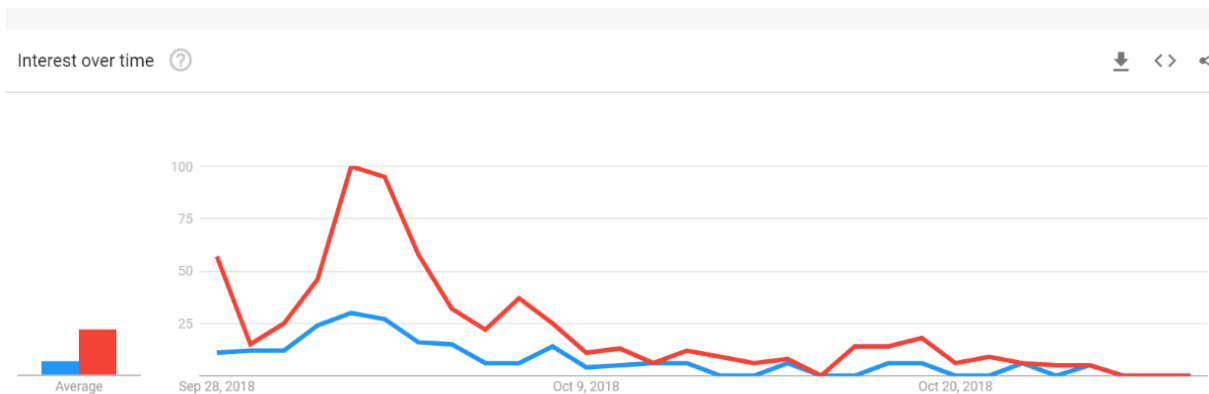


Figure 4. Google Trend results on fake news related to Palu Disaster (Google Trend, 2018)

Web observations were conducted within the time period of September 28, 2018, to October 27, 2018. This timeframe is selected based on its relevance as shown on the two figures above. Preliminary observations of the aforementioned three cases also took place within the one-month timeframe. Therefore, these reasons justify the selection of the particular timeframe. During web-observations, the researcher used keywords related to three selected misinformation cases (i.e. aftershock, baby adoption, and FPI) for searching online and social media information on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, in order to observe the information flow (e.g. who wrote what, how many shares, etc.) and information patterns (e.g. response by the government, news media approaches, etc.) of three cases.

Stakeholders (i.e. news media, third-party fact-checkers, government, and the public) have taken different approaches in response to post-Palu disaster fake news that shape the overall information flow and patterns. As an entity that provides information to the public, news media has become an important part of information ecology. Examination of news media resulted in certain patterns of news media practices and its relations with other stakeholders.

Given the nature of the case (i.e. natural disaster), the role of the government is indispensable, and the role of third-party fact-checking as fake news debunkers was also taken into account for web-observation, especially as one of the information providers for news media; the public is taken into account to observe how the public responded to news media regarding post-Palu fake news, complementing findings to explain fake news ecology in Indonesia.

Three news media were selected for web observations, namely (1) *Kompas.com*, (2) *Medcom.id*, and (3) *Tempo.co*. Preliminary observations had shown that these three news media covered post-Palu disaster fake news, and published news content on their online platforms. These news media are further categorized into three different categories accordingly to the type of their organization, and what interview participants later on mentioned during interview sessions. *Kompas.com*, *Medcom.id*, and *Tempo.co* are online news media under the same group of their traditional media counterparts. However, they have different level of relations with their traditional media counterparts and even affiliations as explained below:

- *Kompas.com*: The online media has its own independent structure and team separated from its traditional counterpart. *Kompas.com* conducted internal cross-checking with its traditional media, and some content are shared across media divisions (e.g. using TV's content). This media belongs to the largest media conglomeration and affiliated to other business such as property (Nugroho, Putri & Laksmi, 2013). The media group is also well-known for its peace journalism (Steele, 2011). In terms of readerships, *Kompas.com* is at the top seven sites in Indonesia ("Top Sites in Indonesia", 2019) and was recorded to have around 7.3 million monthly readers ("detikcom, KOMPAS.com & LIPUTAN6 are Indoensia's leading

news websites”, 2018). Under the same group, *Kompas.com*’s affiliated media include TV and newspaper.

- *Medcom.id* : The online media has its own independent structure and team separated from traditional its traditional counterpart. This news media strives to self-produce information as much as possible, such as through vlogs on its online platforms. However, the media group is also affiliated to media conglomeration and its owner, *Surya Paloh*, is a politician (Dhyatmika, 2014). Current data shows that this news media is not in the top 50 sites in Indonesia (“Top Sites in Indonesia”, 2019).
- *Tempo.co* : Compared to the previous two, this media and its group is not part of Indonesia’s media conglomeration (Lim, 2012). Despite its smaller size, this media is ranked at the 25th place out of the top 50 sites in Indonesia (“Top Sites in Indonesia,” 2019). Moreover, this group is an independent media as it has no particular affiliation with any political groups and is well-known for its investigative journalism.

These three news media have also been verified by the Press Council, which indicates that they are all verified news media. Table 4 further summarizes the three news media organizations on their background, ownership, and size.

Table 4. News Organizations Observed

Category	Media Name	Group	Numbers of media owned	Ownership	Size
Traditional affiliated online news media	Kompas.com	Kompas Gramedia	50+	Media conglomerate, no political affiliation	1 of the 12 major media conglomerates
Independent online news media, influenced by affiliated traditional media	Medcom.id	Media Group	5	Founder is a chairman of a political party	1 of the 12 major media conglomerates
Independent online news media	Tempo.co	PT Info Media Digital	3	Founded by a group of journalists	Not part of media conglomeration

In terms of third-party fact-checking, the organization *Mafindo* was observed. *Mafindo* is the sole third-party fact-checking organization in Indonesia. This organization is responsible for debunking fake news, busting crowdsourced hoaxes and educating the public about digital literacy related to false information verification and fact check (Mafindo, 2019). *Mafindo* first started as a movement in 2015, and became a formally formed organization in 2016. They are active on several social media platforms, such as Facebook forum known as FAFHH (Forum for anti-slander, incite and hoax) and a page known as Turnbackhoax.id, along with a website, Twitter, and Instagram accounts (Kautsar, 2018). Moreover, their forum, FAFHH, is an open forum discussion moderated by *Mafindo* where the public can post information on fake news as long as they follow the guidelines provided by *Mafindo*.

3.1.1 Data analysis

After gathering relevant and sufficient data, the researcher analyzed obtained data to map out information flows and patterns, including the process on how fake news post-Palu disaster developed. Within September 28, 2018, to October 27, 2018, each case (i.e. aftershock, baby adoption, and FPI), employed Google Trend, news reports and social media observation to find out how fake news content was disseminated (information flow) shaped by stakeholders' forces (information pattern).

To analyze observation data from the three types of news media (*Kompas.com*, *Medcom.id*, and *Tempo.co*), *Mafindo* (third-party fact-checker), and the public, the researcher focused on elements such as time stamps, information sources, information frequency, and etc. Public's responses were observed through the comment section and engagement (e.g. shares and likes). The purpose of these analyses was to point out important themes among information flow and patterns in the event of post-Palu disaster. Furthermore, data analysis pointed out similarities and differences between major stakeholders (i.e. news media, third-party fact-checkers, government, and the public)

3. 2 In-depth Interview

To answer RQ2 and RQ3, this study conducted in-depth interviews to obtain rich insights from Indonesian news and fact-check professionals. Being a form of qualitative research, this approach is suitable for researching new topics and to understand prominent issues (Jamshed, 2014). According to Berg and Lune (2011), qualitative research allows researchers to get answers by studying individuals or groups that inhabit certain social settings, and understand their point of views. Through in-depth interview, which can be understood as guided conversations is proposed

in order to generate interpretations, explore and deepen understanding on a social phenomenon (Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick, 2008; Warren, 2001).

The purpose of conducting in-depth interview was to investigate the influences from the four levels of this study's conceptual model that is based on the HOI model, namely (1) individual level, (2) routine level, (3) organizational level, and (4) social institution level. The first three levels are the internal components of news and fact-check organization, while the fourth level, an external component, was included into in-depth interview to find out how news and fact-check professionals perceived influences from external forces (i.e. government and third-party fact-checkers). Therefore, the social institution was examined by analyzing the data of web observations and in-depth interviews: the former aimed to provide information flow and patterns influenced by key organizations in the fake news ecology, while the latter uncovered how professionals in news media and the fact-check organization perceived the influences of other fake news related organizations.

3.2.1 News Media In-Depth Interview

Proliferation of digital infrastructure prompted the growth of alternative media, such as social media. As Indonesia's news media have expanded their news media organizations into online platforms and created social media accounts. Given the prominence and influences of online media in Indonesia, this study specifically interviewed professionals in three selected news media with online presence for web observations.

Another reason for selecting online news media is due to the nature of fake news diffusing rapidly online. Most post-Palu disaster fake news originated from WhatsApp and Facebook. This does not mean that the role of non-online news media is being downplayed but given the predisposition of post-Palu fake news along with preliminary observation that pointed out roles of

various Indonesian online news media, this study recruited participants working for online news media.

Interview participants were recruited from the three news media identified during web observation, namely (1) *Kompas.com* (), (2) *Medcom.id* (independent online news media but traditionally affiliated), and (3) *Tempo.co* (independent online news media). These news media were selected upon the observation results that prompted further investigation on news practices of these three different news media. Given the different nature of the news media, this research compared both similarities and differences of news practices. In addition, the selection of these news media illustrated some newsroom policies that influenced the direction of fake news handling across different types of news media.

This study employed semi-structured, in-depth interviews with news professionals (e.g. journalists, managing editors or editor-in-chief) from three news media organizations who were related to Palu disaster fake news. Through the purposive and snowball sampling, news professionals interviewed were recruited because respondents not only have working experiences during post-Palu disaster fake news as a reporter, editor or news managers. Given the requirements needed, purposive sampling was used to access to personal contacts who work for news media, while snowball sampling was used to gain access to top level management or those who tightly worked with post-Palu disaster fake news.

3.2.2 Fact-Checker In-Depth Interview

As the sole third-party fact-check organization in Indonesia, professionals from *Mafindo* were interviewed to present perspectives of fake news handling. Interview participants fulfilled criteria: (1) having direct involvement with debunking fake news or fact-checking, and (2) having been involved during the rampant fake news related Palu disaster.

Since fact-checking is relatively new in Indonesia, this research aims to understand an emerging form of fact-checking initiative known as *CekFakta*. Even though this collaborative fact-checking initiative is not related to post-Palu disaster fake news, it is still valuable to study this initiative to enhance the understanding of Indonesia's fake news ecology. *CekFakta* is a collaborative effort founded by Mafindo, along with 24 online news media, which made up the core of *CekFakta* to do fact check for their online news content. This initiative is also supported by Indonesian Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) and Indonesian Association of Cyber Media (AMSI).

Besides, *CekFakta* is in partnership with (1) Google News Initiatives to work with the news industry to enhance digital journalism, (2) Internews, an international nonprofit organization that helps local media to develop the healthy media environment, (3) First Draft, an organization that aims to help journalists to address challenges of truth and trust in the digital era, and (4) Storyful, a social media agency that sources and verifies social media content. These four organizations provide trainings for members of *CekFakta*, such as to sharpen their skills in using digital tools to fact-check pictures or videos.

Both respondents from *Mafindo* and *CekFakta* were recruited via the purposive and snowball sampling. Through personal contacts, the researcher obtained contacts of fact-checkers, fact-checking partners, and training personnel.

3.2.3 Interview Process

Interviews were conducted via face-to-face and e-interviews during the span of March-May 2019. E-interviews were utilized due to two main reasons: first, some respondents lived outside Jakarta, where the researcher resides. Secondly, when the researcher went back to Indonesia to conduct interview, some respondents were not available to be interviewed within the

period of time. Therefore, e-interview was also employed due to its ability to show both verbal and nonverbal cues were employed. Each interview session lasted from 1.5 to 2 hours and was audio recorded.

Before conducting the interview, participants will be briefed on the whole process of interview and will be requested to sign a consent form (Appendix A) to ensure data privacy for this research purpose. Lastly, interview questions will be made up from several categories, namely (1) demographics data, (2) individual factors (i.e., personal trait and professional value), (3) routine factors (i.e., information gathering, information processing, information distribution, and fact-checking), (4) organizational factors (i.e., editorial policy), and social institution level (i.e., government influence and third-party fact-checker influence).

3.2.4 List of Interview Participants

By the end of data collection, a total of 12 respondents were obtained. Due to challenges in recruiting participants, such as lack of response from potential participants, the researcher could only have 12 respondents. However, this amount is reasonable as the respondents are professional personnel who work closely with fake news, understood current fake news ecology and are the people behind the scenes who produced news and fact-check content. Table 5 is the list of interviewees, their affiliation and other relevant information. The code J was used to represent journalists (news professionals), while code F was used to represent fact-checkers.

Table 5. List of Interviewees

Code name	Media category	Position	Age	Gender
J1	Traditionally affiliated online news media	Assistant managing editor	40	Female
J2	Traditionally affiliated online news media	Assistant editor	26	Male
J3	Independent but affiliated with traditional media	Coordinator for news coverage	35	Male
J4	Independent but affiliated with traditional media	Regional editor	32	Male
J5	Independent but affiliated with traditional media	Regional editor	33	Male
J6*	Independent news media	Editor-in-chief	40	Male
J7*	Independent news media	Fact-checker	35	Female
F1*	Third-party fact-checking organization	Director of Fact-Checking committee	42	Male
F2*	Third-party fact-checking organization	Fact-checker	29	Male
F3*	Third-party fact-checking organization	Fact-checker	32	Male
F4	Collaborative fact-checking	Volunteer and Trainer	39	Female
F5	Collaborative fact-checking	Project manager	33	Male

*Participants that have involvement with one's affiliation and *CekFakta* (collaborative fact-checking initiative)

3.2.5 Code scheme & Analysis

After data gathering, interview results were transcribed into English by the researcher. To maintain translation quality, another Indonesian speaker was recruited to ensure minimum translation errors. Interview transcripts were then analyzed via thematic analysis, where the researcher looked for both recurring and emerging themes. Interview analyses were based on the code scheme composed of 10 codes and 18 subcodes that was originally built based on HOI model and existing literatures on news and fact-check practices (see Table 6).

The five emerging subcodes included (1) code personal trait's demographic qualities and past experience, (2) code professional value's role perception and journalistic value, and (3) code fact-checking's training. During the interview about the influence of personal information, it was found that both demographic qualities and past experience made up the personal traits of respondents, and how it influenced their news practices. The study of Reese and Shoemaker (2016) mentioned that concepts that were unique to each individual (e.g. background, characteristics, etc.) could influence how journalists approach their practices. Similarly, the manner an individual perceive or internalize a professional role also influenced their practices (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). This was apparent during analyses when respondents perceived their roles as important factors in battling fake news in Indonesia. Lastly, as part of respondents' fact-checking efforts, training was a recurring emerging theme. Respondents repeatedly stated that training enabled them to enhance their skills and to keep up with fake news trends that became more advanced and more challenging to detect. This was in congruence with the study of Cheruiyot and Ferrer-Conill (2018) who stated that training programs have been developed to aid industry professionals to conduct fact-checking.

This code scheme then became the foundation to build two sets interview questions (Appendix B). The first set was used to interview news professionals, and the second for third-party fact-checkers. Interview questions were separated as several questions were not applicable for both news and fact-check professionals. For example, questions pertaining to traditional media or third-party fact-check are not applicable for professionals from *Mafindo*. Interviews with professionals on *CekFakta* (collaborative fact-checking initiative) were not guided by the coding scheme on Table 6. This is because the former coding scheme is specifically tailored to address professional practices about post-Palu disaster fake news. Thus, the researcher empirically designed the third set of interview question (Appendix B). Interview questions included themes such as (1) current fake news ecology in Indonesia, (2) newsroom and fact-checking, (3) Indonesia's strengths and weaknesses in fact-checking, (4) laws and fake news and so forth. Despite that, there were still several original codes (Table 6) retained due to its relevance, such as personal trait, editorial policy, government's.

Table 6. Coding Scheme

Dimension	Code	Subcode	Definition	Source(s)
Individual level	Personal Trait		Individual beliefs, opinions and experiences that news or fact-check professionals carry with them	Albæk et al., 2017 ; Reese & Shoemaker, 2016
		Demographic Qualities	Individual's unique characteristics and background that may influence news and fact-check practices	Reese & Shoemaker, 2016
		Past Experience	Accumulated experience on the individual's occupation	Reese & Shoemaker, 2016
	Professional Value		Perceived role of news and fact-check professionals as information providers	Reese & Shoemaker, 2016
		Role Perception	The manner news and fact-check professionals held about their occupation	Reese & Shoemaker, 2016
		Journalistic Value	Value held and considered as necessary to become a "good" news or fact-checker	Reese & Shoemaker, 2016
Routines level	Information Gathering		Process of gathering raw materials to produce information content	Karlsson, 2011
		Source Credibility	Sources that can accounted for claims	van der Meer et al., 2016

Timeliness	Both sources and news professionals can provide and publish relevant information in a timely manner.	van der Meer et al., 2016
Source Knowledge	Sources that possess relevant information needed in regards to an issue	van der Meer et al., 2016
Information Processing/production	The process of transforming information gathered into information content	Karlsson, 2011
Constructing	Ascribing newsworthiness to the content by emphasizing certain aspects of the information	Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2017
Correcting	The process of revising information content by having content checked, rewritten, and/or editing writing errors	Himma-Kadakas, 2017
Information Distribution	The dissemination of information to the audience	Karlsson, 2011

	Traditional News Media	The main channel used by traditional news media to deliver important information to the public.	Parmer et al., 2016
	News Websites	The distribution of information via traditional affiliated news sites or web-only sites	Huang et al., 2013; Chung et al., 2012
	Social Media	The use of social media to deliver information by news and fact-check professionals	Lischka, 2018
Fact-Checking		The act of correcting false claims and providing clarifications	Pingree et al., 2018
	Choosing claims to check	The act of fact-checking suspicious information	Graves et al., 2016
	Contacting the speaker	Questioning claims from the source suspected of providing false claims	Graves et al., 2016
	Tracing false claims	The media footprint of a suspected information content	Graves et al., 2016

Organizational level		Referring Experts	to Seeking experts' assistance to verify information	Graves et al., 2016
		Showing Results	To communicate findings through information content produced by news and fact-check professionals	Graves et al., 2016
		Training	Programs developed to enhance fact-checking competencies	Cheruiyot & Ferrer-Conill, 2018
	Editorial Policy		Organizational ideologies that drive how information content are produced and presented	Vergeer, 2018
	Organizational Culture		Shared beliefs, philosophies, and norm among people working inside a news or fact-checking organization.	Idowu, 2017
Social Institution level	Government's influence		Information and policies from the government that influence how news and fact-check professionals produce content	Reese & Shoemaker, 2016
	Fact-checking organization's influence		Information received from fact-checking organization that influences how news and fact-check professionals produce content	Nieminen & Rapeli, 2018

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 1: WEB OBSERVATION

This chapter discusses the first half of the research on post-Palu disaster fake news information flows and patterns. In this chapter, results obtained from web-observation pertaining to the three selected cases (aftershock, baby adoption and FPI) are discussed. Web observations were conducted through observing online data, including social media posts, news websites and governments' websites with an emphasis on data related to the three selected cases. Data observed included news articles, public engagement and responses, patterns from major stakeholders (i.e. news media, third-party fact-checkers, government, and the public). These data were analyzed to look into information flow to understand how fake news flow from within the period of September 28, 2018, to October 27, 2018, along with information pattern to investigate what practices were conducted by stakeholders (i.e. news media, government and public) in responding to fake news related to the disaster.

4.1 Web-Observation Results

The overall Palu disaster information and the related online data observed from the websites and social media of the three news media were analyzed to answer the first research question pertaining to the information flows and patterns mediated by Indonesian media (news media, fact-check media and social media) during Palu earthquake and tsunami. The three selected cases reflected three different scenarios of false information that are parts of the whole post-Palu disaster fake news, and possibly an overview representation of Indonesian fake news ecology.

For the analyses of each case, the first section briefly describes its Google Trend volume search result in congruence with both offline and online events (e.g. news reports). Next, the

activities of 1) *Kompas.com* (2) *Medcom.id* and (3) *Tempo.co* media were observed. Observation included news content on post-Palu disaster fake news published on their websites and social media (i.e. source, format, etc.), publication time, and so forth. Following the observation of news media, the practices of third-party fact-checking organization were observed too, in the aspects of fact-check content, publication time, and social media usage. Lastly, observation of public's responses was conducted, which include responses toward news and third-party fact-check media.

4.1.1 Disaster Threat False Information: The Aftershock

In the aftermath of Palu disasters, there was false information on potential threats of disaster or destruction that went viral, causing people to panic, including victims of Palu disaster. To cluster these types of fake news, the label disaster-threat false information was utilized. Disinformation regarding an aftershock was selected as the information gave the impression it had been confirmed, it was bound to happen, and the potential risk of a second wave of tsunami. This case is highly ambiguous as aftershocks are bound and common to happen after a big earthquake. There have been more than 300 aftershocks post-Palu earthquake, where only 12 were felt by local people (Farisa, 2018). This particular message has been claimed as fake news because nobody, nor any tools can exactly predict when an earthquake will strike.

This fake news is originally a chain message from WhatsApp. The creator of this false information claimed that Palu was about to be struck with another potentially more destructive earthquake and tsunami. The author even mentioned that a friend who worked for the government's Meteorological, Climatological, and Geophysical Agency (BMKG) had checked the device they placed on the ocean. This false information quickly became viral on social media, and up till now, the author of this message has yet to be identified. In response, the first verification

statement came from the spokesperson of the Indonesian National Board of Disaster Management (BNPB) via his Twitter account on October 1, 2018.

The information flow for this fake news case started from a chain message on WhatsApp, it was then circulated to the public via WhatsApp and social media. By October 1, 2018, the clarification tweet by spokesperson of Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management (BNPB) had garnered more than 1,000 shares on Twitter; moreover, a press release and an Instagram post was published via official account of Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management (BNPB) to debunk this fake news.

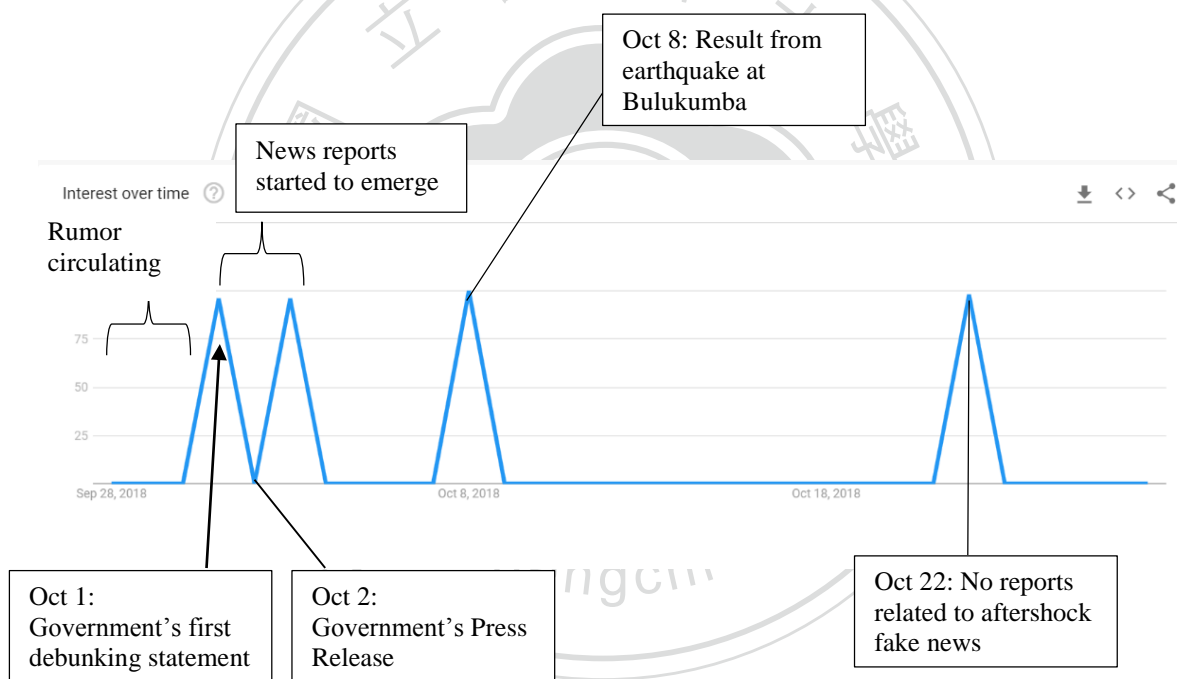


Figure 5. Information Volume of the Aftershock Case (Google Trend, 2019)

Figure 5 is the information volume generated from Google Trend through inputting the most relevant keyword, *Hoax Gempa Susulan* (aftershock hoax). The first peak happened on October 1, 2018, which is in line with the first debunk statement from the government about the aftershock. The second peak occurred on October 3, 2018, two days after the initial debunking statement and one day after the Press Release from the government. Within this period, many news reports were published to report on the fact that the widely circulated aftershock information is untrue. Aside from these two peaks, the other two peaks that occurred on October 8 and 22, 2018. On October 7, 2018, another earthquake struck Bulukumba, a regency in south Sulawesi and viral videos and pictures circulated online that might be one of the reasons for the peak on October 8. However, the videos and pictures turned out to be videos and pictures taken during Palu disaster and no victims nor destructions occurred in Bulukumba itself. Lastly, the peak on October 22, 2018 had no relevant connection with the fake news. Web observation showed that one of the reasons for these peaks could be news and information about real aftershocks. Aside from this case, there is no other potentially false information about aftershock observed.

Information patterns, on the other hand, shows that the initial clarification provided by the head and spokesperson of Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management (BNPB) became the benchmark for a lot of news media. After the government addressed this issue, news media began to report about this fake news with time gaps ranging from several hours to a day (October 2, 2018). A common practice conducted by news media was the use of official statement and in this case, the Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management (BNPB) or Indonesian Meteorological, Climatological and Geophysical Agency (BMKG) became their primary sources. Sourcing formats include taking screenshots or citing quotes from the original source.

Kompas.com issued several news about the aftershock fake news; aside from sourcing information from government officials, this news organization also provided brief reminders for the public to be more cautious on information received from online platforms, and to double check their information. Timeline wise, although the media was quick in debunking this fake news, it was still a step behind the government. Only after the government released its confirmation, this media published its first content in debunking this fake news. Social media platforms were also utilized to debunk this fake news. However, instead of providing in-depth information similar to its website, social media content tended to be brief and clustered with other fake news cases.

Similarly, *Medcom.id*, the news organization also posted their news content after statement from the government. When observed, this news media packed several fake news' clarifications into one article. Instead of devoting an article to clarify this fake news, the media opted to cluster several fake news cases into a single post, and mostly provided brief clarification about it. The content format of providing brief description of the case, the clarification followed by screenshot(s). In the context of aftershock fake news, this news organization briefly stated what the rumor was about and followed by a sentence sourced from an official that an earthquake cannot be precisely predicted. Lastly, *Tempo.co* showed a similarity with *Kompas.com*, as they released several articles to clarify aftershock fake news. Most articles observed were released after the government and utilized social media platforms to broadcast the content.

Table 7 summarizes web-observations on the three types of news media. They heavily sourced their information from the two government organizations responsible for the Palu disaster. Another similarity between these three news media was how they gave significance in reporting to this fake news. There were around 2-3 news articles published in relation to this fake news, but not all published articles were dedicated solely to this fake news. For example, *Kompas.com*

published articles solely related to the aftershock fake news such as an article with the title “Information on Palu Aftershock of 8.1 Magnitude Earthquake and Tsunami is Hoax”. On the other hand, *Kompas.com* published articles with repetitive information on aftershock fake news along with other fake news, an example would be an article with the title “These are the 8 Hoaxes Related to Central Sulawesi’s Earthquake and Tsunami, Don’t Spread it.”

Articles that solely focused on aftershock fake news had more comprehensive explanation about the issue, including explanations on aftershocks and why experts would label this information as fake news. *Medcom.id* also included a video in one of its article that interviewed a source from Meteorological, Climatological and Geophysical Agency, aside from interviewing the person about this issue, *Medcom.id* also took the chance to ask the source on current condition in Palu, thus providing additional updates to the viewers.

Table 7. News Media and Aftershock Fake News

News media type	Media Company	No. of articles published	Source/s cited	Other observations
Traditional affiliated online news media	Kompas.com	3	1. Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management 2. Meteorological, Climatological and Geophysical Agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Included additional information about aftershocks.
Independent but affiliated to traditional media	Medcom.id	2	1. Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management 2. Meteorological, Climatological and Geophysical Agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A video was included of an interview with a source from the government.

Independent media	Tempo	3	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management 2. Meteorological, Climatological and Geophysical Agency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The media included screenshots of the tweet that debunked aftershock fake news
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Another interesting point from this web-observation is the lack of clarification provided by the third-party fact-checking organization, Mafindo. No content related to aftershock fake news was observed; only the three media were observed to have clarified this fake news.

Lastly, in terms of the public's responses, some were angered with how many irresponsible people spread disinformation in the midst of a disaster, whereas other asked for clarification on certain information they received online. Even though this question received no reply from the official sources, other social media users assisted in providing answers. Moreover, other users also expressed their frustration toward this fake news, for example, a user stated "Just arrest the person (perpetrator) and throw the person into forest in Papua". Similarly, some people also warned others to be more mindful of the information received online, such as a user who stated "Be mindful and attentive of the information you get, see if they are from responsible or irresponsible sources. Come on! Don't be easily persuaded by hoax."

In this case, information flows were heavier at the beginning, specifically in the first few days after the disaster struck. Once it has been debunked by official sources, the public was able to accept the explanation, some people were disappointed with people who create fake news amid the disaster, while other people reminded fellow social media users to be mindful and some asked for clarification regarding information received. Overall, there is little to no message resistance or harsh resistance from the public.

News media mainly emphasized on debunking this fake news, by labeling that it is a “hoax” and there was no need to mind this information, followed by an explanation cited from government institutions on why this particular information is false. Aside from debunking this particular fake news, there is no other apparent issue/s brought up by news media, regardless of them being traditionally affiliated or independent news media.

4.1.2 Political Infused Disaster False Information: FPI (Islamic Defenders Front) Evacuation Aid

Another type of false information that occurred was information about the disaster, but contained political elements and used to push certain agenda or frame certain group/institution. The selected case was about FPI (Islamic Defenders Front) an Islamic group, established since 1998 and have been involved in Indonesian political landscape (Indra, 2016). FPI was one of the first groups to arrive on the scene of disaster and provided aids. The problem with fake new began with a statement from the government followed by narrative arguments between FPI and the government (MCI) that sparked heated discussions on social media. Moreover, it caused distorted meaning on the original statement by the government.

On October 2, 2018, the Ministry of Communication and Information released a press release debunking 8 fake news related to Palu disaster. One of the fake news included in the press release was FPI’s evacuation aids, labeled as “hoax” by the official institution as the photo was not taken in Palu, but during another disaster that took place before Palu’s disaster.

Observation showed that this case quickly became viral and sparked heated discussions on social media. A polarized argument was observed, where one side would vocalize their support for FPI while the other side mostly felt neutral about this case by prompting people to stop arguing. Figure 6 is a graph from Google Trend with the most relevant keyword search “*FPI di Palu*”(FPI

at Palu). Discussion about FPI at Palu began by September 29, 2018, a day after the disaster and this is in lieu with the information that FPI is one of the first to arrive on disaster scene. By October 2, 2018, discussions about FPI experienced a huge spike and this is also the same day when the government released statements about various post-Palu disaster fake news, FPI released their own statement, and fake news narrative emerged. The discussions about FPI had steady decline until October 5, 2018, and this is also in line with the events that information about the FPI's photo at Palu started to dissolve too. Observation also showed that online discussions started to slow down with most discussions about this case occurred in the period of October 2 to 5, 2018. Other minor peaks on the graph yielded no relevant connection with this case as no news or events related to this case took place.

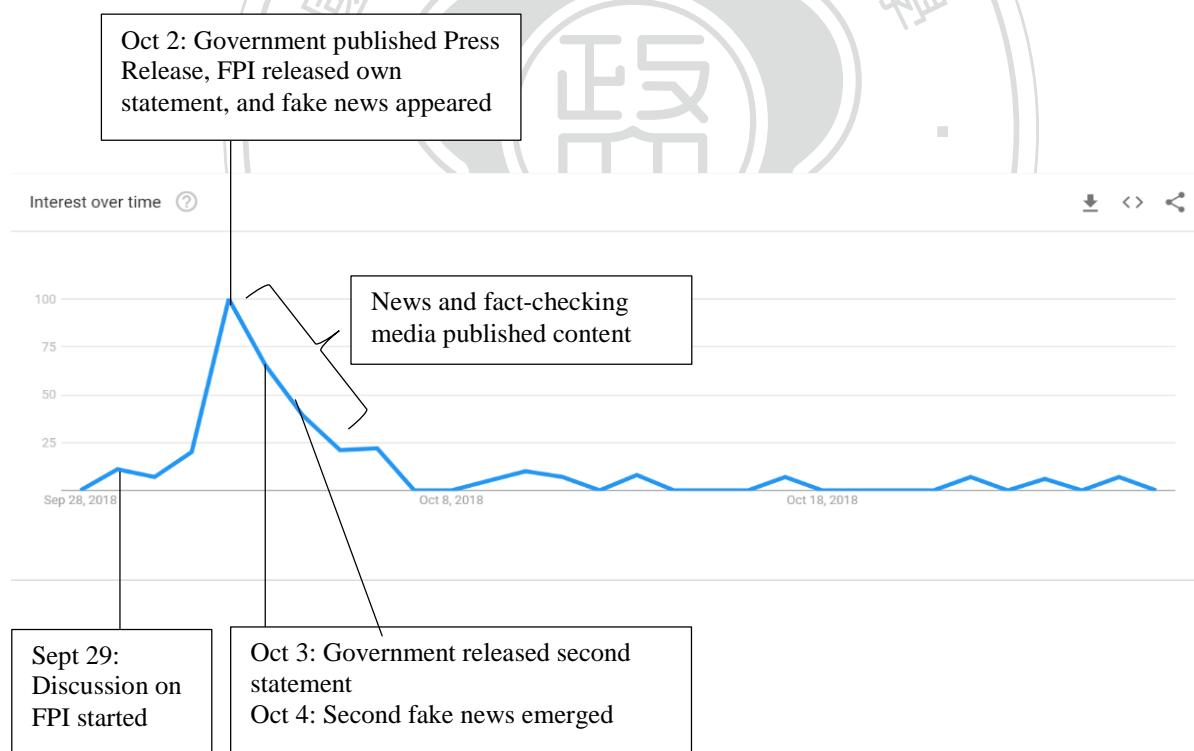


Figure 6. Information Flow for FPI case (Google Trend, 2019)

FPI also rejected the accusation from Ministry of Communication and Information, that evacuation aids provided by FPI was a hoax. FPI themselves via their Twitter account also released their statement explaining that none of their accounts disseminated hoax and all of the photos and videos shared were taken at the scene of location. Some social media users started to disseminate a post to defend FPI with the first two lines refer to “*COPAS*” or “Copy Paste” and “*VIRALKAN*” or “make it viral”. Following the first two line, the post also stated “Ministry of Communication and Information spread hoax on FPI’s photo while providing aids for Palu earthquake. Kyai Slamet Maarif had shown the evidences, the Ministry of Communication and Information is now silent!”.

This post had been shared for more than 3,000 times and has been deleted since then. Another point of observation for this post shows that the author included phrases such as “*rezim Jokowi*” (Jokowi’s regime) and “*non - Muslim/ Kafir*”. A picture of picture of the spokesperson for Ministry of Communication and Information was also included along with the caption “A Christian, who spread the hoax that FPI’s photos in aiding victims of Palu earthquake is hoax.” Information such as mobile number, email and social media accounts were included in the photo too.

This viral post became the start of spreading disinformation about the government’s claim. The government’s concern is about the photo while the post argued that the government accused FPI’s aid as a hoax. Compared to the two previous cases, this case is more complicated as the post included politics and religion elements in their narrative text, and the narrative itself could mislead readers into thinking that the government labelled FPI’s aid as a hoax.

A day after the initial Press Release, the government released the second statement to clarify their statement about FPI. On October 3, 2018, the Ministry of Communication and Information published another press release to clarify two main misleading statements. First, the

spokesperson of the Ministry never mentioned that FPI's evacuation aids for Palu victims is a hoax and second, the Ministry of Communication and Information never stated that FPI's aids in Palu is a hoax. Through the second press release, the Ministry also reminded the public to avoid sharing ambiguous or questionable information.

Despite that, this didn't neutralize public's opinions, by October 4, 2018, another viral post emerged with the first line of their post translated as "At last they (Ministry of Communication and Information) admitted that their fault. At first they didn't want to admit, stating that it is a hoax. But it turns out to be false. *smiley inserted* And now they admitted (their mistake) *smiley inserted." The post also inserted an article link, however the link couldn't be accessed. At the time of web-observation, this post has generated more than 1,000 shares and 114 comments, with most comments supporting FPI.

Regarding this statement, there was no refutes from the government, but the Ministry of Communication and Information reposted some news articles on their website, once again, emphasizing on the notion that the government never stated that FPI's activity is a hoax but instead, the photo used. In this case, news media played active roles in debunking these false accusations toward the government. Since the first press release by the government, news media released had released articles about this issue on their websites and social media platforms. *Kompas.com* only posted an article related to FPI case but there was no other updates or clarifications related to this case.

Likewise, *Medcom.id* also posted similar content, clarifying what was meant by the Ministry of Communication and Information. However, instead of packing this case into an article, this news organization clarified this issue along with other fake news in a single post, a similar act conducted for the first fake news (aftershock). Results indicated that the clarification was brief,

the news media only stated that a photo of FPI's volunteer was claimed to be taken at Palu but in fact, was taken at another location. Further explanation or information was not found during observation.

Meanwhile, *Tempo.co* took a different approach compared to the other two news media, *Tempo.co* published mixed articles with some article written to address statement from Ministry of Communication and Information. Simultaneously, other articles were published to address argument or statement from FPI. In addition, *Tempo.co* also included FPI as one of their sources by quoting what their spokesperson told the news media and why FPI refuted the government's statement. Some of these news media also utilized social media to post their content and unlike the two previous cases, social media users were more vocal in expressing their opinions. Some of the comments that included provoking elements such as politics and religion, moreover, they also posted about how the current regime is in panic and had to resort to accusing FPI.

To summarize the approaches of these three news media organizations, Table 8 presented a summary of these organizations. The table include information about some of the major similarities and differences between these news media, and what kind of content they produced.

Table 8. News Media and FPI Case

News media type	Media Company	No.of published article	Source(s) cited	Other observations
Traditional affiliated online news media	Kompas.com	1	1. Ministry of Communication and Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only included a screenshot and a sentence to clarify.
Independent but affiliated to traditional media	Medcom.id	3	1. Ministry of Communication and Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Included quotes from experts and more comprehensive article.

Independent media	Tempo	7	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ministry of Communication and Information 2. FPI 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Published articles to show arguments from both sides.
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Regarding *Mafindo*, as a third-party fact-checking organization, they did take upon this case and posted their fact-checked results twice. The first content was posted on October 3, 2018, and the second on October 6, 2018. The first post clarified that the Ministry of Communication and Information pointed out the photo as false. Meanwhile, the second post was published to clarify that the Ministry of Communication and Information never stated that FPI's evacuation aid was false or "hoax". Similar to the two previous cases, *Mafindo* received their information from the government and news media followed by detailed explanations. Furthermore, they also classified this case not as a hoax but as information with false context, meaning that the photo is true but posted in the wrong context.

In response towards news media content, the public had mixed reactions too, supporters of FPI reacted strongly by reposting content that were in congruence with their belief. Supporters of FPI reposted and commented their support for FPI, for example, several FPI supporters posted "Well... this is what happens when the regime is panicking" along with a picture icon with the caption "FPI is the best." For other people, they had more neutral reaction, stating that what the government meant was to point out that the photo was placed at the wrong context.

In essence, this case is about a photo that was used at the wrong context and was clarified by the government. The issue became viral when a post refuting the government contained misleading narrative that gave the impression that the government was trying to frame FPI. Following the government's first statement, both news media and third-party fact-checking published content to inform that FPI's photo is not at the right context. The public was more vocal

in expressing their opinions compared to the first two cases and utilized social media features such as share, tag, and comment buttons to further spread their belief.

4.1.3 Disaster Social Tragedy False information: Baby Adoption

The last type of false information observed was related false information about social tragedies occurred as a result of the disaster. Cases involved in this category include information pertaining to humanity or emotions about the societal damages. A chosen case was a case on baby adoption was selected not only because the information went viral, but also misused a person's name and a refugee center who had nothing to do with this case. Furthermore, there were also concerns about children abuse and potentials for child trafficking.

The occurrence of this fake news took place after October 2, 2018, when the Ministry of Communication and Information published a press release to debunk eight fake news post-Palu disaster. This fake news started to emerge on October 5, 2018 and was circulated on Facebook and WhatsApp. The message claimed that there were more than 100 orphan babies who were ready to be adopted, while including a specific location, and a person's name and contact number.

Figure 7 is a graph from Google Trend that depicts the information volume for this case by searching from the most relevant keyword "*adopsi bayi Palu*" (adopting babies from Palu). Results showed some similarities with occurring events, search volume reached its first and highest peak on October 5, 2018, and this is when information about baby adoption started to emerge and proliferate. For example, a social media user expressed, "I don't know if it's a hoax or the truth, I am just sharing (this information) to help." Observation showed that many users expressed their uncertainty on this information yet some still expressed their willingness to adopt.

By October 6, 2018, search volume for baby adoption started to plummet as news and fact-checking media started to debunk this fake news. Upon further observation, two other minor peaks

on October 14 and 18, 2018 showed no relevant connection with this case. There were no offline or online events that were related to this case. Observation on social media showed that some people were reposting posts to clarify that no adoption is taking place.

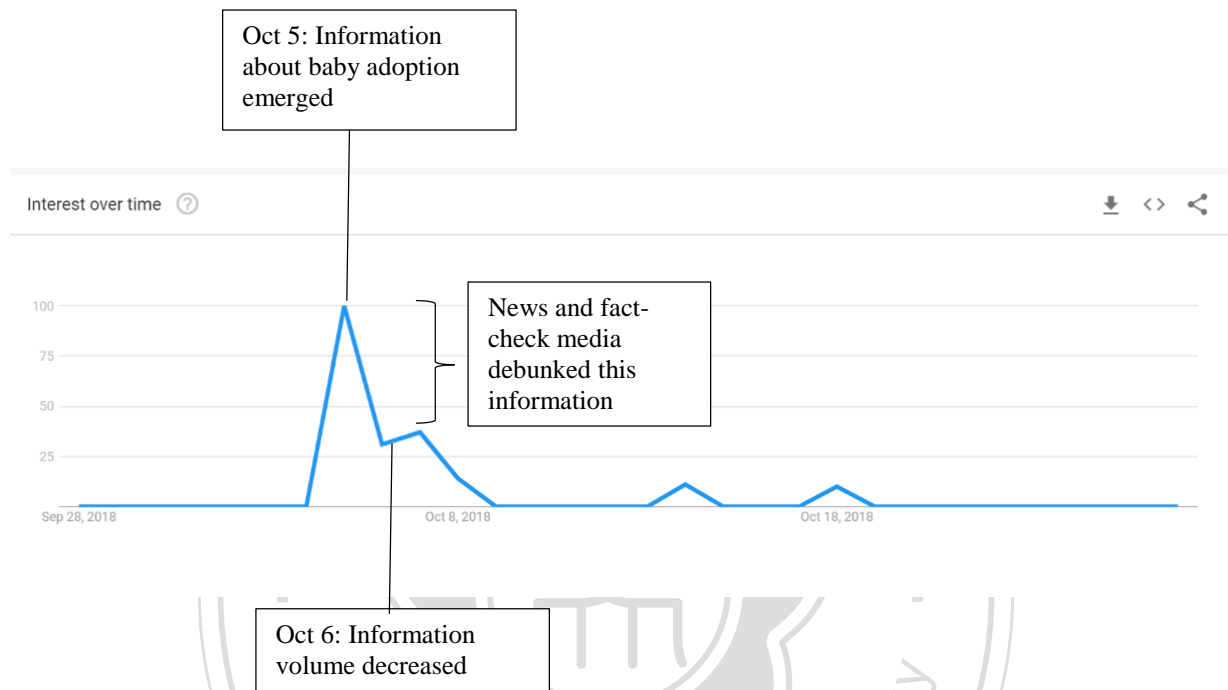


Figure 7. Information Volume for Baby Adoption Case (Google Trend, 2019)

The government does not publish any press release or statement related to this fake news. Compared to the aftershock case, news media started to report about this issue beginning from October 5, 2018, to around October 9, 2018. News media sourced their information from people such as local officials and the Commission for the Protection of Children Indonesia (KPAI) to clarify that the information is misleading as there was no adoption.

Kompas.com provided several articles about this issue and observation shows that each article has slightly different tones. Some articles directly debunk this fake news and provided the

statement from their interview with officials. Other do not directly address the fake news but addressed about children and babies in Palu that were separated from their parents and what the government will do to help them. Interestingly, the news organization *Medcom.id* does not address this issue, observation from their news websites yielded no result on this case.

Tempo.co took a similar approach as *Kompas.com*, in which they debunked this fake news and published several articles about this issue. In addition, they included further information about some reasons why children and babies could be misunderstood as parentless, such as in situations where children couldn't speak or answer the questions properly. *Tempo.co* explained that the process of the adoption is not as simple as posting adoptions on social media. The media further clarified that in case a child becomes an orphan, the first group of people who had the right to adopt them would be their relatives. Table 9 summarizes the publication activities of the three categories of news media. It highlights some of the major similarities and differences between each news media organization.

Table 9. News Media and Baby Adoption

News media type	Media Company	No. of published article	Source/s cited	Other observations
Traditional affiliated online news media	Kompas.com	4	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Local Police 2. Indonesian Child Protection Commission 3. Local hospital 4. Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provided updates and development of the case
Independent but affiliated	Medcom.id	0		

to traditional
media

Independent media	Tempo	3	1. Local police 2. Indonesian Protection Commission	Child	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Included information about adoption and its process.
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Aside from *Medcom.id* that does not publish any article related to the adoption, both *Kompas.com* and *Tempo* provided updates of the case, such as (1) why the information is considered as fake news, (2) current condition of the babies and children, and (3) impact of this fake news in which hundreds of people went to the shelter to adopt these babies and children. News media not only debunked this fake news but also reminded the public to be mindful of this fake news. Compared to the two previous fake news cases, the government doesn't publish any press release or statements about this fake news, this includes related institutions to children's welfare.

Likewise, *Mafindo*, the third-party fact-checking organization, also published about this case. However, the person who published the clarification is a user of *Mafindo*'s Facebook forum who was regulated by *Mafindo*. Using the predetermined format by *Mafindo* (e.g. attach references and screenshots), the user posted information to debunk this fake news. The post was shared 82 times and up to the observation date, received 10 comments; most people criticized producer of this fake news, while another user stated "this (fake news) had been widely circulated on WhatsApp," confirming that this chain message was indeed viral.

Overall, the public expressed sympathy towards the babies and some even expressed their willingness to adopt, and a lot of people even mentioned the preferred age and gender of the child. However, there were some people who reminded that this information could've been a fake news. Furthermore, another interesting observation indicated that people were also involved in clarifying

this fake news. As observed, a person went on to contact the number mentioned on the fake news narrative and the reply received was an expression of frustration from the contact person as her personal number had been abused. The result of their conversation was then posted on social media while warning the viral information (baby adoption) was indeed fake news.

To conclude this case, the disaster social tragedy nature of this case is completely different from the first case regarding disaster threat false information. The public also reacted differently with most being emotionally invested with the idea that there were people who created fake news about children and babies who are victims of a natural disaster. By October 5, 2018, the chain message became viral resulting in many people took actions by posting it on social media, and even expressing their desire to adopt. To address this fake news, news media and third-party fact-checking organization also took actions in providing clarification and updates about the case. Unlike the first case on aftershock, the government does not publish any press release or any content to debunk this fake news but officials were interviewed by news media to speak about this matter.

4.2 Web-Observation Summary

Overall, the first two cases shared a similarity, in which the government played a role in debunking or clarifying information. However, the intensity and involvement differentiate these two cases. In the context of disaster-related false information (aftershock), the government's role was limited to providing factual information as they had the expertise to clarify about risks of disaster. Meanwhile, the second case on political infused false information (FPI), noted a more active role from the government. The government was a part of the false information and they responded to it. Only the third case regarding negative social tragedy (baby adoption) that the government plays no direct role in debunking the fake news. The third case could be considered

as standardized journalism where news professionals covered the adoption issue, conducted their procedures in news writing, and interviewed government as one of their sources.

Information flow for disaster fake news could be summarized into several points. First, fake news, regardless of what type of information was included, tended to be widely disseminated. Secondly, information flow is more complex when politics or religion was involved. This could be further corroborated with the public's polarized belief, and when their belief was "threatened," it would be possible for the public to retaliate by distorting information and disseminating false information. Lastly, the flow of fake news might not necessarily decrease once clarification had been published, and instead, could cause fake news to evolve. Once again, this scenario would most likely occur when politics are involved, where a certain group of people might use information as a weapon to mislead or frame others.

In terms of information patterns, certain patterns of news media practices were found depending on the type of fake news. News media-wise, all three news media exhibited a strong similarity. First, they sourced a lot from the government, both in the forms of waiting for the government's statement before publishing and consulting with the government to strengthen news content. This can be seen from the case of aftershock. Although the fake news had become viral online, the news media were silent until a confirmation from the government, in the form of Twitter tweet and Press release that news media started to publish content.

A distinct difference between these three news media occurred when politics were involved in post-Palu disaster fake news (FPI case). For news media affiliated with media conglomeration, certain ideology or and politics (Kompas.com and Medcom.id), they were more inclined to publish fewer reports about it. On the other hand, independent online media, Tempo.co published more content than the former two and even included content from the interview statement of FPI

representative. In terms of politics, news media with affiliations tended to be more cautious compared to non-affiliated media.

When fake news is unrelated to disaster threats or politics (baby adoption case), the news media exhibited more autonomous news reporting practices. This refers to not having to wait for the government's statement or being cautious in publishing content. However, out of the three news media, only Medcom.id did not publish anything about this case. For the other two news media, news content mostly emphasized that no adoption would be held, supported by statements from officials, and to remind the public to be cautious of fake news.

Lastly, third-party fact-check organization, Mafindo had a more consistent pattern. For all three cases, observation had shown that their content came after both the government's and news media's content. Interestingly, not all cases were debunked by personnel of Mafindo, but also by the public who posted fact-checked content on Mafindo's public forum, who had to follow Mafindo's posting format and regulated by Mafindo. The formats of all fact-checked content were similar and comprehensive. They did not only clarify why the information is false, but also included multiple images as evidence, along with multiple sources. Regardless of what the fake news information contained, Mafindo still posted content about it, although, for political-related fake news, they had to post more than once to keep up with the fake news' development.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 2: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW- NEWS MEDIA

This chapter will elaborate the results from analyzing the in-depth interview data of professionals in three news media. Through a snowball sampling, seven news professionals (J1-J7) who closely worked with post-Palu disaster fake news in three news media were interviewed. Respondents were composed of an editor-in-chief (J6), assistant managing editor (J1), an on-site reporter at Palu (J4), and editors in charge for coverage direction and last gatekeeper before an article was published (J2, J3, J5). A newsroom fact-checker (J7) was also interviewed, J7 had a more special disposition as she used to be a news contributor for *Tempo.co* (independent online media), but began to work as the newsroom fact-checker. Unlike the third-party fact-checkers (chapter 6), J7 was still guided by newsroom policies and might have certain agenda.

Based on the HOI conceptual framework and conceptual codes, the interview results are structured in the HOI four sections (e.g., individual, routine, organizational, and social institution levels). In each section, it starts with general findings and similarities among three organizations at the specific level. Next, when handling post disaster fake news, the practices of three news media are analyzed and their differences are highlighted. 10 codes and 18 subcodes are utilized for thematic analysis for the interview data.

5.1 Individual Level

Personal trait and professional value are the two codes to be analyzed at the individual level, because they examine individual influences on role perception as news professionals and personal views on fake news, when expecting to deliver factual reports amidst a huge volume of information

on a daily basis. Personal trait is defined as individual qualities that influenced news professionals' beliefs or opinions (Albæk et al., 2017), including demographics (e.g. gender, education level, job position) and past experiences in handling fake news. Professional value refers to news professionals' role perception as information providers (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016), including journalistic values or ideals to handle fake news.

5.1.1 Personal trait

The code personal trait mainly focused on demographic qualities and past experiences in news practices. Composed of 2 females (J1 and J7) and 5 males (J2-J6), all respondents had at least 3 years of journalistic experience and at least a bachelor's degree. However, only J2 from *Kompas.com* (traditional affiliated online media), J4 of *Medcom.id* (independent but traditional affiliated online media), and J6 of *Tempo.co* (independent online media) that had education background in journalism. Out of all seven respondents, J6 had the most distinct background, he is the editor-in-chief of *Tempo.co*, the only respondent to have master's degree in journalism, and had been in the journalism field for almost 20 years, and his distinct background will be discussed in the upcoming section. Analysis of both demographic and accumulated past experiences in handling fake news would exhibit whether everyone's unique background influenced their news practices.

Demographic Qualities

Analysis of the seven respondents showed that demographic qualities did not pose heavy influence on their news practices in handling fake news. Regardless of the respondents' demographic qualities, there were no particular distinctions on news practices against fake news. All respondents gave answers such as verification and fact-checking, for example, a 26 years old assistant editor of *Kompas.com*, J2 said, "it's similar to what we were taught at journalism school,

I think verification is the key to handle fake news.” Similarly, 35 years old J3, who worked as *Medcom.id*’s news coverage’s coordinator said, “The practices to handle fake news include multiple verifications and ensuring our source is credible.” Analysis showed that each individual might have their own opinion about fake news, but their news practices were heavily influenced by their organization.

The strongest influence on respondents’ news practices derived from both routine and organizational levels (e.g., procedures, editorial policies) and will be discussed in the later section. Heavily guided by their newsroom’s guidelines, respondents’ individual view of news practices might had been routinized and internalized. For example, *Kompas’com*’s J1 and J2 gave similar answers about their news practices, and gave examples of political fake news. 40 years old J1, who was positioned as the assistant managing editor said, “We debunk fake news without siding to any party,” while 26 years old J2, positioned as an assistant editor stated that he would handle fake news without trying to heat up the current situation. Both had a huge age gap and job position, but their take on fake news exhibited similarity, which was to avoid stirring up conflict and will be further examined in the later section.

Despite that, a strong distinction that came from J6, with almost 20 years of experience in journalism, and the only respondent with a master’s degree in journalism. As the editor-in-chief of *Tempo.co* (independent online media), and had started his journalist career at the same company ever since. J6 was the only respondent who stated that in order to handle fake news, a collaboration was needed between newsrooms and platforms. He further elaborated:

The responsibility is not just on journalists, but across newsrooms and platforms too. Platforms need to support fact-checking, such as when content has been flagged, exposures have to be decreased.

The manifestation of this idea was in the form of an alliance between a third-party fact-checking organization (*Mafindo*), 24 online media newsrooms (*Kompas.com*, *Medcom.id*, and *Tempo.co* were included), and other organizations, such as Alliance of Independent Journalists, Internews, and so forth. As one of the initiators and most experienced respondents, J6 showcased a more macro view on practices to address fake news. He understood that in order to address fake news, news practices such as verification or fact-checking might not be enough and innovations might be a solution to address this issue. Further elaborations about this innovative alliance will be discussed at a later chapter (see chapter 6). In conclusion, aside from J6 with a key position at an independent online media organization and an expert in journalism, the demographic qualities of the other six respondents did not yield any distinctions. Unlike J6, other respondents were not the chiefs of a newsroom and decision on news practices had to be consulted with people of a more senior level.

Past Experience

All of these respondents had experience with handling fake news, including post-Palu disaster fake news. J4 from *Medcom.id* (independent but traditional affiliated) had direct involvement to cover news at the post-Palu disaster. Analyses noted that respondents' previous experience did pose influence on their news practices. Through their accumulated experience, respondents were able to point out which element of information was wrong (e.g. text, photo, etc.). When an information became viral on social media, respondents could evaluate what were the suspicious parts of the information, "it could be the lack of source, unclear information context, and so forth," said J7, a newsroom fact-checker for *Tempo.co*. This did not imply that J7 knew information was false at first glance, but her experience could give her direction in checking viral and ambiguous information. Other respondents, such as J3, J4, and J5 agreed that their previous

experience enabled them to know which information they had to look for in order to clarify the information.

Respondents' experience in handling various types of fake news made the occurrence of post-Palu disaster fake news as a natural part of information in the aftermath of a disaster. All respondents stated that it had been a normal occurrence for fake news to emerge following a disaster due to various motives, some known (e.g. monetary, political, etc.) and some unknown. "After the emergence of several disaster-related fake news stories, you start to see the patterns," said J3, the coordinator for *Medcom.id*'s news coverage. These patterns include manipulation of existing disaster photos and tailoring it to fit the false narrative. This did not deter news professionals as they were aware of patterns related to a disaster's fake news, and in the context of post-Palu disaster fake news, respondents acknowledged that they did not have a hard time in debunking the fake news.

Regional editor of *Medcom.id* (independent but traditional affiliated online media), J5, acknowledged that debunking post-Palu disaster fake news was not challenging as most of the fake news were straightforward. Straightforward in this context meant that the fake news were mostly related the event itself and did not involve ambiguous statements from certain people. This was echoed by other respondents, such as J1 of *Kompas.com* (traditional affiliated online media), stating that it was simpler to debunk post-Palu disaster fake news as the facts were easier to be found. The facts could be found through using digital tools to verify photos or videos, or official statements were sourced to address certain ambiguous information (e.g. aftershock). Respondents' knew how to address disaster-related fake news and fact-checking became simpler due the nature of the fake news.

5.1.2 Professional Value

This section examined professional value, the role perception of news professionals as information providers (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016), as well as analyzed their crucial journalistic value needed in this fake news era. As professionals working for media institutions, respondents knew the consequences of misreporting, ranging from misinforming the public to negative criticisms toward them. Given respondents' jobs in dealing with information on a daily basis, it was necessary for news professionals to deliver factual information. All respondents acknowledged that the basis of professional journalism was to be committed in delivering factual information that had gone through layers of verification.

Role Perception

Against the backdrop of rampant fake news on social media in Indonesia, information verification during news making has become an increasing pressing need. This was apparent in the context of post-Palu disaster fake news, in which respondents viewed themselves as news professionals who were responsible to debunk fake news and ensure information credibility and quality. Respondents from *Kompas.com* (ID J1 and J2) and *Medcom.id* (ID J3, J4, and J5) also expressed their position as information providers who avoid creating further confusion and chaos. For example, J3, a 35 years old coverage coordinator at *Medcom.id* (independent but traditional affiliated online media) stated:

Our objective at that time (Palu disaster) was to ensure that all information was correct... especially for disaster, I always tell the reporters to be extra careful when writing the news.

Meanwhile, respondents from *Tempo.co* (independent online news), pinpointed educating the public as another aspect to their role perception. Educating the public was essential as some post-Palu disaster fake news was too misleading to potentially miseducate the public. J7, *Tempo.co*'s fact-checker state:

In the case of Palu fake news, there were fake news which was framed to make it sound like this natural disaster occurred as a punishment from God. Of course this was very misleading, it was not educating and (it) just did not really make sense. It is one of our tasks to educate the public and explained why disaster occurred through scientific reasoning.

Regardless of which newsroom each respondent worked for, the general individual consensus on journalists' role perception was similar. Respondents perceived their role as crucial as they had the access, skills, and responsibility to debunk fake news. Access in this context meant access to information or sources that could not be reached by ordinary people (e.g., government officials, press conference, etc.). While skills refer to the ability and equipment that respondents utilized to debunk fake news (e.g., fact-checking). Lastly, responsibility in this context meant the commitment respondents had as news professionals. Responsibility might be subjective to each respondent, but analysis showed that in general, all seven respondents exhibited commitment in battling fake news. "If not us, who else will do it?" said regional editor of *Medcom.id*, J4. He noted that fake news posed many threats to the society (e.g., dividing the society, distrust towards government and media, provocations, etc.), and if news professionals as information providers were not committed to this issue, fake news would further proliferate and the public would not have their point of reference. The lack of point of reference might stir up further confusion, and alternative media might be further sought for information, as news media could not provide the needed information.

Trust became another important point on respondents' individual role perceptions, they all perceived their role as trusted information source to the public. However, this might not be the case for Indonesians, as trust towards news media experienced a decline. *Tempo.co*'s fact-checker, J7, stated:

At one point, when fake news were everywhere, we (news media) were overwhelmed and did not know how to deal with it... thus, at one point, it could be said that we were extension of fake news too.

When fake news spread like wildfire and took the attention of the country, at first, news professionals themselves were unable to deal with it. This did not imply that the cause of trust loss was solely due to news media's inadequacy in handling fake news during the early years, but might be a strong influence that shifted people's trust. As the aforementioned, all respondents perceived themselves as trustworthy and capable in handling fake news, but at the same time, some respondents (ID J1, J3, J5) complained that their identity as a journalist failed to convince their social networks like friends or relatives. J1, an assistant managing editor at *Kompas.com*, one of the largest and well-known media in Indonesia, complained that her news professional identity was not strong enough to clarify the falsehood of some social media rumors and stated:

Even though they (family and friends) know that I am a journalist, they would still choose to believe information from WhatsApp... yes, even after I told them that it's unconfirmed or false.

Other respondents (ID J3 and J5) shared similar situations that their closed ties did not trust their professional judgment of rampant social media hoax. Although what occurred in their social networks upset the respondents, it did not deter their role perception, and again, perceived their role as capable and trusted professional.

Journalistic Value

Indonesian interviewees' good journalistic qualities and professional value sounded great resemblance with Western journalism that regards journalism as the Fourth Estate to oversee the government and society. When answering their professional principles and practices to battle fake news, respondents highlight independence, impartiality, accuracy and so on. During the event of post-Palu disaster fake news, all respondents gave a unison answer, aside from J6 from *Tempo.co*.

As the editor-in-chief, J6 was not directly involved in the writing or technicalities of post-Palu disaster fake news. Meanwhile, other respondents agreed that they had reflected the journalistic value necessary to debunk fake news, such as being impartial regardless of who was involved in the fake news.

Furthermore, the six respondents debunked post-Palu disaster fake news according to other journalistic value such as catering to the importance of the public. “Some post-Palu disaster fake news had more importance as they could cause massive chaos,” said J5, who worked as *Medcom.id*’s regional editor. By informing, clarifying, or educating the public via Western journalistic style (e.g., objective and neutral), respondents believed that these values were crucial in the battle against fake news. They believed that by presenting the facts without any partiality or subjectivity, these values would reflect that news professionals were trusted and credible, and void of certain agenda.

However, with the current situation of Indonesian journalism, journalists might have a hard time in presenting what they meant as “objective” or “neutral”. The argument for this stemmed from the fact that a lot of local news organizations were affiliated to politics or businesses, implementing exact value of Western journalism in Indonesian news media might not be feasible. The agenda of each news media might have profound impact on the way Indonesian journalists present their news and thus influence their autonomy and objectivity.

Although these values might have been idealized by respondents as good journalism, when handling fake news, Indonesians’ news professionals did not operate the same as the western journalists, which will be further elaborated in the analyses of newsroom practices at both routine and organizational levels in Section 5.2 and 5.3.

5.2 Routine Level

At the routine level, three codes (information gathering, production, and distribution, and fact-checking) were utilized to analyze daily news practices in the three newsrooms (*Kompas.com*, *Medcom.id*, and *Tempo.co*). According to Karlsson (2011), information gathering is defined as the process of gathering raw materials to produce information content, with source credibility, timeliness, and source knowledge as key subcodes. Information production refers to the process of transforming information gathered into news content, including two subcodes (constructing and correcting). Information distribution means news dissemination to audiences via three channels (traditional media, news websites, and social media). Lastly, fact-checking is defined as the act of correcting false claims and providing clarifications (Pingree et al., 2018), which was analyzed with five subcodes (i.e., choosing claims to check, contacting the speaker, tracing false claims, referring experts, and showing results). For each code and subcode, the overall similarity will be discussed first, followed by discussions of unique practices or findings from each news media will be discussed.

5.2.1 Information Gathering

The concept of Information gathering that include three subcodes (source credibility, timeliness, and source knowledge). Adapted from van der Meer et al. (2016), source credibility is defined as sources that can be accounted, while timeliness refers to both sources and news professionals can provide and publish relevant information in a timely manner. Lastly, source knowledge is defined as sources that possess relevant information needed in regards to an issue.

Source credibility

First, in terms of source credibility, all respondents agreed that finding the right information sources and relevant interviewees was important for information gathering, regardless whether the

news was true or fake in nature. As Palu disaster is a natural disaster, the authorities from the government (e.g., Ministry of Communication and Information) were one of the crucial news sources. This was because when disasters occurred, the public tend to seek and trust the official information announced by the government which had access to scientific environmental information and expert analyses needed to verify post-Palu disaster fake news such as the aftershock. J5, a regional division editor of *Medcom.id* (independent but traditional affiliated online media) stated that their news organization relied on disaster-related information from the government and believed the correctness of their information, because the affiliated institutions (e.g. Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management) in handling Palu disaster could be accounted for what they said.

As a result of awaiting statement from the government, news media showed the tendency to wait for the governance's official announcement about disasters to debunk fake news. This was in congruence with web observation results that news media often publish news reports after certain statements were given by the government. Except J6 and J7 from the independent media, other respondents (ID J1-J5) repeatedly mentioned the government as credible sources (in the context of post-Palu disaster fake news). J2, an assistant editor at a traditional affiliated online media, and stated:

The government, they have the access and rights to speak about this matter. Of course if it's a political fake news, we would source our information from other sources.

J2 stated that *Kompas.com* had their own mechanism to fact-check, such as employing digital tools. However, in order to confirm the factuality of post-Palu disaster fake news, the newsroom mostly relied on government sources and conducting layers of verifications to ensure the factuality of information. Interestingly, this was also the similar case with *Medcom.id* (independent but traditional affiliated online media). This news media did send a reporter to the

disaster sites but the government was still a primary credible source. J5, a regional editor at an independent but traditional affiliated, and mentioned that when debunking fake news, the newsroom relied on both the on-site reporter and other sources, such as the government (e.g. Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management). He also added that people at the office would verify and cross-check information to ensure that it would not mislead or misinform people.

This was confirmed by J4 who worked at an independent but traditional affiliated media, the regional editor sent to work as an on-site reporter at Palu for two weeks. He stated that the office (newsroom) and him worked simultaneously in debunking some fake news and did ask him to verify and gather information:

I would look for information here, such as from the local officers of Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management (BNPB), while the office would look for sources here (at Jakarta) or if the sources were located at Jakarta.

This suggests that the newsroom worked in along with its on-site reporter to ensure that they had information from both sides (i.e. on-site and official). However, J4 mostly mentioned the aftershock fake news that the office requested him to verify information, but he was unheard of other fake news (e.g. baby adoption). He focused on reporting about the disaster itself, such as the victims, current situations, and aid reliefs.

Based on the interview data, *Kompas.com* and *Medcom.id*, both media that are affiliated with resourceful traditional media, mostly handled post-Palu disaster fake news from their headquarters at Jakarta. Meanwhile, on-site reporters were mostly tasked to report about the disaster itself and post-Palu disaster fake news was viewed as part of the larger disaster context at Palu. This was understandable to place heavy weight to reporting about the disaster, according to all respondents, what mattered the most for both the newsroom and public was the situations at Palu and victims.

In addition to the needs of always having statements from officials, respondents from the independent online media, *Tempo.co*, revealed their concerns that information from the government might serve some hidden agenda. J7, a 35-year-old fact-checker in that organization emphasized their alertness in using government information, even when debunking fake news, because the media ought to feel skeptical of the government's agenda-setting behind disaster facts. For example, the government tried to cover up the information about supermarket raids in Palu caused by imbalance in distributing resources after the disaster. Despite that, the government officials were viewed as credible sources in terms of Palu disaster for most respondents (ID J1, J2, J3, J4, J5).

Another interesting finding is that the types of fake news affected the way how news professionals gathered information. Based on the results of web observations, news media proactively and timely debunked the fake news about low risk cases without political or religious elements (e.g., baby adoption). In this case, the government officials were approached by news professionals to be interviewed as sources in order to provide clarifications. This was further supported by J1, an assistant managing editor at a traditional affiliated online news media, *who* stated that journalists sought for sources depending on the case's type. Additionally, J3, the coverage coordinator at an independent but traditional affiliated online media mentioned that the context and types of disaster fake news cases determined the process, information seeking and sources to be interviewed.

Thus, based on the analyses, the government as a credible source was a recurring theme across three news media. When Indonesian news professionals were faced with highly ambiguous and risky information in the aftermath of the disasters, they tend to rely on government officials. However, there was still a difference between news media with strong affiliated with their

traditional media and independent news media when it comes to sourcing the government. News media with traditional media affiliations (*Kompas.com* and *Medcom.id*) exhibited a greater degree of “dependency” and “trust” in government’s information as compared to independent news media (*Tempo.co*). J3, a coverage coordinator at *Medcom.id* said, “I always remind the reporters to always back their reports with statements from officials,” and this was also the case for post-Palu disaster fake news. The independent media, *Tempo.co*, acknowledged the need to source information from government officials, but emphasized not to place too much weight due to the possible government’s agenda.

Timeliness

The second subcode for information gathering is timeliness, specifically the notion of maintaining news accuracy and speed. Findings showed that the issue between accuracy and time were still ongoing. All respondents from three news media agreed that accuracy remained the priority when debunking fake news. J1, the assistant managing editor for a traditional affiliated online media) said, “Accuracy was prioritized as we didn’t want to avoid worsening the fake news.” In this case, timeliness was not entirely dismissed, but respondents believed that when encountering fake news, it would be better to be a step slower rather than being careless and creating even more confusion.

In the case of post-Palu fake news, some fake news (e.g. aftershock) was able to be quickly debunked because of the clarifications provided by the government; however, for other fake news, more time was needed due to several reasons, such as lack of official confirmation or lack of supporting evidences (e.g. data report, on-site data, etc.). To address this topic, editor-in-chief of independent online media, J6, stated:

I think there should be a trade-off between time and accuracy, it's hard for people to evaluate or discuss about an issue (fake news) without having a reference or content that points out the facts instead of basing their evaluations on baseless or ambiguous statements.

Similar to the aforementioned section about role perception on how news professionals perceived themselves as trusted and credible information provider, the concept of trust was also reflected in this section. The reason why respondents were adamant in compromising timeliness with accuracy was to avoid misinformation and public's distrust in them. Building and maintaining trust were crucial for news media, which requires verifying information even at the cost of time. This was also an effort to create and maintain trust towards their news organization. At times when both accuracy and timeliness would conflict, this became a dilemma for some respondents (ID J3 and J5).

Sometimes, they mentioned that accuracy was prioritized over timeliness, such as J3 from an independent but traditional online media who mentioned that they had to "be fast but accurate." This was challenging as different challenges might occur when gathering information, such as difficulty in reaching sources, incomplete information, and so forth. In the case of post-Palu disaster fake news, although there were certain deadlines from their newsrooms, news professionals were often not forced to debunk post-Palu disaster fake news when the content has not yet to be published yet, such as the lack of statements from official or verified sources.

Source Knowledge

Lastly, source knowledge was a crucial part in the newsroom. However, in the case of post-Palu disaster fake news, this concept was not as prominent as compared to the two previous codes (i.e. source credibility and timeliness). Respondents considered officials as both credible and knowledgeable, given the context that Palu's case is a natural disaster, looking for the right source(s) was rather straightforward. J2, assistant editor of *Kompas.com* (traditional affiliated

online media) stated that the government was the benchmark for fake news debunking as they had the expertise to speak about certain issues. Furthermore, findings also showed that looking for knowledgeable source was usually simpler in disaster context fake news as compared to politics

Even though this code might not be as prominent as the two previous codes, a statement by J4, regional editor at *Medcom.id* (independent but traditionally affiliated online media) illustrated a new point for this code. He mentioned that certain information (source knowledge) could only be attained when having personal connection with the source. J4 implied that a source could be credible but the information provided might not be a complete one. In order to receive certain information, personal connection could be helpful, and he further stated:

You need to have personal connection with the source, sometimes, you only get certain information when both of us (journalist and source) know each other, so the way we approach them for information is also different.

This was interesting as his fellow respondents (ID J3 and J5) did not mention this at all. According to J4, by acquainting with certain people, these people could provide information that might not be given to other journalists. His usual method to approach knowledgeable source might not be entirely applicable in the context of post-Palu disaster fake news. However, the respondent was still able to get “insider” information by building rapport with various sources. Stationed at Palu for two weeks, J4 mentioned that in order to receive information, he joined the volunteers to provide aids, and along the process, was able to retrieve information regarding the disaster.

This suggests that source knowledge was still relevant for journalists, however this subcode might not be prominent in the case of post-Palu disaster fake news. Furthermore, as most respondents, aside from J4, were working from their headquarters, thus, might influence the lack of need to search source with relevant knowledge. Respondents from all three news organizations working from the headquarters simultaneously relied on government officials and their on-site

reporters for clarifications. However, web observation showed slightly different results, results showed that most content about post-Palu disaster fake news sourced their information on official sources. This might be conducted to exhibit that news media sourced their information from credible institutions, or information from on-site reporters were utilized to reaffirm the clarified content.

5.2.2 Information Processing

For this section, the process of turning raw materials gathered during information gathering session is examined. In order to grasp how news professionals processed information and produced content, the concepts constructing and correcting were studied. Interview results showed that the three news media showed several similar practices when writing fake news-related articles including double checking content, proofreading, and going through several layers of inspections spanning from the writer to editor.

Constructing

Constructing is defined as ascribing newsworthiness to the content by emphasizing certain aspects of the information (Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2017). A similarity among all respondents was the routinized process of double checking content, proofreading, and going through several layers of inspections from the writer to the editor. These routines were applied to all types of news, and became increasingly crucial in the context of debunking fake news.

An overarching theme during analysis was the writing angle, which referred on how an issue was framed, specifically, the manner on how post-Palu disaster fake news was reported. Routines from the three news media were differentiated through this theme. In the case of *Kompas.com* (traditional affiliated online media), interview results showed that handling of post-Palu fake news disaster tend to angle content directions into focusing on verifying the information.

Assistant editor of this organization, J2, stated:

Journalists have been trained to report about the factuality of information, enlightening the public and to make clear what the issue (including fake news) is actually about.

The respondent also mentioned that journalists were directed to not sensationalize issues, especially those related to politics and sensitive issues. This would mean fake news reporting was mostly limited to clarifying the situation. The respondent also added that unlike other news media, *Kompas.com* (traditional affiliated online news media) would not sensationalize the issue by collecting statements from political figures or other figures related to the issue. Likewise, this was suggested by the assistant managing editor, J1, who said, “we emphasized on providing factual statements, there was no reason for us to emphasize on other things.” Thus, in the case of post-Palu disaster fake news, this news media geared news production towards the direction of enlightening public about the real situation.

The second type of media organization, *Medcom.id* (independent but traditional affiliated online media) had their own approach too. Respondents (ID J3 – J5) claimed that when producing content to debunk fake news, they always emphasized on verification and inclusion of official sources. Similar to *Kompas.com*, this newsroom focused on debunking post-Palu disaster fake news and clarified circulating online information. Both the angle and extent of news content were limited to providing verified information and debunking post-Palu disaster fake news.

Compared to *Kompas.com* or *Tempo.co*, the event of post-Palu disaster fake news *Medcom.id* might be less of a priority or importance as compared to the other two media. During interview sessions, respondents (J3, J4, and J5) acknowledged that post-Palu disaster fake news had negative impacts and unnecessary panic, especially to people who were related to the event (e.g. victims, victims’ families). For example, J5, 33 years old, a regional news editor stated that what was most important was to inform the public about the truth. However, the direction they

took to produce news about the fake news had a more general sense of direction, where most news content reported what was the fake news, and what was the truth. These were found during web observation, out of the three observed media, this news media had the least amount of coverage about post-Palu disaster fake news and some of the content were brief, stating what was the fake news followed by its clarification(s). In regards to this, coordinator for news coverage, J3, said, “We did put more emphasis on political issues as they are more significant to the public,” and he further reasoned that officials as civil servants had responsibility towards the public, their actions and decisions could also influence the society. Coverage for a disaster fake news was important, but the allocated coverage portion might be smaller as compared to political news.

Lastly, for *Tempo.co*, respondents stated that regardless of what the fake news was, the newsroom would still report about it. In terms of the writing angle, it was directed towards clarifying the fake news, which was similar to the first two media, *Kompas.com* (traditional affiliated online media) and *Medcom.id* (independent but traditional affiliated online media). Comparably, the extent of reporting went beyond fake news debunking as journalists and fact-checkers tried to educate readers too. J7, 35 years old, the media’s fact-checker stated:

We tried to educate the readers too as the (Palu) fake news contained many misleading information that could give readers the wrong idea. We tried to involve educative information into our content.

For this news media, journalism also includes educating to promote public literacy, a mean to battle against fake news. News media debunked fake news not only so that public received factual information, but in hopes that their content could educate them in the midst of huge (dis)information flood.

In conclusion, there are similarities across these three news media, and most respondents agreed that debunking post-Palu disaster fake news were done to diminish public’s panic. It was

found that news media with strong affiliation with traditional news (*Kompas.com* and *Medcom.id*) media had a more cautious and general routine procedures when producing content about fake news. They tend to produce content for the sake of verifying information. Meanwhile, independent news media (*Tempo.co*) production of content on fake news does not stop in verification, but in educating and providing further information to the public. Overall, as the background of this study is a natural disaster, most respondents agreed that there were no specific changes in their routine practices.

Correcting

In terms of correcting, all respondents from three news media stated that correcting mistakes during news-making have been a part of journalism. In order to decrease the error rates, respondents stated that journalists had to be careful with what they wrote and always recheck their information. Multiple layers of verifications were conducted to minimize errors and having to edit published content. For example, respondent J1, from *Kompas.com* (traditional affiliated online media) mentioned that the newsroom would always avoid making additional changes to published content as it insinuates that the newsroom was careless during their working process. This sentiment was shared by other respondents, errors were viewed as nothing out of the ordinary, but when it occurred, errors were not regarded as misreporting. It was interesting to find out that errors were defined as mistakes such as typos or information sources that unknowingly had and gave the wrong information.

However, it was interesting to find out that in the case of post-Palu disaster fake news, all respondents stated that they could not recall any error in their content. “I don’t think there were any mistakes when we debunked fake news on Palu’s disaster,” said J7, a fact-checker of an independent online media. Likewise, J5, a regional editor of an independent but traditional

affiliated online media also said, “As far as I can remember, there were no problems in our debunking content.” All respondents stated they owed a lot of information from the government, (e.g. Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management) who provided various updates about Palu disaster.

These updates were necessary for respondents due to the sensitive nature of Palu disaster, information, especially regarding the disaster (e.g. aftershock) could mostly be obtained from the government. As post-Palu disaster fake news was related to disasters and many people could be directly influenced by this fake news (i.e. victims), respondents stated that extra precautions (e.g. government’s confirmation) were one of their best bets. Since several post-Palu disaster information was related to disasters, ambiguous and unverified information, and had been widely circulated, the news media tried to ensure content published were factual.

5.2.3 Information Distribution

After information gathering and processing sessions are conducted, the next code examined was information distribution via three channels (traditional media, news websites, and social media as communication channels). Traditional media was not much discussed as the three news media are online media, thus, in terms of information distribution, traditional media had little to no significance. On the other hand, all respondents stated that news websites were the main channels utilized to distribute information, including clarifications for post-Palu disaster fake news.

News Websites

An interesting finding from all respondents was that there was no specific procedure that they had to adhere before posting their content online. As journalists had ensured the credibility of the content and editors, as the last gatekeeper had approved the news (e.g. content, meaning, writing angle and etc.), the only thing left to do was posting it online. Compared to social media,

news websites had a more monotonous dynamic, the news websites served as their main channel but most engagement occurred on social media. This was confirmed by all respondents, they agreed that a lot of Indonesians were first exposed to information on social media, and not from news websites. J1, from *Kompas.com* (traditional affiliated online media) explained that social media as the first exposure of information was a common thing. She further stated that people were mostly active on social media and received information (e.g. forwarded messages) from their networks. As a result, news media had to keep up with this trend, along with building their presence on social media. This was also observed for the case of post-Palu disaster fake news, where all three news media utilized social media to post fake news' clarifications. Furthermore, web observations also showed that content on news websites barely had any engagement (e.g. comments, reaction buttons, etc.) as compared on their social media.

Social Media

As discussed on the section above, social media had become an increasingly prominent part of the newsroom. This was an effort by news media to keep up with public trend of news consumptions. First, when it comes to social media usage, respondents stated that social media has become an indispensable part of their communication channels, according to them, social media can reach wider audience and people tend to be more active on social media. Some respondents stated that social media not only boost fake news debunking content, but provide earned media, through engagement, readers were able to share their content to their network. J1, the assistant managing editor for *Kompas.com* stated that people tend to be more active in social media, thus in order to reach them, the media had to utilize social media.

Secondly, social media was utilized as a measure to battle fake news circulating on social media. J2, an assistant editor of a traditional affiliated online media acknowledged that without

social media, it would be harder to battle fake news. The crowd was on social media platforms, and if news media only relied on their news websites, only a few people would be informed. As observed from the case of post-Palu disaster fake news, most fake news originated from social media and became viral on social media. To address the fake news, social media were employed to boost content and widen the audience reach of each respective news media.

When being questioned about the procedures for social media, all respondents replied that a social media team was established to handle social media platforms. J3, the coordinator for news coverage of an independent but traditional affiliated online media stated:

We have our social media team responsible for social media content... in terms of which content to be published (on social media), usually it's the most relevant... relevant in the sense it could be viral, important (e.g. caused disruptions) or the current hot topic(s).

It was clear from both interview and web observation results that social media were heavily employed to leverage content related to post-Palu disaster fake news. Social media was utilized to keep up with public trends, leverage their news content, and encourage more people to read their news content. Despite that, all respondents also acknowledged that they were not thoroughly familiar with the procedure for social media postings. The three newsrooms had their own social media team in charge and their responsibilities were not at the hands of all respondents.

5.3.4 Fact-Checking

This section analyzes five major codes adapted from Graves et al. (2016), including choosing claims to check, contacting false news creator, tracing false claims, referring to experts, and showing results. All respondents agreed that fact-checking is part of journalists' obligations and increasing attention had been given to this practice. For example, J6, editor – in- chief for independent online media, *Tempo.co* said:

I think fact-checking needs to take its root in Indonesian's information ecology, back then, journalism is all about straight news, investigative news and so forth. But now, fact-checking has become one of the main menu (division) in journalism too, there are more and more people looking for fact-checked content.

When J6 mentioned fact-checking as a main menu in journalism, he was referring to two main ideas. First, news websites had begun to have fact-checking as part of the content, the public could scroll through news websites and find a page dedicated to fact-checking. Thus, similar to other types of news, such as national news, sports news, environmental news and so on, fact-checking is now presented as a form of news. Secondly, J6 refers fact-checking as a “new menu” for the newsroom too. Back then, verification was one of the main tasks of a journalist, they had to verify information before publishing news content. On the other hand, fact-checking was understood by respondents as checking the facts, or information, after the content had been published. For example, fact-checking was conducted after a statement from a public figure was released, “we fact-check if what they said were true and not just bluffs,” said J6. Hence, in the newsroom context, fact-checking only started to emerge in recent years as a mean to combat fake news. It became a news menu for journalists too, as fact-checking were utilized to check content that was published not by the newsroom, but from other parties, and their factuality was examined by Indonesian journalists.

Fact-checking had been gaining important for in the three newsrooms as they understood the effects of fake news towards news media and the public, such as believing in information from unknown sources. In the context of post-Palu disaster fake news, respondents stated that fact-checking were conducted as usual, without any significant changes in their procedures.

Choosing Claims to Check

Choosing claims to check refers to the act of fact-checking suspicious information (Graves et al., 2016). In terms of selecting fake news to debunk, newsworthiness was an overarching theme.

Respondents acknowledged that there was lots of fake news, and not all fake news could be debunked. As newsworthiness was subjective, upon further investigation, three forms of newsworthiness were identified. First, newsworthiness was measured through the virality of news stories, several respondents stated that they decided to debunk the fake news as social media were discussing about particular issues.

Secondly, the editorial teams would at times send news divisions certain issues to be covered. Regional editor from an independent but traditional affiliated online media, J5, mentioned that in the case of post-Palu disaster fake news, the newsroom decided to select fake news that went really viral on social media as many people were misinformed and caused unnecessary worry. Likewise, J2, assistant editor from a traditional affiliated online media also mentioned that when it came to debunking fake news, the editorials did have certain standpoints for certain types of issues. Although this might not be fully reflected in the case of disaster fake news, this would suggest that the editorial's agenda had certain weight in the selection of fake news topics.

Next, the newsworthiness was measured through public importance which was found during interviews with respondents from *Tempo.co*. In this case, a fake news was debunked not necessarily because it was viral, but it contained certain values that the public need to know, and the relevance the truth was for the public. J7, 35 years old, a fact-checker for *Tempo.co* stated:

In the case of Palu disaster, we selected fake news that had public importance, meaning how important those information was for the public. We asked ourselves, was it (the fake news) really necessary for the public?

The approach this newsroom took to select fake news topic was in congruence with the role perception of *Tempo.co*'s news professionals (see chapter 5.1) and their editorial policies (see chapter 5.3). Issues were selected when it posed certain threats towards the society, ranging from provocation to being misled to believe the wrong information (miseducation). Although public

relevance could be subjective across different newsrooms, the general rule of thumb for *Tempo.co* would be if the information would serve for the greater public. Therefore, virality, editorials, and public importance were important concepts under the theme of newsworthiness.

Contacting the Speaker

The second code, contacting the speaker, means questioning claims from the source suspected of providing the wrong information (Graves et al., 2016). All respondents stated that they did not have any contact with them. Newsrooms were obligated to debunk and clarify the fake news, which could be achieved through fact-checking, thus, the lack of need to contact the creators. “I think it’s unnecessary to contact them (fake news creators) as we are only dealing with the facts,” said J1 from a traditional affiliated online media. Likewise, other respondents (ID J2, J3, J4, J5, J6 and J7) also mentioned similar answers, “It does not matter who wrote it, what matters is the facts,” said J4, a regional editor from an independent but traditional affiliated online media.

This was the case for post-Palu disaster fake news, all three newsrooms did not contact fake news creators, and only focused on fact-checking the factuality of certain statements. All seven respondents acknowledged that they would not contact fake news creators as it would not influence their content, they did not have to know who did it and their motives. In the context of this study, several people had been arrested for spreading disinformation and this was under the jurisdiction of the police force. Therefore, when doing fact-checking, they only had to know whether the statement was factual or not, and disregarding what the original creator intended to do. Therefore, for this study, the code contacting fake news creator was not relevant as compared to other codes.

Tracing False Claims

The third subcode, which was tracing false claims, refers to tracking down the false information to its original source (Graves et al., 2016). Similar to the previous subcode, contacting fake news creators, this subcode had little to no relevance in this study. Analyses showed that most of the respondents, it was not really important to trace back the claims and find out its original source. For them, the most important task to do was to fact-check and find out the truth about the claims in question. J1, 40 years old, an assistant managing editor for a traditional affiliated online media, she stated that they only focused on enlightening the situation and it was not really relevant to know who did it. Respondents only had to know what was the false information and where it circulated (e.g. WhatsApp) to provide background when writing their news content. This was observed during web observations, where news content described the fake news narrative and where it circulated.

Some post-Palu disaster fake news did have a clear “origin”, such as the case of FPI. Even with the clear origin and no tracings were needed, this was irrelevant for respondents. J3, 35 years old, a coordinator for news coverage at *Medcom.id* further explained:

It didn't really matter (knowing the original source)... be it a statement from the government or FPI, what really mattered for us was the fact that the photo was placed at the wrong context.

In the case of FPI, all three newsrooms did not have to trace the origin as it was labelled as a “hoax” by the Ministry of Communication and Information due to a photo that was placed at a wrong context. The photo itself was taken by FPI organization and was not edited, but no further investigation was needed as the problem was clear too. Respondents acknowledged that in the context of Palu disaster, they did not have to further investigate the fake news as countering false information was the priority. However, some respondents did mention that certain investigation

would be practiced in certain situations. Assistant editor from a traditional affiliated online media, J2, stated that depending on the case, if it was decided that no further pursuit was needed, then no further investigation was needed. Similarly, respondents from the independent but traditional affiliated online media (ID J3-J5), and independent online media (ID J6 and J7) agreed that every case had to be evaluated to decide whether further investigation would be needed. Decision was made based on several factors, ranging from the case type to editorial decision. Nonetheless, for this study, this code did not have much of an influence for fact-checking practice.

Referring Experts

The next code examined was referring experts, which refers to seeking experts' assistance to verify information (Graves et al., 2016). Findings showed that experts referred to government officials which was similar to findings on information gathering. Government officials were considered as the experts due to their identity that enabled them to provide information that could not be accessed. Despite that fact-checking did not wholly rely on government's information too. Digital tools were also employed to practice fact-checking, J7, 35 years old, a fact-checker for *Tempo.co* further elaborated:

Of course we use other methods too, Different fake news may need different methods, for example, we can use digital tools like Google image or maps to check a photo.

Employing digital tools enabled news professionals to independently fact-check, and developed their own fact-checking mechanism without necessarily having to wait for confirmation from a certain figure or institution. However, not all fake news could be debunked only with digital tools, such as the case of post-Palu disaster fake news. Respondents mentioned that several fake news need certain statement from the government as officials had the expertise in providing information to debunk fake news and corroborate fact-checked content. "Some claims cannot be wholly checked via digital tools," said J2 from a traditional affiliated online media. For example,

in the case of aftershock fake news, it would be challenging for all three newsrooms to fact-check this claim only through digital tools. Digital tools were important but not the only weapon Indonesian news professionals possess to combat fake news. Experts, such as government officials, field experts (e.g. professors, doctors, etc.) were also sought to provide experts' insights. Despite that, since Palu's case is a disaster themed issue, and confirmed data was needed (e.g., the government never said there will be a huge aftershock), the government was mostly sought for expert information too. This was confirmed from results of web observations, in which government officials were the most cited source/expert by news media.

Showing Results

Lastly, the fifth code examined was showing results, indicating the effort to communicate findings through information content produced by news professionals (Graves et al., 2016). All three news media have been verified by the Press Council, meaning that they have been labelled as a credible news media. Moreover, these three news media have been in the industry for a long time and had built their reputations along the way. These two factors helped news media to be known as trusted sources. Trust became a recurring theme, where respondents hoped that the effort their newsroom poured into fact-checking and fake news debunking could build and maintain public's trust.

Trust was relevant as respondents would like to gear the public to consume information from mainstream media, or verified news media. Without trust and showing that fact-checked content are reliable, the public would diminish the importance of fact-checking and continue to consume information from unverified alternative media. J3 the coordinator for *Medcom.id*'s news coverage explained:

I believe that we can't force people to trust which media, they have the right to choose which media to trust. However, we have been making efforts to maintain the reputation and trust we've had for years.

To avoid misreporting, the respondent added that he would always inform the journalists to take extra precautions when fact-checking, especially within the context of disaster. The other two news media's respondents also gave similar answers about building trust via credible news reports and fact-checked content.

As the public were exposed to credible fact-checked content, news professionals hoped that the public would learn to understand that news media had begun to provide fact-check content. This was also one of the future goals of the other two news media (*Kompas.com* and *Tempo.co*), editor-in-chief of *Tempo.co*, J6, said, "Journalism is evolving and it is not only limited to covering events (e.g., politics, international events, etc.)." Journalism begun to embrace fact-checking due to a large amount of fake news, and in certain events, such as Palu disaster, fake news had been proven as capable of causing unnecessary panic among victims or potentially causing harms to innocent people (e.g., baby adoption).

In order to show their fact-checking results and convinced the public to believe in their content, all three newsrooms relied on their reputation. Accumulated reputation from previous years contributed to a set of fixed readers of their content, for example, J4 of *Medcom.id* (independent but traditional affiliated online media) said, "We do have our own set of readers, similar to other media, and our readers chose to consume our content because they trust us." Therefore, fact-checked content were presenting by showing what was the fake news, which portion made it false, what was the truth, and evidences to support fact-checking. Regarding the public's views or preferences, all three newsroom leveraged their fact-checking content via their reputation.

Training

Training was repeatedly mentioned by all respondents when questioned about fact-checking practices. Recent uproars of fake news prompted journalists to revisit fact-checking and strengthen their fact-checking skills. During the event of post-Palu disaster fake news, respondents from all three media categories stated that the employed fact-checking skills gained from training to debunk fake news. For example, when there were pictures of the victims, digital tools enabled news professionals to fact-check whether the pictures were indeed taken in Palu or not. Through training, journalists re-familiarized themselves with fact-checking tools and were exposed to updated methods of fact-checking. J7, 35 years old, a fact-checker for *Tempo.co* stated:

Journalists have been trained as fact-checkers too, by joining trainings, we were able to enhance our skills, such as shortening the time or deciding which tool(s) would be the best for this particular fake news... so yes, it also helped us a lot to debunk post-Palu disaster fake news.

This was also supported by the other two news media, who sent their journalists to be trained in hopes of levelling up their fact-checking skills. By doing so, news media were able to keep up with trends of fake news, such as smoother editing skills in photos or videos. Even though the trainings held were not exclusively conducted to counter post-Palu disaster fake news, training contributed to the ability for news professionals to enhance their fact-checking skills.

5.3 Organizational Level

The organizational level is comprised of two main codes, namely editorial policies and organizational culture were examined. Editorial policies refer to the organizational ideologies that drive how information content are produced and presented (Vergeer, 2018). While organizational culture is defined as the shared beliefs, philosophies, and norm among people working inside a news organization (Idowu, 2017). The key point analyzed for editorial policies involved the

approach editorial team took to address Palu disaster and its fake news. Next, key point analyzed for organizational culture was to analyze which culture became prominent when debunking post-Palu disaster fake news or other fake news in general.

5.3.1 Editorial Policies

First, in terms of editorial policies, results showed that editorial policy plays a crucial role in differentiating the way fake news was being approached. Most respondents answered that their editorial policy prioritizes accuracy and verification. When asked to further explain about their editorial policy to address post-Palu disaster fake news, respondents stated that the editorials did have certain policies tailored to address the event.

All three media categories exhibited minimal editorial policy differences when handling post-Palu disaster fake news. However, upon further investigation, it was found that certain policy changes were implemented on certain aspects of post-Palu disaster fake news. Respondents from *Kompas.com* (traditional affiliated online media) answered that the editorials requested journalists to write articles related to Palu's recovery and focusing on the humanity side instead of the destruction. When questioned about certain post-Palu disaster fake news that occurred, some respondents stated that they tried to minimize coverage related to politics. J1 an assistant managing editor said:

For FPI, I think we kind of decided not to write much about them unless it is necessary or very important. Well... in the case of Palu, it wasn't really necessary to bring up the topic as there were other more relevant issues so yes, we try to minimize content about them.

Issues with political elements in post-Palu disaster context were put at a minimum as an effort to diminish potentials of creating problems within the society. Furthermore, some respondents also stated that there was other fake news of greater importance that could widen the spread of misinformation. This was in congruence with the idea to not over-sensationalize issues,

and to just focus on the facts. Directions from *Kompas.com*'s editorials include covering issues that are inspiring instead of sensationalism, and to avoid covering topics that could trigger heated responses from the society. Thus, considering the fact that there were many post-Palu disaster fake news, unless necessary, respondents mentioned that they tried to not cover issues related to politics or other sensitive elements but focused on the other issues that are related to aftereffects of the disaster.

Similar to *Kompas.com*, *Medcom.id*'s (independent but traditional affiliated online media) respondents also stated that there is no special editorial policy tailored to address post-Palu disaster fake news. When asked to elaborate more about their editorial policy, respondents stated that specific editorial policies are usually agreed upon the higher level editors, therefore they couldn't provide really detailed answers. The general consensus in this news organization was as long as the fake news posed negative impacts (e.g., misleading information, attacking certain groups, and etc.), journalists of *Medcom.id* will debunk the fake news. Analyses further suggests that this might occur due to the editorials who placed more weight for other issues.

Web observation had shown that compared to *Kompas.com* (traditional affiliated online media) and *Tempo.co* (independent online media), *Medcom.id* had the least coverage about post-Palu disaster fake news. Interview session with J3, the coordinator for news coverage also confirmed that more importance might be placed on other issues, stating that more weight was placed on political issues.

Despite that, respondents from *Medcom.id*, (ID J3-J5) still took post-Palu fake news seriously. It was their editorial policies might suggest that what mattered the most was to verify the factuality of the information. Results from web observations showed that most content about post-Palu disaster fake news tended to be brief stating what was the fake news and what was the

fact. Aside from the web observation about content related to post-Palu disaster fake news, additional observation found that several content discussing about what the media group did to help disaster victims were published. There were several content that reported about the aids or help given by the media group (umbrella group) of *Medcom.id*.

This was very distinct as the media used its platforms to promote its group. The agenda behind this was unknown, but noting that this media was affiliated to politics, some interest might be served by publishing this type of content. Overall, respondents did not mention any specific changes or policies tailored to counter this disaster fake news. Web observations showed that various fake news were debunked, but content tended to be brief, stating what was the fake news and what was the fact. Thus, it suggested that the editorial policies might implement a more general policy, similar to other types of reporting, and this event was considered as not needing any special editorial policies.

Unlike the previous two media categories, *Tempo.co*, as an independent online news media had a different approach. Aside from reporting what happened at Palu, when addressing post-Palu disaster fake news, respondents answered that editorial policy was to preserve balance. Content impartiality and accuracy were important but respondents also mentioned the concepts of maintaining coverage balance. This was practiced in order to assert the impartiality of this news media and to present that they did not side with anyone. Hence, this was specifically executed when two sides were involved in a fake news issue. By publishing content that covered both sides, the policy encouraged balance to reflect their position that stands in the middle ground. When asked to further elaborate, J7, 35 years old, the fact-checker answered:

In terms of balance, we tried to maintain it, so when there is a news or fake news about A and debunked by B, we would try to cover from both sides. So we don't just source from B but we try to write from the A's point of view. By doing so, we are trying to show that we are balanced in our coverage.

As some of post-Palu disaster fake news cases had close ties with politics (e.g. FPI case), aside from publishing fact-checked content, they also published several reports that addressed statements from parties involved (i.e. government and FPI). This was in congruence with results derived from web observations, where *Tempo.co* published the most numbers of reports about the FPI case. Furthermore, the news media also addressed statements from both sides, yet still emphasized on the notion that the case was not about the organization, but the photo only.

Therefore, independent news media exhibited a clearer standpoint when dealing with post-Palu disaster fake news, the editorial policy ascribed certain values that guided their news professionals in approaching disaster-centric fake news. Independent news media was more vocal when clarifying fake news, and not deterred when the case involved political parties that could potentially trigger arguments towards them. Simultaneously, news media that have both ties with their traditional counterparts (*Kompas.com* and *Tempo.co*) emphasized on publishing factual information without any other specific policy to guide the direction of post-Palu disaster fake news. They were either more cautious when reporting about fake news with sensitive elements, or adopted a more general policy for this disaster fake news.

5.3.2 Organizational Culture

These editorial policies were further enhanced by the organizational culture of each news media. Editorial policies were tailored to match with the organizational culture, especially when news media have established their presence and image within the society. For online news media with affiliations of traditional media, such as *Kompas.com*, they have been known for peace journalism. According to interview results, peace journalism refers to news content that avoid stirring up conflict within the society (e.g., intergroup, religion, etc.). Previous study about peace journalism in Indonesia defined peace journalism as journalistic product that prevent further

conflict and focused on the possible solutions, and this include not siding to any party involved in an issue (Soerjoatmodjo, 2009). Given the situation in Indonesia where *SARA* (ethnic, religion, race, and intergroup) and politics are sensitive issues in Indonesia, this news organization chose to stand by peace journalism and avoid creating tensions in the society.

As a result, this culture of trying to avoid stirring unnecessary conflict directed journalists to steer away from writing topics that were sensational. J2, 26 years old, an assistant editor mentioned that the news media opted to write something “inspiring” and not jumped on the bandwagon of reporting certain sensitive issues. When questioned about the metrics used to evaluate whether an issue was sensational or which topics to avoid, respondents could not really point an answer as the decision laid on upper editorial team. Furthermore, as part of the culture, this news media also had its own standpoint for certain issue. Nevertheless, this culture was somehow reflected when handling post-Palu disaster fake news, such as opting to not cover too much about FPI by limiting coverage about them.

Next, for *Medcom.id*, the culture was somehow vague as respondents could not really point out the organizational culture. During interview sessions, respondents mentioned that the culture would be being accurate and neutral, but this might not always be reflected with the fact that this news media was not an independent news media. Furthermore, in the context of post-Palu disaster, respondents answered that they focused more on the humanitarian aspect, as explained by J4, 32 years old, a regional news editor who stated that they tried to publish news that increased public’s moral by writing content related to the recovery of Palu.

However, this might not entirely true to reflect organizational culture as a whole. The respondents, such as J5, 33 years old, a regional editor stated that “everyone felt like family”, and this might be the working condition respondents felt, but not necessarily the organizational culture

that influence news production. Two arguments could be presented for the lack of organizational culture in addressing fake news. First, the culture might be too vague to be recognized by personnel of this media organization. This was apparent as all three respondents (ID J3-J5) failed to identify the organization culture, to the degree that some respondents even inquired what does organizational culture stands for. Secondly, there might be other cultures that was practiced but was irrelevant in the context of post-Palu disaster fake news. As aforementioned in the previous section(s), news professionals from *Medcom.id* claimed themselves as objective and neutral journalists, but analyses suggest that this might not be the case for political related issues. Since this news organization was affiliated with politics, it might shape the organizational culture, the coordinator for news coverage, J3, hinted, “I think we are journalists who strived to be independent, impartial, and objective... except for politics, maybe?”. He did not outright said politics were a huge influence in this organization, but his answer insinuated that political matters might be a more sensitive part of the organizational culture, and was not relevant in the case of post-Palu disaster fake news.

Lastly, *Tempo.co* has been well-known for its investigative journalism and respondent J7, the newsroom’s fact-checker, mentioned that the people working for this news media took great pride. The respondent also said that everyone knew what they had to do and they understood what being an independent media meant. As a result, this manifested into a culture where news professionals understood their role was not limited to informing, but to educate too. In addition, news professionals also internalized the culture of an independent media by being impartial and neutral with their news content. Even when post-Palu disaster fake news involved political infused false information, this news media still provided a more comprehensive content as compared to the former two news media. Compared to the other two news media, this news media exhibited a

more liberal standpoint and showed efforts in reflecting the spirit of what independent media is all about.

5.4 Social Institutions Level

In the context of post-Palu disaster fake news, third-party fact-checking organization had little to no influence on news professionals. This is because collaboration with the third-party fact-checking organization hadn't been completely implemented, thus, during debunking post-Palu disaster fake news, newsrooms worked on it by themselves. Therefore, this section will only discuss the influence government has over the three news media.

5.4.1 Government's Influence

In terms of government's regulations, most respondents stated that there were no problematic regulations or policies that hindered them from debunking fake news. Overall, most respondents showed great trust in the information provided by governmental institutions regarding certain viral information. Interestingly, government institutions were relied for information related to scientific data or information highly relevant with the event of disaster itself. However, when it comes to politics, some respondents expressed a more skeptical view especially when corruption is common in Indonesian politics. Given the essence of Palu disaster is non-political, news professionals showed less skepticism towards information from government. Moreover, as the information to debunk post-Palu disaster fake news were related to data, most respondents agreed that government's information would be the best selection.

Although not all fake news were addressed by the government, the selection of which fake news to be addressed could be understood as serving certain agenda. This does not refer to what information the government gave, but why the government chose to debunk certain fake news. Some respondents noted that the information from the government might've served certain agenda.

The awareness of government's agenda even in post-Palu disaster was something that differentiates respondents from independent news media with other media categories.

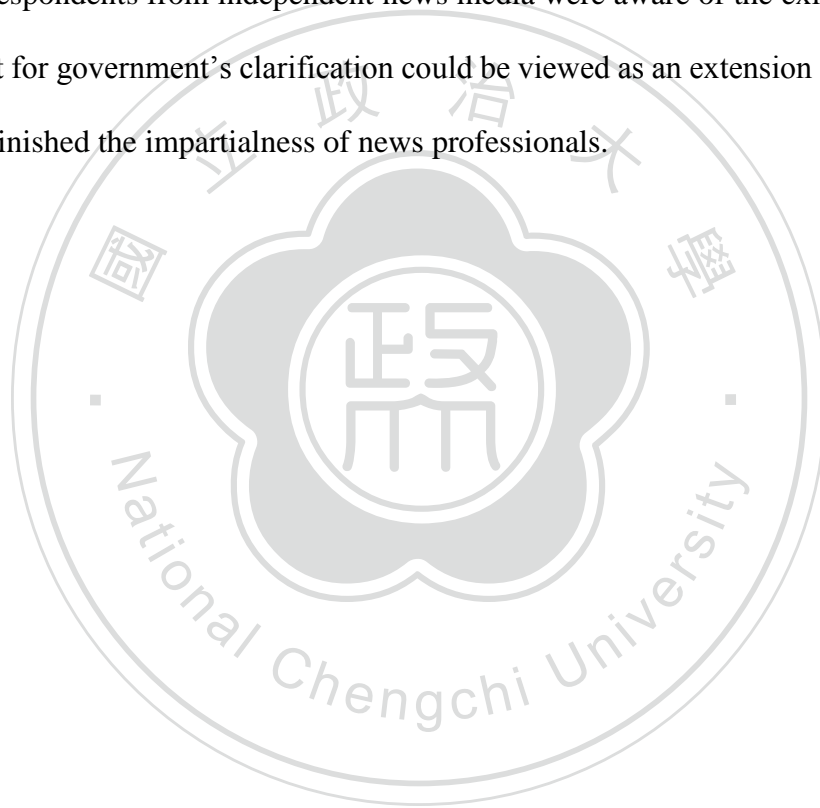
Most respondents with traditional news media affiliations (i.e. *Kompas.com* and *Medcom.id*), agreed that given the case was a natural disaster, the government had an important role in providing information, especially information that was difficult to attain such as information readings from earthquake detector tool. When questioned about the weight placed on official statement, most respondents answered that they waited for the government's statement even with the knowledge that the disinformation had been widely circulated.

Most respondents straightforwardly answered the government as a credible source and lacking skepticism in their tone. Only respondents from independent online media exhibited skepticism towards the government, indicating that the government could've had certain agenda too in the context of post-Palu disaster fake news. To reflect this spirit of skepticism, some respondents stated that they didn't wholly rely on government for clarifications but went to look for information themselves too via conventional (e.g. interviews) and digital tools. J6, editor-in-chief for *Tempo.co* stated:

When it comes to fact-checking and debunking fake news, I think it would be better if journalist are the only ones responsible because the government is also a fake news target, and I don't think it's really ideal for a "player" who wants to be a "referee" too.

The idea that the government had certain agenda made some respondents think that the role of government in Indonesia's fake news ecology needs to be reconsidered. It has to re-considerate the government's dual roles in the fact-check ecology, because it is Indonesia's (disaster) fake news's official debunking fake news narratives and is one of the fake news' targets. Even though the idea of government acting as fact-checkers were not much mentioned in the context of post-Palu disaster fake news, several respondents still agreed that it would be the best to have fake news

being handled by news media. They stated that the government might serve their own agenda and fake news are clarified for their benefits. Furthermore, some respondents also stated that fake news or hoax, as commonly referred in Indonesia is a broad term, and professionals are needed to clarify and classify false information into several categories (e.g. disinformation, misleading, wrong context, etc.) along with its justifications. According to some respondents, the government still lacked the capability to discern the different types of fake news and the approaches to address it. In conclusion, respondents from independent news media were aware of the existence of agenda. To rely and wait for government's clarification could be viewed as an extension of serving certain agenda and diminished the impartialness of news professionals.



CHAPTER 6

STUDY 2: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

(THIRD-PARTY & COLLABORATIVE FACT-CHECKING)

This chapter will analyze the interview findings in two sections from interview with third-party and collaborative fact-checkers. First, the interviews with three third-party fact-checkers (F1-F3), professionals from *Mafindo*, the only third-party fact-check organization in Indonesia, will exhibit the fact-checking practices employed to address post-Palu disaster fake news. Next, interviews with highly involved seven professionals (J6, J7, F1-F5) in the collaborative fact-checking *CekFakta* project which composes innovative fact-checking alliance between *Mafindo* (third-party fact-check), 24 online news media, and several partners (e.g., Google News, Internews, First Draft, etc.). Interview results will show Indonesia's current fact-checking situation, and efforts newsroom took to address fake news as a whole.

Compared with the first two interviews analysis (news and third-party fact-check and professionals), respondents from *CekFakta* were a combination of news and fact-check professionals, as this initiative is a collaborative project between news organizations and *Mafindo* fact-checkers. Each section discusses the recurring themes about fact-check of disaster fake news at HOI's four conceptual levels (individual, routine, organizational, and social institution), which starts with similarities with news media, followed by the distinct practices. Lastly, the layout of code structure for this chapter's analyses will be different compared to chapter 5's, structure had been tailored to fit in with fact-checking context, a different practice compared to newswriting.

6.1 Third-Party Fact-Checkers

6.1.1 Individual Level

At the individual level, personal traits and professional values are the two codes to be analyzed. Similar to the analysis in chapter 5, personal trait refers to the individual qualities that fact-check professionals carry with them that influenced their beliefs or opinions (Albæk et al., 2017). Analysis of personal traits includes demographic qualities (e.g. gender, education level, job position), along with their accumulated experience in handling fake news. Next, professional value is defined as the role perception of respondents as information providers (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016). For this second code, key points analyzed include respondents' perceptions of their role as fact-checkers, and fact-checking ideals needed to address fake news.

6.1.1.1 Personal Traits

6.1.1 Individual Level

Out of the three respondents (F1-F3), F1 had the most distinct background as compared to F2 and F3. In terms of position, F1 was the director of the fact-checking committee, but he did not have any journalistic background (i.e. education and working experience) as compared to F2 and F3. This situation was unique because unlike news media who assigned job positions based on previous experience or education, Mafindo might not position their personnel based on these qualities. According to all respondents, Mafindo was built based on four different anti-hoax Facebook groups and became into one organization. F1 used to be one of the co-founders of Mafindo and became the director for the fact-checking committee of eight fact-checkers.

Demographic Qualities

Similar to the analysis from news professionals, these demographic qualities did not infer or distinguish how each respondent viewed fake news. Regardless of age, job-position, and

education background, all three fact-checkers shared similar fact-checking views and practices. Positioned as the director of fact-checking committee, 40 years old F1 said, "Third-party fact-checkers are needed as we are truly independent, void of agenda, unlike news media," while fact-checking member, F2, 29 years old also stated, "We only focus on fact-checking, nothing else, we only check the factuality of a statement." All three respondents acknowledged that their fact-checking practice was more objective and impartial compared to news media generated content.

Furthermore, some of the respondents (F2 and F3) used to work in journalism before being a fact-checker. They agreed that their previous experience in journalism assisted them in certain aspects of fact-checking, such as content writing and also understanding of Indonesia's information ecology. However, these journalistic experiences did not really influence them on a personal level as their personal views about fake news did not really change. For example, F2 viewed his past experience as an alternative media business news journalist who did not really alter his views about fake news. This could be due to the phenomenon of fake news that did not become big until in recent years and thus, journalists back then might not face the same fake news challenges as journalists do these days. Since fact-checking is a relatively new field, the way fact-checkers viewed their profession was different as compared to news professionals, especially in terms of handling distorted information.

Professional Value

All respondents agreed that fact-checking is relatively new in Indonesia and not many people were exposed to this profession. F1 acknowledged this fact, and further stated that people closest to him had an unclear idea his job of a fact-checker. Due to the lack of exposure and understanding about fact-checking, respondents stated that *Mafindo* made an effort to educate people about fact-checking. Even though this fact-check organization was not as well-known as

news media, respondents differentiated themselves from journalists. They claimed that unlike journalists, they are not constrained by newsroom agenda or other policies in their workplace. In fact, respondents noted that they fill in the gaps left by journalists, such as fact-checking certain issues that might not be picked up by news media or examining the factuality of controversial-prone information.

Role Perception

All three respondents exhibited great pride in their job, and acknowledged that news professionals had larger resources than they had, but they believed that the importance of fact-checkers in this information era could not be denied. F2 further elaborated:

Compared to news media, we are neutral, we don't have certain political agenda or other editorial agendas like them (news media), we refrain from it.

Respondents agreed that what set them apart from news media was their neutrality without hidden agenda, which was regarded as important when handling fake news. Although the event of post-Palu disaster fake news was not a political one, certain agenda might still be present, and maintaining this consistency of being agenda-less was the essence of a fact-checker. F3 added that agenda became apparent when politics were involved and he emphasized that political fake news was the most rampant in Indonesia. As a result, the ability to be neutral and impartial were considered as important professional value of fact-check in the eyes of the respondents.

Furthermore, respondents viewed themselves as an assistance to journalists and as a reference point to the public. Respondents stated that journalists were not only working with false information, and even verified information could be distorted to serve certain agenda. As a result, fact-checker could assist journalistic work, specifically when verified information might be compromised due to organizational influences. F1 further elaborated:

I would feel bad if everything was to be handled by journalists, not only they had too much on their plate, but when newsrooms are infused with agenda, I don't think it's entirely ideal fact-checking to take place.

As aforementioned in the previous section, respondents emphasized that they were different from news professionals constrained by newsroom policies and agenda. By doing so, respondents viewed themselves as responsible professionals who could be a reference point to the public. This meant that third-party fact-checkers could be trusted for their content, both by journalists and the public. This was supported by examples given by all three respondents. For example, F3 claimed that news organizations would at times cite their content as part of their fake news debunking process. However, in the context of post-Palu disaster fake news, this did not happen, and web observation confirmed it. Therefore, third-party fact-checkers had professional value considered as essential, starting from their neutrality and impartiality to being a trusted aid and information source.

6.1.2 Routine Level

At a routine level, procedures on fact-checking fake news will be discussed. Adapted from Pingree et al., (2018) and Karlsson (2011) studies, three codes were used to analyze the routine level, namely information gathering, information processing and fact-checking, and information distribution.

6.1.2.1 Information Gathering

This section examined five concepts that represented the code of information gathering, namely choosing claims to check, referring experts, source credibility, timeliness, and source knowledge. As a background about the current situation of *Mafindo*, during the time of interviews, they did not have adequate resources to conduct first-hand on-site information gathering (e.g. interview). When the organization was first established, resources originated from the co-founders,

including F1, and by selling merchandises of *Mafindo*, such as t-shirts or pins. Currently, funding came from various non-governmental stakeholders, however, respondents were unable to divulge the funders stating that it was only for the audit purpose. “The financial report is not open for public as it has been abused several times and used for doxxing,” said F1, and he refused to tell the researcher details about the funding. Although the organization had volunteers stationed at several cities in Indonesia, but they did not have any available volunteers in Palu. As a result, similar to other cases, they had to rely on secondary sources, such as news media.

Choosing Claims to Check

Firstly, choosing claims to check is defined as the act of fact-checking suspicious information (Graves et al., 2016). Before beginning their fact-checking procedures, fact-check professionals had to first identify information considered as fake news. In order to identify fake news, respondents began from manually checking social media, and public inquiries from their email. Next, they would select which issues to be debunked for the day and began their fact-checking activities. “We do not conclude an information as a fake news until we are done with our fact-checking process,” said F2, and elaborated that at this stage, respondents had not labelled whether the issue was a fake news or not, but selected to work on the particular issues based on several considerations. Topics were selected based on what was viral, and when the fake news was related to an important event, such as in the in case of post-Palu disaster. In the event of post-Palu disaster fake news, all three respondents answered that they selected issues to be debunked based on the virality and impacts of the fake news (e.g. massive panic among victims).

A stark difference was found during the analysis, and it was the fact that *Mafindo* received public inquiries. Selections of fake news issues were not always based on what was currently trending, but what concerned the public. F2 stated:

We received a lot of inquiries from the public too... same goes for the case of Palu fake news. When we received these messages, we would discuss it with the topic and narrow down which issues to be debunked.

According to the respondents, during the team discussions, if the topics were deemed as necessary to be debunked, due to its relevancy to the wider public, it would then be fact-checked. *Mafindo*, utilized their social media platforms to receive public inquiries, which meant that at times, they would be able receive real-time updated information. Public inquiries enabled respondents to receive timely updates about an emerging issue, this might be due to the fact that many Indonesians are active online and received information from social media.

Since concerns from the public had to go through team discussions, questions about “neutrality” or “agenda” were raised during interview sessions. All three respondents stated that decisions were made based on how relevant the issue would be to the society and what fact-checkers could bring to the table. “Sometimes, fact-checking results straightened people’s misperception and avoid unnecessary problems, such as hate speech,” said F2. Many fake news in the country contained sensitive elements (e.g., politics, religions, ethnicity, and etc.) and disinformation could escalate negative sentiments towards certain person or groups. For example, some post-Palu disaster fake news raised negative sentiments towards the government. Neutrality was still practiced by not avoiding or glossing over issues related to certain groups or figures. This was also practice in the case of post-Palu disaster fake news, where several false information were debunked. Web observations showed that various kinds of false information were debunked, including those related to politics.

Referring Experts

The fourth subcode examined was referring experts, which refers to seeking experts’ assistance to verify information (Graves et al., 2016). In order to handle post-Palu disaster fake

news, respondents mostly relied on secondary sources when fact-checking. However, since Palu's case is closely related to the government, third-party fact-checkers relied a lot upon statements provided by the government and local officials. F3 stated:

Fortunately, the spokesperson for Indonesian National Board for Disaster Management was active in providing updates and we used his statements as evidences to support our fact-checking content.

Statements from officials provided credible information for fact-check professionals, but respondents also claimed that they did not only solely source from the government. As the aforementioned, mainstream news media were utilized as sources too. However, this led to an argument that despite claiming to be "independent" or "impartial", third-party fact-checkers might still be influenced by the "experts" they sought. Thus, the values third-party fact-checkers adhere to might not necessarily be as what respondents claimed themselves to be.

Source Credibility

Source credibility is defined as sources that can be accounted (van der Meer et al., 2016). Respondents provided similar answers as news professionals in Chapter 5's analyses; that is, they used the government's information for fact-checking post-Palu disaster fake news. Respondents stated that government officials were able to provide reliable information that third-party fact-checkers had no access. However, unlike news professionals, they referred to news media as credible sources. Certain metrics were given to evaluate the credibility of news media. F1, the director for fact-checking committee stated:

Aside from government, we also referred to news media, specifically mainstream news media and so, what are our standards for selecting them? First, they have to be verified by the Press Council, next, they need to have clear editorial address, clear editorial team and so forth. To ensure credibility, we don't cite from one or two sources only, the more the better.

These metrics were used not only to evaluate credibility of news media in the case of post-Palu disaster fake news and other fake news cases. By practicing this, respondents were trying to maintain quality and consistency for all their fact-checked results. When questioned about other means for information gathering, respondents answered that they most relied on secondary resources, such as news reports and even academic journals were utilized when research findings can be used to convince and enhance clarifications. Reliance on secondary resources were mostly due to their lack of resources and capability of gathering first-hand information, such as through interviews. Despite that, third-party fact-checkers were still able to get their hands on certain first-hand information through digital tools. Respondent F3 also mentioned that photos and videos could be checked via digital tools, such as Google reverse image to track originality of an image. For example, the use of digital tools enabled fact-checkers to check components of a picture and determined if it had been manipulated or not. F1 elaborated:

As an instance, we can check if a picture has been taken before... where and when, hence, we know if the current viral information (including the picture) is true, manipulated, wrong context, and so forth.

Utilization of digital tools enabled fact-check professionals to independently fact-check without having to rely on other sources. Digital tools enabled fact-check professionals to independently fact-check without having to rely on other sources. F1 added that all fact-checkers at *Mafindo* have been trained to employ digital tools and continuously provide training in order to be more well-versed in fact-checking. However, as discussed in the “referring experts” section, digital tools are not the sole tool utilized, statements from news media was still employed, hence, whatever sources were utilized by news media would be indirectly sourced by fact-checkers too.

Despite the limitations faced, respondents stated that they still valued their standards for sources seriously. For example, Blogspots or sites with unclear origin would never be used as to

maintain their fact-checking quality. This reflected that fact-checkers had similar practices with journalism in terms of ensuring credibility, where both news and fact-check professionals understood the importance of looking for the right information source, and the right source to be accounted for. Moreover, it was crucial for third-party fact-checkers to have the right sources due to the public's unfamiliarity with fact-checking, and trust needs to be built in the long run so that that people know that they can trust the content produced by them.

Timeliness

According to van der Meer et al. (2016), timeliness refers to both sources and news professionals can provide and publish relevant information in a timely manner. All three respondents valued accuracy over speed. However, unlike news professionals who still retained their time or speed factors, third-party fact-checkers exhibited a more flexible approach when it came to timeliness. This meant that accuracy would not be forsaken because they had certain deadlines or targets they had to reach on a daily basis. F3 said:

We are fact-checkers, so unlike news media who have this time factor, we don't really have it. In the case of Palu fake news, yes, it's true that it created chaos, but we still treat it the same as other fake news, meaning that there is no special treatment and accuracy is still the top priority.

Given that they have no other obligations, fact-check professionals did not have a hard deadline nor target for content production. They were also not driven by website traffic or commercial purposes, thus not needing to have certain numbers of posts to attract readers. Respondents understood the consequence of sacrificing time, and the potential for a fake news to spread even more. However, since third-party fact-checkers based their information mainly from secondary sources, and their main objective focused on fact-checking, not reporting on an event and thus, accuracy would be their priority.

Source Knowledge

In terms of source knowledge, which is defined as sources that possess relevant information needed in regards to an issue (van der Meer et al., 2016). This was not particularly relevant for respondents as they did not conduct interview or specifically approach a person for information. F2 explained that they were unable to conduct interviews or other forms of first-hand information gathering due to their limited resources. As a result, the “source” knowledge in Indonesian third-party fact-checking contexts relied on the source knowledge gathered by other parties (e.g., news media). To address this disadvantage, respondents would source their information from multiple news media. “We will cross-check information from various media to see if they came up with the same conclusion,” F2 explained. Evaluating several sources enabled respondents to identify if the information was consistent, as inconsistencies across multiple media sources might prompt further investigation. An example of further investigation could be looking deeper into the issue (e.g., digging up previous news regarding the issue).

The reliance on news media meant that the “source” knowledge received might be wrong too. This occurred when news media sourced the wrong kind of information, such as wrong information provided by news media’s source(s). In this case, fact-check professionals would inevitably be influenced. F3 further stated:

It did occur at times, so the news media had the wrong information and we inevitably provided the wrong supporting evidences too.

F3 then explained that when this occurred, they would have to correct their content and explained what caused the mistakes. However, all three respondents also stated at times, these mistakes did not influence their fact-checking results. The conclusion would be the same but it was the supporting evidences, such as data, that had problems. Although there could be indirect influences of news media’s sources on fact-checking results, this influence was not the sole

determinant of third party fact-check results. Professionals employed other sources too such as digital tools, academic journals, official statements and so on as explained in the aforementioned section.

6.1.2.2 Information Processing and Fact-Checking

After information gathering stage, how information was processed and procedures for fact-checking will be examined. Information processing and fact-checking were simultaneously examined as third-party fact-checking organization focused on fact-checking, unlike news media, where fact-checking to clarify information was a part of journalism. Examined codes include correcting before publication, constructing, contacting fake news creator, tracing false claims, correcting after publication, showing results, and training.

Since fact-checking was the main objective of *Mafindo*, procedures for fact-checking became highly relevant. For the respondents, fact-checking went beyond gathering information and producing content, but ensuring that fact-checking practices were done consistently and results could be trusted.

Correcting: Before Publication

Correcting is defined as the process of revising information content by having content checked, rewritten, and editing writing errors (Himma-Kadakas, 2016). Compared to news media, two forms of correcting were found during analyses. The first type of correcting was corrections made before publication, and the second type occurred after publication (discussed at a later section). Given the main objective of fact-checking was to check and clarify information, it was possible for corrections to be made from the beginning. Analyses showed that correcting at this stage did not refer to directly determining an information was fake news, but which potential components of an information were the most likely to be false.

Through the accumulated experience, respondents were able to identify potentially problematic components that helped them in directing their fact-checking procedures. Using the case of post-Palu fake news disaster, F2 said:

For the aftershock (fake news) narrative, at first glance, we were able to somehow know that big chance, it was untrue... the narrative used was a typical format used in the aftermath of a disaster.

Respondent F2 did not insinuate that fact-checkers could directly determine if information was false, but the possibilities of which part that needed checking and correcting. Knowing which possible problematic element helped fact-checkers to be more directed, such as identifying which news articles or photos they need to search to clarify the factuality of information.

Constructing

Constructing is defined as ascribing newsworthiness to the content by emphasizing certain aspects of the information (Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2017). Compared to news professionals who had to construct their content in certain manners, third-party fact-checkers did not have certain writing angles due to the lack of agenda or affiliation to business or politics. . This organization has SOP when conducting their fact-checking, but no SOP was tailored to fit into the case of Palu disaster. “It’s the same SOP for all types of fake news,” said F2, and when further questioned, F2 claimed that the organization only worked on the facts that occurred. Unlike news media that might have different approach to address different forms of cases (e.g., politics, disaster, society, etc.) respondents claimed that they did not have different approaches. Different approaches in this context include avoiding certain topics, glossing over an issue, or framing an issue into the desired picture by the editorials/team.

The SOP for fact-checking are divided into several steps, first, after the selection of which fake news to be debunked, fact-checkers would start to gather their information. After identifying

which claims to fact-check, respondents would start their work. During the fact-checking process, respondents proceeded fact-checking activities based on *Mafindo*'s code of ethics, which are impartiality, neutrality, non-discriminatory, focusing on the facts and so forth. At times, when problems in fact-checking arise, discussions with the fact-checking team occurred. For example, when fact-checkers were unsure about how to continue their fact-checking, "Sometimes it was the lack of credible sources; sometimes it was hard to look for supporting evidences," said F2, who then proceed to give an example. A case was when no mainstream news media reported about the issue and information could only be found from blog sites which led to a team discussion on how to proceed. At the end, the team opted to publish the result by indicating as much as sources they could find and supporting evidences to back it up (e.g., academic journals).

Upon completion, discussions about the fact-checked results were to be discussed with the fact-checking team, comprised of the director of fact-checking committee (F1) and other members of the fact-checking team, comprised of seven other fact-checkers. Discussions involved evaluation if certain content is ready to be published, F3 said, "We check if the evidences were there, the conclusion was correct or the sources sourced were right." Once the content was ready, and final check was conducted to ensure that the facts were correct, consistent, and coherent, results would then be published using their predetermined format to promote coherence.

For all of their fact-checked content, a consistent format was utilized for coherence and avoiding misconceptions. F1 elaborated:

We always use the same format; we usually begin with the topic, the categorization... meaning is the information right or wrong, and if it is a wrong, what type of false information is it... next, we have the conclusion first and so forth.

This writing structure of fact-check reports was that the conclusion was placed at the top and at the beginning of the content. F1 explained that this was done to cater to Indonesian's reading

habits where people tended to read the topic and jumped to their conclusion. He continued that there had been cases where the public misunderstood the content's topic, which was related to the fake news, as the fact-checked content, and learning from these experiences, the organization decided to change their format and kept the current format. In order to avoid recurring misunderstandings, the organization decided to change their style and put their conclusion from the very beginning. By doing so, even if Indonesians would only read the first part of their content, they would be exposed to the fact-checked conclusion, placed at the very top of the page.

Other respondents concurred that they employed such a consistent format for all types of fake news, as they minimized the potentials for people to misunderstand the content. Web observations showed similar results, showing that all fact-checked content related to post-Palu disaster fake news and other fake news exhibited the same format, such as providing conclusion at the beginning, attaching references and including screenshots. Compared to journalism's inverted pyramid style in newswriting, fact-check professionals first elaborated what they meant when they labelled a content as "false", further categorizing it into seven types of disinformation, namely (1) satire or parody, (2) misleading content, (3) imposter content, (4) fabricated content, (5) false connection, (6) false context, and (7) manipulated content. After the categorization, fact-checkers then included the original narration, picture, or video before pointing out which components of the disinformation that was wrong. At the end of the content, fact-checkers would include their references and links. Unlike newswriting, fact-checked content did not provide interview excerpts from sources nor description about the contextual background. On the other hand, content was very visual by including various screenshots to highlight the important aspects of the information, and shorter narrative texts. This was done to highlight the most important aspects and avoid lengthy content that might drive readers away.

Contacting False News Creator

Secondly, contacting false news creator is defined as questioning claims from the source suspected of providing the wrong information (Graves et al., 2016). All respondents strongly rejected the idea to contact false news creator for two reasons. First, it was unnecessary to look for the creator, as the focus of their job was to check the factuality of a claim. According to the respondents, it was irrelevant to know who first created the fake news and they could conduct fact-checking without knowing who exactly created it. As an example, during post-Palu disaster's aftershock fake news, it was only important to fact-check the factuality of the event. Investigation or releasing information about the creator might not satiate public's anxiety as the public prioritized information about the aftershock itself.

Secondly, tracking the information creator might lead to misjudging someone and provide the wrong information to the public. This was one of the main rules at *Mafindo*, all fact-checkers are not allowed to release information about the person who created the fake news, unless it was clear who gave the (false) statements. For example, the case of FPI in the aftermath of Palu disaster indicated clear sources (i.e., Ministry of Communication and Information, and FPI). During the interviews, respondents stated that they made no particular efforts in trying to identify the culprit(s). F2 clarified:

We are not allowed to contact fake news perpetrators. Aside from the job scope that it not being our responsibility, we want to avoid the risks of pointing fingers at the wrong person; we avoid doxing and causing harms to others.

According to F2, they would not want people to look for the person named in their content and harassed for something they might not have done. As an example, the respondent gave the case of Boston bombing where doxing was conducted and the person named was harassed. At the end, it was found out that the person had nothing to do with the attack but the damage has been

done as the person conducted suicide. Learning from this case, members of *Mafindo* did not want this to occur and avoid the crowd to act as “judges”. Therefore, contacting false news creator was never conducted by respondents, regardless of the case.

Tracing False Claims

Tracing false claims refers to tracking down the false information to its original source (Graves et al., 2016). Similar to the second code, this was not conducted by the fact-check professionals. All respondents stated that what mattered the most was the factual information. Although tracing false claims might lead to more information, respondents stated that it was out of their range to trace false claims. First, respondents claimed that they did not have the necessary resources and it was the police who had access to utilize tools to trace claims.

Tracing false claims in the context of third-party might refer to look back into previous content related to the claim or issue. F1 stated that they might trace back a case to provide context and deeper understanding about the case. A reason for doing this was due to some fake news with narratives that derived from previous cases or might lack the contextual background. During the event of post-Palu disaster fake news, tracing false claim was conducted when the history of the issue was needed, especially when it was related to politics. However, in cases such as the aftershock, tracing false claims was not conducted as it was a singular and non-continuous event that derived from Palu disaster itself.

Correcting: After Publication

Unlike the first part of correcting that occurred before publication, correcting after publication took place when errors were found on the published content. This second type of correcting was more similar to correcting made by news professionals. When mistakes occur, fact-check professionals would take down the wrong content, and re-upload it again along with the

edited version. This was done in order to maintain transparency, and to build trust within the public that they were willing to admit their mistakes and make the right changes. Respondents admitted that mistakes could happen due to internal mistakes in fact-checking, but most of the times, errors were thought to originate from the sources they used. F3 further elaborated:

Since we rely a lot on news media, if news media's sources said something wrong, automatically, we would be wrong. In this case, we will release a post to clarify the mistakes.

For the respondents, there was a chain reaction when the original sources cited had the wrong information. It was not necessarily due to the incompetence of news media for making mistakes, but it could be due to the sources cited by news media themselves made errors that were unknown. Since fact-check professionals mostly utilized second-hand resources, like news media, there might be an issue with the extent news media might influence fact-checkers. When mistakes occurred due to mistakes from fact-checkers' source (e.g., news media), this suggests that respondents might have little control over the "factuality" of their information. Although multiple resources were used to cross-check information along with other resources (e.g., digital tools, academic journals, etc.), there might still be possibilities for errors to occur not because fact-checkers were careless, but the lack of resources to conduct thorough first-hand investigations. Despite that, respondents claimed that in the context of post-Palu disaster fake news, all respondents stated that there were no mistakes on their behalf and all clarifications related to the disaster's fake news had been thoroughly fact-checked.

Showing Results

The next code, showing results is defined as the effort to communicate findings through information content produced by news professionals (Graves et al., 2016). Third-party fact-checkers gave lots of efforts and considerations to ensure that their results could be trusted. Trust

was an overarching theme for this code as respondents tried hard to build trust and to expose people to fact-checking. Unlike news media, *Mafindo* is relatively new and unknown to the wider public, prompting them to position themselves differently. The organization aims to be known as a neutral and objective fact-check organization yet by mining information from news media, this might be a challenge. Due to distrust in news media, sourcing information from news media might be detrimental to the end-result of third-party fact-checkers. To address this challenge when presenting their results, third-party fact-checkers would always include various sources and incorporate digital tools whenever possible. According to F1, having several sources might diminish the level of bias, yet this might not guarantee that the end-result would be bias-free. However, with the current situation and resources the organization had, this might be the extent the organization could do. Furthermore, respondents were direct with their results; fact-checkers did not discriminate case(s) regardless of who was involved in the case. If result pointed that an information was false, it would be published as false followed by its explanation. As a result, respondents were at the receiving end of public criticism. F2 elaborated:

Sometimes when you are debunking fake news related to A, people might accuse us of supporting A and vice versa, so whatever we do, we would still be criticized. Despite that, we still tried to remain neutral and impartial in our fact-checking.

By remaining neutral and impartial regardless of the types of fake news or public's opinions, all respondents acknowledged that they were trying to convey their effort to show that their results were indeed bias-free and objective. Even during post-Palu disaster fake news, they tried to convey these values and to treat all fake news equally regardless of who was involved. Cases related to political-infused false information were examples; considering the involved parties included the government and a religious group, observation noted that fact-checked results were as consistent as other fact-checking content. Clarifications were made and backed up with

necessary evidences without any bias towards any parties.

Training

Training was only formally offered when this organization was in partnership with Google News Initiatives, or specifically after joining the alliance, *CekFakta*, in 2018 (see chapter 6.2). All respondents acknowledged that no formal training was offered before the alliance or when they first joined. “We are all self-learners,” said F1, and further continued to explain that when a new member joined the team, the person would be introduced on how to use the digital tools (e.g., Google reverse image) but it was not a formal program where trainers were present.

Fact-check professionals had to learn as they go along with their work, and a reason for the lack of formal training might be due to the lack of resources. F2 did acknowledge that their resources were not as large as news media, and even news media might have challenges in inviting international fact-checking trainers due to financial limitations. Nonetheless, it was difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of this method. Web observations showed that in the event of post-Palu disaster fake news, there were no problems with fact-checking results published by the organization, such as wrong conclusion or wrong resources used. Although respondents did not mention any problems faced that occurred due to the lack of training, this might be a subjective evaluation by them. For example, when errors appeared on their fact-checking results, it might not always be due to the blunders made by their resources, but internal human-errors as a result of minimum training.

6.1.2.3 Information Distribution

After information gathering and processing sessions are conducted, the researcher examined the stage of information distribution. Four subcodes related to information distribution were examined, namely social media, showing results, news websites, and traditional media. In

general, the main modes of communication for the respondents were social media, but both traditional media and news websites were still employed to distribute information.

Social Media

In terms of social media, as the main communication channel, respondents considered their Facebook forum as the most crucial. When debunking post-Palu disaster fake news, their social media platforms were the main channels. Currently, *Mafindo* had two main Facebook accounts, one as the forum and fan page. The forum enabled the public to post fact-checking content as long as they followed the predetermined format and regulations. On the other hand, the second platform was their fan page, where all fact-checked and important fake news clarifications were posted. Importance in this context referred to widely viral fake news or fake news with great public importance (e.g. natural disaster, politics, etc.)

In addition, all respondents also acknowledged the relevance of using social media platforms, they acknowledged that fake news were mostly disseminated via social media and most Indonesians were often online on social media. Utilization of social media was to counter fake news with fact-checked content, and to encourage social media users to share fact-checking content. F1 the director of fact-checking committee stated:

When it comes to fake news, you can see that the volume is huge, the disseminations are often rapid...meanwhile, when it comes to fact-checked content, the difference is huge, if we can get more than 1,000 shares, that would be very great already

Therefore, third-party fact-checkers made efforts to make their content interesting. As mentioned by other respondents, they tried to incorporate infographics to make their content more appealing and to attract people to read their content. The end goal of using social media did not stop in exposure but in engagement too, such as sharing it to their social networks.

News Website

Next, *Mafindo*'s news website was mostly used as a database, which meant that no engagement or interactions were could be found on the website. All respondents acknowledged that this news website was created to store all the fact-checked content lest their social media posts got reported or removed. This was done as a preventive measure, especially with the notion that *Mafindo* was yet verified by the Press Council nor acknowledged as a media. Despite the importance of news websites, all three respondents agreed that all activities and engagements with the audience were all conducted on social media. Aside from the features of social media that enabled engagement, most audience were active and sought information from the social media.

Traditional Media

With regards to traditional media, respondents stated that they collaborated with several traditional news media such as TV and radio channels. By doing so, *Mafindo* was able to extend their audience reach and disseminate their fact-checked content, as explained by F2. This was not exclusively for post-Palu disaster fake news, but for all fake news. All respondents also acknowledged that these collaborations with traditional news media provided mutual benefits for both sides. The traditional news media were able to provide fact-checked content and contribute to fake news debunking, while third-party fact-checkers were able to garner more exposures.

However, with this collaboration between *Mafindo* and several TV or radio stations, there might be a conflict of interest between *Mafindo* and the traditional media. Since the organization utilized other media's traditional media platforms, they had to compromise due to the limited broadcasting slot. This meant that not all fact-checked content could be broadcasted and the agreement was selected content were usually chosen by the host media, and not the respondents.

F1 elaborated:

It's them (traditional media) who selected which topic (fake news) to be discussed, but the materials still came from us.

Even though it was *Mafindo* who worked on the fact-checking, it was the traditional media that chose which content to be published. This could mean that whatever false information were selected, these selections might serve the agenda of the particular traditional media. On the other hand, *Mafindo* might not have the particular agenda in mind, but might indirectly be the extension of these agenda. It was inferred that there was somehow an imbalance between what the organization provided (e.g. fact-checked content) with the traditional media who provided platforms, as interview results gave the impression that some subjective interests were served.

6.1.3 Organizational Level

In this level, editorial policy and organizational culture are the two codes to be examined in order to find out their influences over handling post-Palu disaster fake news in the fact-check organization. Findings show that the editorial policy for fact-checking remained the same throughout the handling of post-Palu disaster fake news. Additionally, analyses showed that the organization's culture helped boost the implementation of their policies toward fact-checking.

6.1.3.1 Editorial Policy

Editorial policy is defined as the organizational ideologies that drive how information content are produced and presented (Vergeer, 2018). Respondents from *Mafindo*, a third-party fact-checking organization, stated that there is no particular editorial policy to address post-Palu disaster fake news. Fact-checking policy was mainly based on the code of principles that all fact-checking members had to abide when fact-checking. The policies include producing content that were non-discriminatory, focused on solely fact-checking, and no favoring or avoidance of any issues. This meant that all types of issues were to be covered without trying to gloss over certain

issues or purposely emphasizing certain fake news to corner certain figure or organization. “We always emphasize that we fact-check all kinds of issues,” said F1, and he further explained that unlike news media, they had no interest in promoting personal interests such as politics or business.

Given their main function as third-party fact-checkers, most respondents stated that they only had to maintain accuracy, organization’s impartiality and removal of personal belief when fact-checking. F3 elaborated:

In our eyes, all fake news is the same... there is no special treatment nor any implicit rules when fact-checking. This goes the same for post-Palu disaster fake news. We are fact-checkers and our main job is to fact-check and present factual information.

In the event of post-Palu disaster fake news, editorial policy for fact-checking remained the same. Regardless of what occurred or who was involved, fact-check professionals conducted fact-checking as usual. “There was no changes in our policy,” said F2, he then added that by changing their policy, it would insinuate that they had certain interest and their objectivity might be influenced. Web observation showed that indeed the fact-checked content for post-Palu disaster fake news were consistent with other fact-checked content. Results followed similar content format (e.g., fact-check conclusion, supporting evidences, sources inclusion, etc.). For example, in the case of FPI, fact-checked content focused on the fact that it was the photo that was placed at a wrong context, and the government never said what FPI did was a lie. The organization did not side with either parties and only stated the evidences they found, such as the photo in question which turned out to be a photo taken before Palu disaster took place.

6.1.3.2 Organizational Culture

Organization culture refers to the shared beliefs, philosophies, and norm among people working inside a news organization (Idowu, 2017). Findings showed that the organization culture played a huge role in encouraging personnel to uphold values of fact-checking and the spirit to

combat fake news. All respondents took great pride in their job and were serious in debunking fake news, and enhancing public's literacy. The director of fact-checking committee, F1, further elaborated that they were the pioneers of fact-checking and would like to maintain their work quality in the future. Being one the first people to push forward third-party fact-checking and without having to be tied to news media (i.e. agenda), all respondents expressed strong opinion and passion on about fact-checking.

In addition, the background of *Mafindo* might contribute to this culture of pride and solidarity in battling fake news. First, *Mafindo* was built from four different online communities that aimed to battle fake news and then agglomerated a civil society organization. As the members expressed strong will to battle fake news, it transcended into all parts of the organization. F2 said:

We instilled our values about fact-checking to everyone in the organization, including our volunteers, we want everyone in the organization to understand that we are fact-checkers, and we work professionally.

Other respondents (ID F1 and F3) echoed F2's responses, stating that everyone in the organization exhibited great enthusiasm in battling fake news. As aforementioned, given the background of *Mafindo* that originated from four different Facebook online communities, the initial members were sick of fake news. Hence, the members had shown a strong disposition against fake news from the very beginning and carried anti-hoax spirit into the organization.

Respondents exhibited a cohesive voice that everyone under this organization values factual information and educating the public on digital literacy by providing workshops for students or the general public (e.g., invitation from campus or institutions). The cultures then drove fact-checkers to maintain *Mafindo*'s values in fact-checking, which were to be neutral, impartial, and transparent.

6.1.4 Social Institutions Level

For the fourth level, the codes government's influence and third-party fact-checking influence were to be discussed. Since third-party fact-checking is relatively new in Indonesia, *Mafindo* is currently the only third-party fact-checking community in the country. Therefore, in the event of post-Palu disaster fake news, the organization was the only third-party fact-checking organization in Indonesia. This section will only examine the code of government's influence.

6.1.4.1 Government's Influence

While debunking post-Palu disaster fake news, all three respondents answered that none of the government's policies hindered them in doing their job. Although the policies did not influence them in the context of this study, some of the government's laws did influence *Mafindo*. As the news media is under the protection of the Press Council, if any law-related problems arise, they are to be mediated by the Press Council. However, this was not the case for *Mafindo*, since it is not a media. Respondents from *Mafindo* stated that there is no regulation that is directly directed on them but certain laws, such as ITE (Internet and Electronic Transaction Laws) could be used against them. F1, the director of fact-checking committee, stated:

In general, there is no laws or regulations that directly impact us but the ITE laws can be problematic. We are not news media so the Press' Law does not apply to us, this means ITE laws can be used against us, that is why we are really careful with what we do, we make sure that there are minimum mistakes so that there will be no gaps left to attack us.

The ITE laws can be problematic for *Mafindo* as the laws regulate all electronic transactions, including information. ITE Laws enable all online information can be brought to trials and even criminalized if proven as guilty. When being combined with the polarized public, there might be potential for this organization to be sued and caused problems. Therefore, *Mafindo* stated that they had to be extra careful when publishing their content and made sure everything has been double checked.

Aside from providing information, the government does not have any significant influences in the process of debunking post-Palu disaster fake news. When being asked about other concerns, respondents did not have any other concerns. Unlike some news professionals who mentioned about government's agenda or government taking the role as the fact-checkers, respondents from *Mafindo* did not mention any of these. This could be due to the lack of government's agenda "felt" by respondents or the lack of awareness on the role of government as fact-checkers too. To conclude, the organization exhibits efforts in gathering resources based on standards to ensure credibility and non-impartiality towards any institutions.

6.2 Collaborative Fact-Checking Initiative- *CekFakta*

The second section discussed findings for collaborative fact-checking initiative, *CekFakta*, and examined the contributions this collaboration could bring to fact-checking ecology in Indonesia. Findings were based on empirical data gathered from interviews with five fact-checkers (F1 – F5), composed of third-party fact-checkers, trainers and project manager for this project. Moreover, two news professionals (J6 and J7) who had direct involvement with this project. This collaboration was examined to provide more contextual background on fact-checking in Indonesia.

Established in May 2018, this alliance is the collaboration between *Mafindo* (third-party fact-check organization) and 24 online news media. Together, the platform *CekFakta* was launched to introduce fact-checking to the public, train industry professionals, and to rebuild trust in media. This project was also supported by several organizations, such as Google News, Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI), Alliance of Indonesian Cyber Media (AMSI), and so forth. A famous example of their work is the 2019 Presidential debate live fact-checking. It was the first and new initiative introduced by this alliance in which both the debate and live fact-checking were

simultaneously held.

Fact-checking process began with selecting issues to be debunked and interviews showed that issues were mostly selected by each individual newsroom. “It’s based on the editorial team of each media member,” said J6, editor-in-chief of *Tempo.co* that was one of the 24 members of *CekFakta*. The collaboration refers to the joint platform of various newsrooms, but fact-checking activities were still responsibilities of each newsroom. After a newsroom completed fact-checking, the results would be shared via a content pooling platform that could only be accessed by members. J6 added that the alliance had a set of collective fact-checking guidelines, however, the details of fact-checking were determined by the responsible newsroom. For example, after a newsroom fact-checked a content, they would post it on the sharing platform, the content would be cross-checked to ensure that the alliance’s standards were met, such as transparency in methodologies (e.g., how the conclusion was reached). Discussions about the emerging themes are as the followings.

Content Pooling

First, through this initiative, content pooling reduces the burden for newsroom in conducting fact-checking. The ability to maximize resources and quality enables more fake news to be debunked and quality can be controlled as all members have agreed upon certain set of standards. J6, 40 years old, the editor-in-chief of *Tempo.co* and also the general secretary for Alliance of Indonesian Cyber Media (AMSI) stated:

I think that this (*CekFakta*) is a good business model. We can fact-check more fake news without squeezing out (too much) costs. It also benefits the newsrooms; for example, back then, *Tempo* was only able to fact-check 3-4 fake news, but now, we are able to increase our efficiency.

The respondent stated that content pooling enabled all members of *CekFakta* to share resources. Through a set of agreed SOP, all members were aware of the standards they need to comply. By doing so, even when each newsroom worked on different sets of fake news, everyone

knew what they had to do and how to achieve the standardized results. The SOP involved maintaining consistent fact-checking formats, such as specifying what kind of false information the fake news was and elaborating it. By doing so, fact-checkers would be able to justify their content and educate the public on why the particular information was considered as false. Other respondents also agreed that by pooling all resources, everyone was able to access all content, and instead of having many newsrooms working on the same issues, workloads can be split and results are shared.

Check and Balance

Secondly, through this project initiative, respondents were also able to conduct check and balance as part of maintaining their fact-checking quality. F1, as the director of fact-checking committee for *Mafindo*, mentioned that with many parties involved, everyone had to be on the same page. This meant that fact-checking results had to be consistent among members, and in cases when newsrooms reached different conclusion, the check and balance would be conducted. As part of their procedures, newsrooms would then compare their notes and recheck their resources. When being questioned about the final decision, respondents mentioned that usually everyone would arrive on the same conclusion, and the reason why newsrooms could have differing results could be due to the procedures each newsroom had. It was interesting to point out that under the same umbrella, each newsroom still independently examined fact-checked content, but resources could be obtained from the content pooling and accessed by all members.

Considering the aforementioned theme about check and balance, as newsrooms still operated independently, the argument about newsrooms' agendas emerged too. Although members had certain SOP or formats that had to be adhered, differences in opinions and approaches could still happen, especially with the fact that this collaboration was a huge project between news media

and other organizations. F3, a fact-checker from *Mafindo*, further elaborated:

Actually, with regards to the collaborative effort, *CekFakta*, in my opinion, logically it is challenging (to collaborate) as there are several agendas. So, I think *CekFakta* is more of like an information pool for the public.

Given the nature of third-party fact-checkers as agenda-less, the collaboration with various news media could be challenging. However, other fact-checkers might not share the same sentiments, they argued that the objective of this project was to pool all fact-checked content, which meant that aside from fact-checking, no other forms of content would be published. The concept of agenda could be examined from two different point of view, first, from the view of third-party fact-checkers, interview results showed that they were more considered as the last gatekeeper to ensure fact-checked results were up to standard. Moreover, they were also in charge of providing directions and assisting newsrooms' fact-checkers to fact-checker.

On the other hand, from the view of newsrooms' fact-checkers, trainers, and project managers, this collaboration would be a good chance to expose the public to fact-checking. F4, one of the trainers who also had a journalistic background, stated that the reason why various news media came under one umbrella label was to compile all fact-checking results into one place. She also added that many people were still unaware of fact-checking conducted by various newsrooms, and thus this project could inform people that they could rely on one platform (*CekFakta*) and would be able to access verified information. Likewise, other respondents did not mention newsrooms' agendas as a challenge, but it could not be denied that each newsroom's agenda might influence procedures of fact-checking and could arouse disagreements between newsrooms. For example, some respondents, such as J6, the editor-in-chief for *Tempo.co* and secretary general of AMSI admitted that at times, meetings could take a long time as everyone's inputs had to be considered. Therefore, conflicting agendas might have occurred between newsrooms involved in

this collaboration. As a result, the concept of check and balance could be a medium to ensure that this collaboration emphasized on fact-checking and minimizing individual agenda(s).

Training

Next, as part of CekFakta's effort to enhance fact-checking culture in the newsroom, training had been an important aspect of this project. Training sessions were mostly geared towards methodologies in order to enhance journalists' fact-checking skills. For example, trainees were taught how to detect the originality of a photo. F6 further elaborated, "Training was practical, very hands-on, and increased the competence of our fact-checking skills." Other respondents, such as J7, had stated that the training has been fruitful in increasing newsroom's fact-checking skills, and they come in the form of increased speed in fact-checking and mastery in employing digital tools and so forth. F5, a project manager for training programs mentioned:

Since the initiation of *CekFakta* project last year (2018), we have trained thousands of journalists as part of our efforts to enhance Indonesian journalists' fact-checking skills. This year, we are expecting more participants to partake in our training program.

It was apparent that training is a crucial part for journalists in Indonesia, without being properly equipped, it would be challenging for journalists or individual newsroom to fact-check. All respondents added that training was important in order for industry professionals to keep up with the evolutions of fake news. Due to financial limitations, it might be difficult to invite international trainers or held training. Even though local experts were invited as trainers, international trainers were still invited as J7, a fact-checker at Tempo.co explained that international fact-checkers were more advanced and had adopted certain fact-checking systems, such as the system that had been approved by International Fact-Checking Networks (IFCN). Furthermore, as fake news became more advanced, training was needed so that journalists would

be able to fact-check with available digital tools and increase their efficiency. F4, a trainer for CekFakta said:

As you can see, fake news including the photos and videos have evolved, they look smoother and harder to detect, if journalists are not trained to fact-check using digital tools, we are in for a big trouble...I would say that they (fake news creators) are always a step in front of us, if we don't do anything, we will lag behind.

In addition, along with keeping up with evolutions of fake news, training was able to balance out fact-checking skills among news professionals who made up the components of CekFakta. By ascribing to a certain level of fact-checking skills, it contributed to the maintenance of fact-checking quality and consistency.

Building Trust

The last theme examined was building trust, were in response to this project's main objectives, most respondents expressed their wish to build trust in the public via this project. By pooling all resources into a single platform, respondents stated that they wanted to create a single point of reference that can be trusted by the public. As the project manager for this collaboration, F5, stated that building trust was not an easy feat, especially when considering Indonesian's tendencies of consuming information. However, it was still worthwhile to build trust because trust was fundamental to the basic of a democratic society. As echoed by J6, editor-in-chief for Tempo.co and secretary-general for AMSI, when the trust was shaken, democracy could be threatened. Since fake news was often utilized as a weapon to pull the public away from credible news media, and even the government, it could be a gap for people to push forward their own ideology. Enhanced by the polarized public, people might be greatly misinformed and as a result, created rifts within the society.

Trust became a recurrent theme for most respondents' answers as trust on news media are necessary to combat fake news. "Trust is our currency," said F4, a trainer who've had years of

experience in journalism, she further elaborated:

If we are not wise (in processing abundant ambiguous information), media can be the extension of spreading misinformation, and instead of gaining trust, we lose trust even more, people will think why I need to read the media when I can just get it from other sources.

Through trust, respondents hoped that more people would be aware of the existence of CekFakta, and to regard the content as trusted. Following suit, via the trust built on CekFakta, respondents also hoped that this project could portray the image of Indonesian news media as a credible source, and to rebuild the loss of trust on news media. In conclusion, the battle against fake news was still a long journey, but this large scale collaboration showed efforts to promote a single point of reference for trusted clarifications on ambiguous information. By doing so, as trust was built, respondents hoped that the public would be more cautious with information received and instead of forwarding the message, they could refer to CekFakta's platform to verify their doubts.

6.2.1 Summary of *CekFakta*

In summary, this alliance is an effort to further promote fact-checked information to the public and enhance journalists' fact-checking skills. The essence of this alliance was to create a one-stop information platform based on the collective efforts of 24 cyber media and *Mafindo*, a third-party fact-check organization. Analyses showed that this collaboration allowed content pooling, conducting check and balance among newsrooms, conduct training sessions, and rebuilding trust. Respondents believed that this collaboration could be a better option in combating fake news as newsrooms pooled in their resources in working towards the same goal. Furthermore, it also enabled newsroom to save costs as they did not have to hire more fact-checkers, and with training sessions supported by their partnerships (e.g., Google News, Internews, etc.), the costly fact-checking training sessions were able to occur. Without this collaboration, inviting trainers might be a financial burden for newsrooms and might not have occurred.

This large-scale project and at its beginning stage; in general, fact-checking was relatively new in Indonesia, many Indonesians were unfamiliar with fact-checking and had no idea where to look for fact-checked content. Additionally, analyses also suggest that Indonesian journalists might not yet be fully equipped with the necessary fact-checking skills due to previous newsrooms' financial constraints and not fully understanding the necessary procedures to debunk fake news. With the global development in battling fake news, such as the IFCN project by Poynter Institute, Indonesian journalists became more acquainted with fact-checking. As a result, Indonesian journalists were expected to contribute as fact-checkers too, and newswriting expanded beyond traditional journalism (e.g., politics, domestic news, etc.) and geared towards debunking fake news.

The current fact-checking ecology in Indonesia could be considered as a fresh approach by media professionals. Fact-checking in Indonesia was conducted by (1) newsrooms, (2) a third-party fact-check organization, and (3) the alliance *CekFakta*. Although the efforts were present, the future direction of fact-checking still lacked coherence. Despite respondents' answers regarding *CekFakta* and how cross-newsroom collaborations could promote fact-checking, however, this might influence the fact-checking system in the country. First, collaboration with 24 newsrooms suggests that 24 editorial policies or agendas were involved. Next, the role of the third-party fact-check organization might be undermined as this collaboration aimed to be the "one point of reference", and fact-checking ecology might be dominated by certain newsroom or organization (i.e., *CekFakta*). As a result, the idea of "non-partisanship" or "neutrality" might be questionable, especially with the fact that 24 newsrooms were involved in this project. In conclusion, this collaboration contributed to Indonesia's fact-checking ecology (e.g., enhanced skills), however, further considerations might be needed to reflect upon the scale of this collaboration and maneuver

across various newsrooms' agenda.



CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 7 first discusses important themes emerged throughout this study. The discussions provide elaborations on information flows and patterns, along with news and fact-checking practices in the event of post-Palu disaster fake news. The conclusion first summarizes the whole study. Next, the discussions are triangulated via previous studies, literature reviews, and cross-reference of web observation and interviews conducted for this study. Following suit is the contributions of this study, limitations, and future studies.

7.1 Conclusion

This research investigates the event of fake news after a natural disaster struck a city in Indonesia and to provide insights on the information flow, news, and fact-check practices. The research examines three online news media with different nature and background, the sole third-party fact-checking organization in Indonesia, and a collaborative fact-checking project. Two studies were performed to answer three research questions proposed in this present investigation.

Study 1 was conducted via web observations with the objective to learn about information flow and patterns of approaches taken by stakeholders (i.e., government, news media, third-party fact-checking, and the public). The study finds out that even though natural disaster was the core concept of various fake news, sensitive elements, such as politics and religion were still found in some narratives. As a result, information flow containing controversial items had a more complex flow, because the public became more responsive, the government spent more effort in providing clarification, and third-party fact-checking organizations also had to provide multiple clarifications.

Surprisingly, news media organizations often were a step behind the government as they waited for the government's clarification before publishing news content.

Study 2 interviewed 12 news and fact-check professionals regarding their practices when dealing with post-Palu disaster fake news. Similar to findings of web observation, most respondents stated that they had to wait for the government's clarification as they were credible to verify the information. Aside from third-party fact-checkers who were limited by their resources, the idea of waiting and reporting based on the government's information is contradictory with personal ideals of Indonesian news professionals who perceived neutrality and impartiality as important aspects.

First, the background of a news media (traditional media affiliated and independent media) directs the way news content should be written, and this includes what the media organizations prioritize and policies created to address certain matters. At an individual level, news professionals show certain journalistic ideals similar to Western ideals or the "watchdog" mindset, such as neutrality, impartiality, and accuracy. These ideals are also considered as necessary when handling fake news, especially when politics and even SARA (ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup) issues are present. However, routine and organizational level influences may have challenged these ideals, and impede them to fully blossom. Routine practices, for instance, emphasized the need for official sources when writing about disaster fake news. Likewise, editorial policies that tend to be cautious with sensational topics may choose to avoid covering the topics too much.

Interestingly, these influences are most prevalent in traditional affiliated news media. They tend to avoid reporting on those fake news issues due to editorial policy. Independent news media did not minimize coverage on fake news with sensitive elements, but reliance on government still exists to a certain extent, although not as much as traditionally affiliated news media. The role of

government as a fact-checker influenced the way news professionals handled post-Palu disaster fake news too. Even though some news professionals viewed the role of government as fact-checker needs to be reconsidered, they are still limited not only by their editorial policy that values official statements as a valid source but also Indonesia's fake news ecology that is saturated with the government's involvement.

Therefore, these findings influenced the way fake news during a natural disaster is being approached. When news professionals handled fake news in a manner that has been highly guided by routine and organizational practices that encourage certain reporting styles (e.g., government's information, avoidance of certain topics, etc.), the way journalists handle fake news and act as fact-checkers may be questioned. This is because what is being reported and investigated might not always reflect the reality, and might overlook important aspects of the fake news.

This study also sheds light on the practices of fact-checking in Indonesia, a relatively new concept to society. In recent years, newsrooms have been pushing fact-checking practice and sent their journalists to training in order to enhance their fact-checking skills and keep up with the advancement of fake news design. Similarly, third-party fact-checkers also put in the effort to position themselves in the country's fake news ecology.

By establishing themselves as neutral, impartial, and objective, third-party fact-checkers differentiate themselves from news media through a lack of organizational agenda. The results also demonstrate that the way third-party fact-checkers handled post-Palu disaster fake news was similar to other fake news. However, an important aspect of these findings pointed out that third-party fact-checkers relied on news media as resources, and this discovery suggests that the concept of neutrality for third-party fact-checkers are still somehow dependent on news media's practices.

Additionally, the emergence of the fact-checking alliance, CekFakta, is an innovative effort that promotes collaboration, instead of competition between newsrooms. There are several advantages that benefit Indonesia's fact-checking ecology (e.g., increased productivity, training, etc.), however issues about newsrooms' agenda and potential dominance of certain newsroom may influence this project.

In conclusion, news media, specifically, traditional affiliated online media tends to be wary of how people would respond to their articles. Therefore, controversial-related fake news might be avoided or may be published when official statements could back them up. As a result, "fact-checking" and "clarifications" were merely re-reporting what the government had confirmed. Only when newsrooms considered fake news to be low-risk would newsrooms start to examine the factuality of viral information. On the other hand, third-party fact-checking is an emerging practice that positions itself differently than news media. Nevertheless, by mostly relying on secondary resources, the "independence" of third-party fact-checkers remains questioned. Lastly, collaborative fact-checking brings forth a new form of innovation and reflecting fact-checking culture inside and outside the newsrooms. Simultaneously, the long-term effectiveness of this collaboration is still unknown since concepts such as independence, neutrality or objectivity might be blurred down with the involvement of various newsrooms and a third-party fact-check organization. The collaboration could redefine these concepts and fact-checking practice yet could also be a future challenge.

7.2 Discussions

This present study scrutinizes fake news during a disaster, specifically the case of earthquake and tsunami at Palu, Indonesia, as the research context. Two studies were conducted to answer the three RQs: (RQ1) How were the information flows(s) and pattern (s) of fake news-

related information mediated by Indonesian media (news media, fact-check media and social media) during Palu earthquake and tsunami? (RQ2) How did news professionals from traditional affiliated media and independent media handle fake news through their newsroom practices during Palu earthquake and tsunami? (RQ3) What is the current fact-checking situation in Indonesia? How did fact-checking organization(s) operate in dealing with fake news and clarify post-Palu disaster fake news?

Two studies were conducted to answer the aforementioned RQs. Study 1 is a web observation based investigation that scrutinized three different cases of post-Palu disaster fake news. The three cases were observed within a one-month time period, in which content from three news media, namely *Kompas.com* (traditional affiliated online media), *Medcom.id* (independent but traditional affiliated online media), and *Tempo.co* (independent online media) were examined. Study 2 was conducted via in-depth interviews with 12 professionals, with 7 news professionals from *Kompas.com*, *Medcom.id*, and *Tempo.co* to illustrate different news practices across different types of media organizations in Indonesia. Furthermore, five fact-checkers were interviewed from *Mafindo* (third party fact-check organization) and *CekFakta* (collaborative fact-checking initiative). Both studies were able to contribute to the knowledge of Indonesia's fake news ecology, along with news and fact-checking practices to combat fake news.

7.2.1 Information Flow: Political Influence

Results of study 1 offer insights on information flows of fake news during a natural disaster. Even though the core of this research context is non-political or controversial, controversial-themed fake news was still present in disaster fake news. When the fake news itself involved a person or organization that has political affiliations, the information flow tends to be complicated. Indonesian polarized public is inclined to engage more when politics are part of fake news

narratives. To illustrate influences of politics on fake news' information flow and patterns in Indonesia, two models are presented to show two conceptual models of fake news' information flow during natural disasters.

The first model (see Figure 8) shows the information flow when the nature of fake news contains non-controversial elements (e.g., religion). First, false information tends to originate from unknown sources on social media, highly ambiguous, but widely circulated. This may occur because the false information included relevant information related to a current event, such as in the aftermath of a disaster. In congruence, Eka's (2018) survey results found that more than 70% of respondents would forward messages if they consider them as crucial, whereas MASTEL's (2017) survey discovered that Indonesians tended to forward viral information as it came from people they trusted.

Next, the false information continues to be disseminated and the public becomes misinformed due to the lack of verification from any institutions. It was usually the government that provides initial verification before being cited by news and third-party fact-check media. Once the public is informed, they tend to share verified information on their social media to straighten misperceptions and oftentimes the public accepts the verified information as "true", resulting to the gradual decrease of fake news flow.

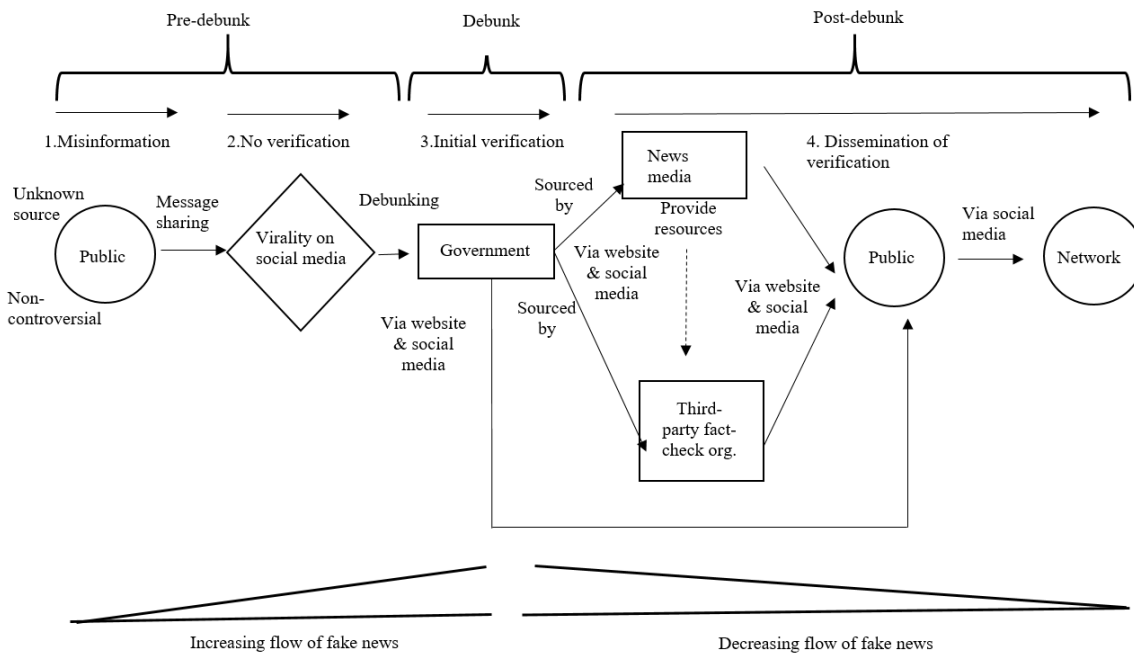


Figure 8. Model 1: Information Flow of Non-Controversial-Themed Fake News

Model 1 also shows that during the wide circulation of fake news, there tends to be little to no verification from news media institutions. It is only until the government starts debunking the fake news or when the fake news has reached a point it became viral; news media will then start to intercept. After the initial clarification from the government, other institution will begin to clarify the fake news too and have it disseminated via their owned channels. In general, an overarching practice by news media is to source information from official statements. Once the public is exposed to clarifications through social media dissemination and engagement, their network would then be exposed to the factual information. Overall, the information flow of disaster fake news with no controversial relations tends to be relatively simple as it dissolves once clarification has been given out.

In contrast to the first model, Model 2 (see Figure 9) describes the information flow when controversial elements are involved. At first glance, the nature of the fake news might be single-faceted, such as political fake news. Upon further inspection, fake news was expanded into other facets of issues that could provoke the polarized Indonesians. Fake news was seasoned with other controversial elements and at times, drawing the attention away from the fake news itself and towards provoking arguments from different sides. As a result, the second model highlights the idea that debunking fake news does not end when institutions had clarified information, but whether the public could accept it. Unlike the first model, fake news messages tend to originate from known sources, the message could also include certain polarized elements too albeit not always. Fake news began to emerge when institutions, such as the government, followed by news media and third-party fact-check organization had confirmed its factuality. Post-clarification, fake news might not subside and instead evolves and proliferate. Furthermore, various forms of fake news (e.g., information distortion) exist to retaliate the “facts,” defend certain public’s beliefs, and to draw the attention away from the real issue (e.g., adding controversial weights into fake news narrative). As a result, there is the likelihood for previous fake news to be overwritten by new fake news and viralized by polarized public. In this context, the roles of news and fact-check media were to debunk the fake news, but they could not stop the emergence of second wave of fake news.

Information flow is more complex compared with Model 1, as the public has divided opinions, especially when it comes to personal beliefs. This is in congruence with interview findings where news and fact-check experts agreed that polarization is an issue as people would side with information they want to believe regardless of its factuality. Some respondents even stated that education is not always the answer to polarization, as some people they know with high education were adamant in believing and forwarding information that resonates with them,

regardless of its validity. Wibowo, Rahmawan, and Maryani (2019) revealed that demographic factors, including education, had no significant correlation with the spread of fake news in Indonesia.

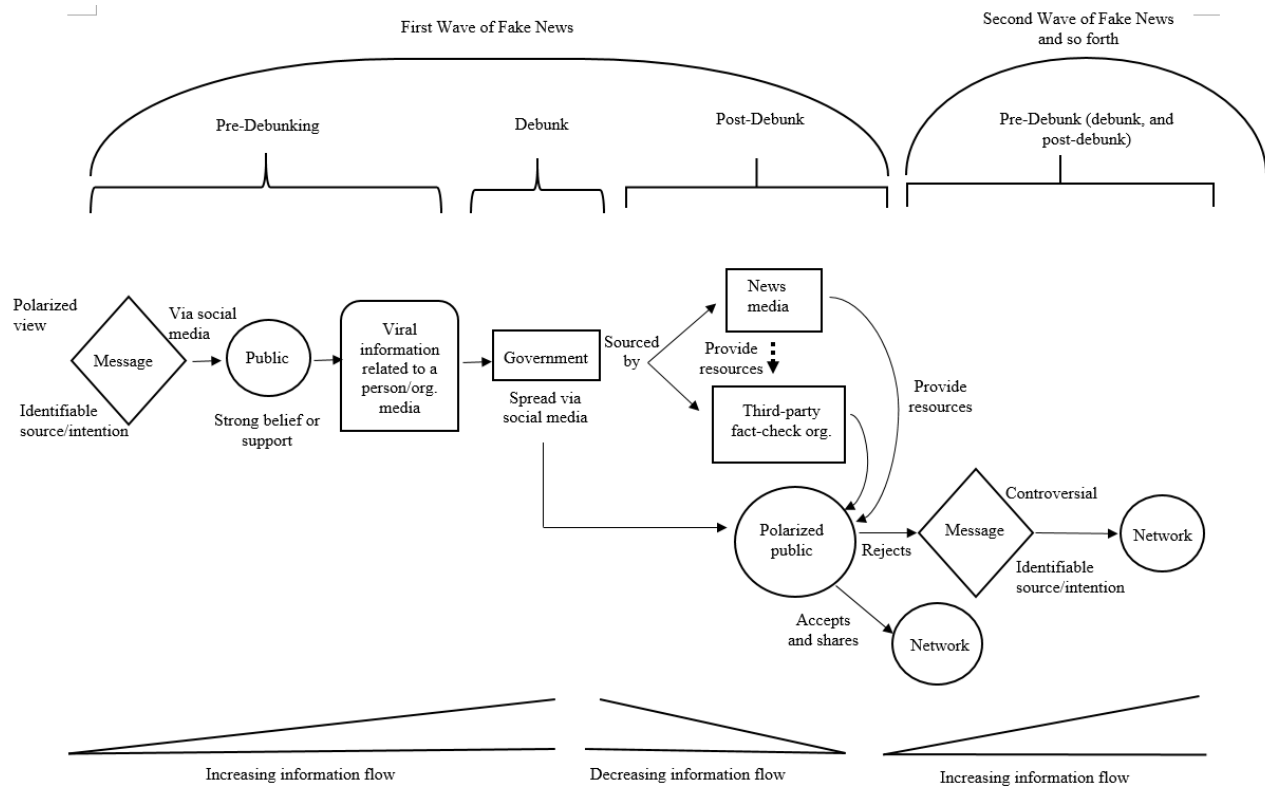


Figure 9. Model 2: Information Flow of Controversial-Themed Fake News

Along with the increasing flow of misleading content, sensitive issues, such as politics and religions are utilized to enhance the flow further. Usage of sensitive elements may further enhance the circulation of fake news especially if it corresponds with a person's beliefs. Furthermore, fake news with sensitive elements tends to have a wider distribution. According to Kusumarani (2018) and MASTEL (2017), both politics and SARA (ethnic, religion, race and intergroup) are the top themes that people encountered in fake news. Simultaneously, Mafindo (2018) also stated that politics and religion are top themes that emerged in fake news.

Thus, once the fake news narrative has been debunked by the government, unlike the first model, where the information flow eventually dissolves, the second model illustrates that a second and perhaps third, the fourth wave of fake news flow. This can be understood as a countermeasure for a particular group of people to defend their beliefs. As a result, the information flow can be repetitive, lasts longer and more complex. Even for the government, they can be included as a part of the fake news narrative instead of taking the role as a debunker.

7.2.2 Information Pattern: Government as Source

Based on the previous two models, a recurring pattern shows that news media organizations heavily rely on information from the government. News media heavily sourced their information from the government and even waited for the government's statement before publishing news articles. Web observations showed that both news media oftentimes released content after debunking statement from the government. Although this may not be the case for every post-Palu disaster fake news, an overarching finding shows that the government played an important role. Likewise, during interview sessions, most news professionals repeatedly mention the government as a trustworthy source. The respondents also stated that they needed official statements (e.g. the government) as they were one of the legitimate sources and had access to resources that common or even, news professionals couldn't lay their hands on.

Furthermore, to avoid spreading wrong information, information from the government is considered as the most valid. Interview respondents claimed that due to the nature of the case was related to disaster, government was considered as the most credible source to provide factual information. Even though certain data might be unobtainable without information from the government, news media still had the ability to approach the government for information. Cases such as the aftershock fake news was left unexplained for a period of time and news media had the

authority to investigate it. Instead, it was until the government's initial confirmation that news media began to debunk. The role of government was important in debunking disaster fake news but the weight journalists placed on government's role might impede the process of debunking fake news. The practice of Indonesian journalists does not reflect the Western ideals they uphold, as values such as objectivity or neutrality involved relying on information from the government. Likewise, what constitutes as a credible source for Indonesian journalists might be different.

A study on Indonesian journalists' coverage during a natural disaster by Steele (2011), the study showed that Indonesian journalists tended to source their information from officials and revealed that content tended to be boring or plain. One of the main resources used by Indonesian journalists was the government and other sources that could provide interesting insights were left out. Furthermore, the study also stated that it was the higher-ups' demand that journalists had to write news based on an official statement. This was similar to findings from the interviews, in which some respondents, such as J3 of *Medcom.id* (independent but traditional affiliated online media) mentioned that when covering Palu disaster, he always told his reporters to be extra cautious, and to ensure their reliable official sources before being published.

This was in congruence with this study's findings of news media's information seeking process and heavy reliance on the government. News professionals that have strong traditional media ties have the tendency to rely more on the government as a source, while independent news media tried to avoid over-reliance on the government. Even though news professionals with strong traditional media affiliations mentioned that they searched for their own information and retained a skeptical stance towards the information received, this may not be the case for natural disaster fake news. In the case of natural disaster, news media tend to be very cautious in the information

they produce to avoid further misinformation. On the other hand, when it comes to political events, respondents exhibited a more skeptical stance compared with natural disasters.

Interestingly, independent news media have slightly different perspectives, compared with news media with traditional media affiliations. Although independent news media did source their information from the government, respondents admitted that they were aware that certain government's agendas exist despite being the information were linked to natural disasters. This brings us to the next discussion about professionalism in news media when handling fake news. The government might have their own agenda, especially considering the fact that post-Palu disaster fake news event was tinted with other non-disaster related elements.

7.2.3. Professional Practices: Traditional Affiliated vs Independent

Considering various influences news professionals receive, editorial policy was regarded as the largest influencer. Interview results suggest that the editorial policies guide the direction and approach news organization have to take when dealing with post-Palu disaster fake news. An interesting contradiction was found on how news professionals on the individual level perceive their professionalism and the reality they have to face in their newsroom. Hanitzsch and Hidayat (2012) found that Indonesian journalists perceived themselves as similar to Western journalistic ideals, the Fourth Estate. Results from this study showed that news professionals projected these journalistic values such as accuracy, impartiality, and objectivity. However, these ideals might not be fully implemented at both routine and organizational levels due to avoidance of particular issues, such as controversial ones.

At a routine level, the process of fake news production makes little difference from other news content. There is no special routine to debunk natural disaster fake news, but an aspect from news media's routine could be compromised when certain political or sensitive elements are found

in the fake news. Specifically, news professionals from traditional media affiliations become cautious when facing with these situations. As a result, when it comes to producing the content, the content gives the impression that news professionals are just skimming through the issue. Web observation has shown that several reports on post-Palu disaster fake news are just reporting what happened and what the truth is, meaning that news professionals tend to report what they are really sure and when official statements can back it up. This is in congruence with the findings of Steele (2011) that Indonesian journalists tend to be overly cautious and avoid dealing with issues related to religious hardliners, political interests, powerful business, and military.

In comparison, independent news media have a relatively flexible routine, because the routine practices do not really dictate journalists do not always require relying on the government for information. Journalists are encouraged to look for their own information and use other means to fact-check a piece of information. This does not mean that traditionally affiliated news media do not encourage their journalists to search for information independently, but interview results indicate that traditionally affiliated news media tend to be very cautious when dealing with fake news that contains political or other sensitive elements.

Another noteworthy point is the concept of time, although all interviewed news professionals mentioned that accuracy is prioritized over time, there still seems to be a conflict of interest between timeliness and accuracy. Most respondents admitted that accuracy is more important, but their routine procedures suggest otherwise. Temporal pressure may not be that evident in online news media as they operate on a 24 hours' basis, as stated by some respondents. However, a lot of respondents still mentioned that when fake news occurred, they have to debunk it as soon as possible. This presents a dilemma for many journalists as they need to be quick, but at the same time, their information has to be accurate. Hanitzsch and Mellado's (2011) study on

journalism in 18 countries found that in terms of procedures, competing with time is regarded as one of the limitations. Therefore, as a means to cope with the demands of timeliness and accuracy, news media rely on the government for disaster fake news information to debunk false information.

Some of the practices at the routine level are shaped and corroborated by editorial policies (organizational level). In the event of natural disaster, sensitive and provocative elements such as politics and religions were still brought into the picture. As a result, some news media chose to minimize coverage on issues that touched upon sensitive elements. This suggests that professionalism is negotiated with maintaining order. Findings from web observations and interviews show similar ideas, taking on the case of FPI, traditionally affiliated news media such as *Kompas.com* and *Medcom.id* tend to be cautious when covering about them. Avoidance of controversial issues or creating inter-group conflicts have been noted as a characteristic of *Kompas* media (Steele, 2011).

Despite the contradictions between personal ideals and newsroom influence in some news media, independent news media illustrates a different perspective. Similar to other news professionals, respondents from *Tempo.co* shared ideals of Western journalistic and the newsroom support these ideals. Both web observation and interview results indicate that independent news media tried to personally investigate certain post-Palu disaster fake news to reflect impartiality and neutrality towards the government. Moreover, fake news issues with sensitive elements were still reported as an effort to practice transparency in news reporting and educating the public.

Even though there are efforts in combating fake news, news professionals are still subject to several limitations. There seems to be a notion where fake news is being treated similarly to other types of news and this is reflected from their routine practices. Hanitzsch and Hidayat (2012) indicated that journalism was still practiced with the idea of being “mirror” and avoid reporting on

information are yet to be verified. Similarly, evidence from Steele (2011) also showed that Indonesian journalists avoid looking in too much even when they suspect the information.

Overall, traditional-affiliated online media were inclined to maintain their status quo and conservative in newswriting. For them, maintaining order and protecting the media organization might be the priorities. Their media background might be a reason for this, conglomerate or political-driven organization might have other agenda(s) aside from news reporting. Comparatively, independent media provided more room for their journalists to report on controversial fake news. Their practice challenged traditional-affiliated media by going over the boundaries of reporting and debunking controversial-themed fake news. Findings showed that independent media's respondents did not show any avoidance towards particular issues or organizations. Although other factors such as the country's "rubber laws" that could criminalize journalists, the present study did not find this factor as an impeding factors in handling disaster fake news. Therefore, it brings back the argument that routines, editorial policies, and media affiliation might be the most influential while handling disaster fake news.

7.2.4. Fact-Checking Model in Indonesia

Given the predisposition of Indonesian news media where certain agenda takes priority over objectivity (Hanitzsch & Hidayat, 2012), the emergence of fact-checking has become the new norm, both inside and outside the newsroom. Inside the newsroom, respondents recognized the importance of fact-checking to combat fake news. Fact-checking is regarded as an inherent part of journalism, but only in recent years that Indonesian news media started to incorporate fact-checking as part of their agenda. One of the main reasons for the emergence of fact-checking is due to society's loss of trust towards mainstream media. The rapid spread of fact-checking practice

was observed by Amazeen (2018) who noted that incorporation of fact-checking in journalism increases favorable views towards journalism.

In the context of fake news, fact-checking was seen as the next necessary step needed to debunk rampant fake news. Due to the large circulation of fake news, fact-checking is considered challenging to be conducted by a single newsroom. Hence, *CekFakta*, a collaboration between 24 newsrooms and a third-party fact-checking company was initiated (Ajengrastri, 2019). Debunking disaster-related fake news as a part of the fact-checking program but greater importance was placed on fake political news. Similar to interview results, political-themed fake news dominates the workload of fact-checkers, which has been gaining prominence among journalists. The collaboration of *CekFakta* highlights the news industry's effort to develop an independent fact-checking mechanism via a network of newsrooms. By providing training and promoting fact-checking to both news professionals and the public, this collaboration also strengthens the position of news professionals as gatekeepers.

Outside the newsroom, there is also the emergence of third-party fact-checkers, *Mafindo*, who differentiate themselves with news media by not having any agenda. The lack of agenda at times made *Mafindo* prone to public's dissatisfaction. This occurred when fact-checked content did not resonate with the beliefs of certain groups, and as a result, they would attack *Mafindo*. Emergence of third-party fact-checking and coupled with Indonesia's polarized society, this gave another insight into Indonesia's fake news ecology.

Based on the aforementioned, fact-checking are differently practiced in various settings; newsrooms fact-checking may be practiced accordingly to each newsroom policy, third-party fact-checkers established an agenda-less work culture yet are still tied down with limited resources, and collaborative fact-checking is a new initiative introduced to Indonesian media professionals.

Nevertheless, several discrepancies remain; first, the values posed by third-party fact-check might be face-values specifically when third-party fact-checkers mainly relied on secondhand resources. Despite claiming to source information from a plethora of news media, the concepts of independence or neutrality remained ambiguous. Independence in this context might refer to their organization background but not necessarily their fact-checking practice. Secondly, the collaborative fact-checking effort was an innovation that combined efforts from various newsrooms and third-party fact-check. Respondents claimed that they were able to remain neutral and objective yet with the involvement of 24 online media, this might be challenging. With each newsroom having their own agenda and importance, coming up to an agreement in handling fake news would take time and more efforts had to be invested in order to remain neutral. Moreover, with the involvement of third-party fact-check organization, their role might be undermined as these 24 online media were more well-known. By identifying oneself with news media, it might influence the independence of third-party fact-check as handling fake news was not merely decided by third-party fact-checkers but together with news media.

Therefore, this led to a differing fact-checking model between Indonesia and Western fact-checking. Graves and Cherubini (2016) noted that newsroom might source third-party fact-check's information but no collaboration was noted. Furthermore, the study of Vizoso and Vázquez-Herrero (2019) on Spanish fact-checking platforms showed that independent fact-check tended to not affiliated themselves with the news media. Other studies on Western fact-check also did not note any collaboration between newsroom and independent fact-checkers (Mena, 2018; Singer, 2018). Thus, the Indonesian model of fact-checking alliance is unique and new; third-party fact-checkers are considered as not a threat for the newsrooms and a reason might be due to the current size and

situation of third-party fact-check. Without secondary resources, it would be difficult for third-party fact-checkers to conduct fact-checking, hence, a collaboration was able to take place.

Lastly, with the concern of distrust towards news media and the introduction of fact-checking, it might be a solution to restore trust. Despite that, distrust towards Indonesian media is complicated, as discussed in chapter 2, several factors composed the current media landscape (e.g., media ownership, laws, etc.) where fact-checking might partially restore trust. Newsroom fact-checking was mostly driven by editorial team, indicating that the extent or depth of fact-checking depends on how much each newsroom is willing to do. On the other hand, third-party fact-checking has the potential to restore trust but with the current practice, it would be difficult to attain. The essence of being a “third-party” was shaped from its organization form but not on its practice. Sourcing information from news media might not necessarily be a taboo, but reliance on news media and its effects on fact-checking remains ambiguous and is open for future research.

7.3 Research Contributions

With respect to the theoretical significance, this investigation contributes to the literature of non-political fake news and in the context of Indonesia, which is rare in the literature of fake news. Secondly, this study addresses fake news from the perspectives of news and fact-check professionals, exploring how they approached fake news related to a natural disaster. By closing the gap from existing literature that lack study on news and fact-check practices, this study sheds light on the various influences news professionals received, particularly at the routine and organizational level. Next, the current study extends the application of the HOI model, which was in need of more applications in different contexts and exploring major influences on journalism, and fact-checking practices. Lastly, the examination of fact-checking practices, a relatively new term in Indonesia, yielded insights on their role in debunking disaster-related fake news, and to an

extent, Indonesia's fake news ecology. Moreover, the present study provides insights into the Indonesian fact-checking model that is comparatively different from the existing Western fact-checking model, including the relationship between newsroom and third-party fact-check organizations.

With regard to the practical contributions, this research offers useful insights for news and fact-checking professionals to evaluate their practices in handling fake news. As the nature of this research is non-political, news and fact-check professionals can evaluate their performance when fake news is related to politics and when they are not. Professionals can then make changes to their guidelines in handling fake news and strengthen their position as gatekeepers. Additionally, this study may provide insights to the government to evaluate the current fake news situations in Indonesia, and what they could do to further support the country's news and fact-checking profession.

7.4 Limitations and Future Study

The researcher recognizes that this research has several limitations that can be addressed in the future study. First, this research examined three news media organizations to represent major categories of Indonesia's media industry but does not cover other types of news media, such as local smaller news media. Thus, this research may not fully represent the whole Indonesia's media industry approach on fake news. Secondly, this research also does not go in-depth on newsrooms' fact-checkers, this study provides insights on fact-checking practices in the newsroom but more research is still needed to address news media's fact-checkers. In addition, as most post-Palu disaster fake news is circulated online, there is a big chance that some posts are not visible due to privacy settings, deleted posts, and posts that are skipped due to keywords used. Therefore, this

study is only limited to the data the researcher was able to obtain online and used to analyze information flow and patterns.

To address these limitations, a future study on this topic can further investigate news professionals from a more diverse background. The study can aim to investigate fake news practices of news professionals working for smaller or local media groups. Secondly, studies related to the changing role and expectation of news media to act as both journalists and fact-checkers. This could enrich understanding on the current situation in Indonesian newsrooms and how journalists keep up with the demands. Next, the study on the relationship between Indonesian third-party fact-checkers with newsroom fact-checkers could be examined too, specifically in the context of collaboration. The study could further elaborate the emergence of this innovative collaboration and how the concept of “independence” was formed or retained. Lastly, the study between third-party fact-checking and restoring trust in Indonesian public could also be examined to understand the influence of independent fact-checking and how it was perceived by the public.

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APPENDIX A – Consent Form

Consent Form

Please read this consent agreement carefully.

Purpose of the research:

The purpose of this research is to investigate how professionals from news media and third-party fact-checking organization dealt with fake news that were circulating in the event of Palu earthquake and tsunami. Results from this interview will be presented as a master thesis for International Master's Program in International Communication Studies (IMICS) at National Chengchi University, Taiwan. This research will be conducted by Febbie Austina Kwanda, a graduate student at National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan, under the supervision of Dr. Trisha T. C. Lin, an associate professor at College of Communication, National Chengchi University, Taiwan.

What you will do in this study:

First, you will answer some interview questions, which will take around 30 to 45 minutes. The conversation will also be recorded.

Benefits/Risks:

Your participation in this study will contribute to research on fake news in Indonesia and how both news media and third-party fact-checking organization dealt with it. There are no anticipated risks associated with participating in this study.

Voluntary Withdrawal:

As your participation in this study is voluntary, you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.

Confidentiality:

Your personal data will be secured and guaranteed to remain confidential in this study. Your personal data will be used only for research purposes. Personal data such as name will be assigned an ID number with no correlations with your name. All data and consent forms will be stored safely. The findings will be presented only for academic use, including master thesis, and/or published in journals, books, etc.

IMICS Contact Person:

This study is approved by IMICS. If you have any questions about the study or your rights as a respondent, feel free to contact the researcher, Febbie Austina Kwanda (febbiekwanda@gmail.com), or her supervisor, Dr. Trisha T.C. Lin (trishlin@nccu.edu.tw).

Thank you very much for your time and effort. We really appreciate your help.

Sincerely,
Febbie Austina Kwanda
Graduate Student
International Master's Program in International Communication Studies (IMICS)
National Chengchi University
Email: febbiekwanda@gmail.com

Agreement: The purpose and the nature of this study have been sufficiently explained to me. I agree to participate in this study voluntarily. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any penalty. If you agree to participate in this research, please select yes.

Yes _____ No _____

Name in print (optional): _____ Date: _____

Surat Persetujuan

Harap membaca surat persetujuan ini secara teliti.

Tujuan penelitian:

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mempelajari bagaimana profesional-profesional dari media berita dan organisasi untuk mengecek fakta menangkal hoax atau berita palsu yang beredar dengan gempa dan tsunami yang terjadi di Palu. Temuan dalam penelitian ini akan disampaikan dalam bentuk tesis magister untuk program IMICS, National Chengchi University, Taiwan. Penelitian ini akan dilakukan oleh Febbie Austina Kwanda, mahasiswa magister National Chengchi University di Taipei, Taiwan dan di bawah supervisi Dr. Trisha T. C. Lin, associate professor di Fakultas Komunikasi, National Chengchi University, Taiwan.

Jenis partisipasi:

Pertama, Anda akan menjawab beberapa pertanyaan wawancara yang akan berlangsung sekitar 30 -45 menit. Proses wawancara akan direkam oleh peneliti.

Keuntungan/Resiko:

Partisipasi Anda dalam penelitian ini akan berkontribusi dalam penelitian di bidang berita palsu (fake news), terutama di Indonesia. Tidak ada resiko dalam partisipasi Anda di penelitian ini.

Pembatalan Partisipasi:

Anda berpartisipasi secara sukarela dalam penelitian ini dan Anda dapat mundur sewaktu-waktu tanpa adanya denda.

Kerahasiaan:

Data pribadi Anda dalam penelitian ini akan dijamin kerahasiaannya dan akan digunakan hanya untuk tujuan penelitian. Jawaban Anda akan ditampilkan dengan kode ID yang tidak terkait dengan nama Anda. Semua data dan surat persetujuan akan disimpan dengan aman. Hasil penelitian akan disampaikan dalam bentuk tesis magister dan/atau dipublikasikan di jurnal, buku, dan sebagainya.

Kontak IMICS:

Penelitian ini disetujui oleh IMICS. Jika Anda memiliki pertanyaan seputar penelitian ini atau hak Anda sebagai peserta, silahkan menghubungi peneliti, Febbie Austina Kwanda (febbiekwanda@gmail.com), atau supervisor-nya, Dr. Trisha T.C. Lin (trishlin@nccu.edu.tw).

Terima kasih atas waktu dan partisipasi Anda. Bantuan Anda dalam penelitian ini sangat dihargai.

Salam Hormat,
Febbie Austina Kwanda Mahasiswa Magister
International Master's Program in International Communication Studies (IMICS)
National Chengchi University

Persetujuan: Tujuan dan jenis penelitian ini sudah disampaikan kepada saya dengan baik. Saya setuju untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini secara sukarela. Saya paham bahwa saya dapat mundur sewaktu-waktu tanpa perlu memberi alasan dan tanpa denda. Jika Anda setuju untuk berpartisipasi, silahkan pilih Setuju.

Setuju_____ Tidak Setuju_____

Nama: _____ Tanggal: _____



APPENDIX B- Interview Questions

Set 1

Interview Questions for News Professionals

Demographic Questions	Name: Gender: Age: Education: Working Experience: Job position:
Personal Trait	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. What are your opinions regarding fake news in Indonesia? What were the negative impacts you observed?2. Prior to Palu's fake news, what were your experiences in dealing with fake news? How did your previous experience help you in dealing with Palu's fake news?3. How do you think your training or education related to journalism influence the way how you perceive and handle fake news?
Professional value	<ol style="list-style-type: none">4. As a news professional, what are your takes on your role in the battle against fake news? What kinds of professional value as a news professional do influence your practices on fake news? How? Elaborate with examples.5. What were the differences when you worked on fake news related to natural disasters and politics?
Information Gathering	<ol style="list-style-type: none">6. During information gathering, what will you do to avoid reporting fake news? In the event of fake news during Palu disaster did you encounter any difficulties (e.g. infrastructure) in gathering information? Please elaborate
Source Credibility	<ol style="list-style-type: none">7. What did you do to ensure your sources were trustworthy when fake news was rampant? Were there any specific requirements or guidelines in selecting your sources? What about in the case of Palu fake news?
Timeliness	<ol style="list-style-type: none">8. Under the pressure of deadline, how did you balance the news timeliness and fact checking to avoid misinformation or disinformation?9. When you are covering a (fake) news story that is ambiguous or yet to be confirmed, how urgent or pressing is it for you to inform/update the readers? Compared with

	<p>other news, how was the degree of urgency to produce content and deliver the information?</p> <p>10. When you encountered fake news (e.g., another earthquake and babies to be adopted) during the disaster, what did you do? Did you treat different cases differently, if so, why?</p>
Source Knowledge	<p>11. With regards to fake news during Palu disaster, what kind of sources do you look for? Do you only seek for clarifications of certain information, or do you seek beyond other related information?</p>
Information Processing/Production	<p>12. Have you or your colleague produced news reporting on fake news, but found that they were untrue later? What did you do about it?</p> <p>13. How does the prevalence of fake news influence the way your news making in processing information and producing news?</p>
Constructing	<p>14. How did you make sense or select relevant information when constructing content related to fake news? What were considerations to be taken into account?</p> <p>15. In the case of Palu fake news, what did you emphasize news-making in any aspect of the information (e.g. motives, consequences, etc)? Why?</p>
Correcting	<p>16. How did you verify your information about news reporting? After fact-checking, if there were something incorrect in news, how would you make corrections?</p> <p>17. Does timely news reporting and frequent updates usually lead to correcting? How did such correction differ in reporting fake news cases?</p> <p>18. In the event of fake news during Palu disaster, did you post and revise content in a timely manner? Use examples to elaborate.</p> <p>19. How does making corrections, in relation to professionalism, is perceived in your newsroom?</p>
Information Distribution	<p>20. What are the advantages and challenges when disseminating fake news related information via the various distribution channel your company has, such as traditional media, news websites and social media?</p> <p>21. When publishing information on fake news, what is the</p>

	<p>primary channel you use to distribute information? Why? How do you utilize other distribution channels to leverage or boost your news reach?</p>
Traditional Mass Media	<p>22. (For traditional media only) what kinds of fake news stories will be included in the traditional media? Any different procedure or practices compared with news website or social media? What are the purposes of using each communication channel and how do content presentation differ from one another?</p> <p>23. (For web-only news media) What are the differences in terms of purpose and content when distributing fake news related information via news websites and social media? Are there different procedures or practices that you need to abide?</p>
News Websites	<p>24. What are the guidelines in distributing information via news websites? What about in the case of fake news during Palu disaster?</p>
Social Media	<p>25. What are the guidelines in distributing information via social media? Please elaborate</p>
Choosing claims to check	<p>26. How did you or your editor/organization decided which information (fake news) need to be clarified? Is it based on the government, the public interest or certain decision made by the editorial team? What about the case of Palu disaster?</p>
Contacting the fake news creator	<p>27. In the case of Palu fake news, did you contact any of the fake news creators? What did you do with them in terms of news-making? How and why?</p>
Tracing false claims	<p>28. Have you ever followed the development or tracing back fake news? Share your experiences (e.g., Where did you find the fake news? Did you trace back to information sources these fake news perpetrators stated?)</p>
Referring to Experts	<p>29. During Palu disaster, did you contact any experts or organizations that could assist you in fact-checking? Please elaborate</p>
Showing Results	<p>30. When communicating your results to the public, what are the guidelines you need to follow in order to depict that you have verified information?</p> <p>31. How about in the context of Palu's fake news? Were there</p>

	any challenges in communicating your results (e.g., netizens who don't believe)?
Editorial Policies	<p>32. What are the editorial policies toward news practices in your organization?</p> <p>33. What standardized of procedures (SOP) do you have when producing news stories regarding a confirmed fake news story?</p> <p>34. Given the nature of Palu disaster, how does the SOP differ from other types of fake news? As there are many types of Palu fake news (e.g., FPI fake news and babies adoptions), did you have different approach to it?</p>
Organizational Culture	<p>35. What are the organizational beliefs, principles and cultures influencing news-making and practices? Are there any implicit rules to follow?</p> <p>36. When you are covering fake news (Palu), what and how did organizational culture influence you in news-making and practices?</p>
Government's Influence	<p>37. How does the government or policy/regulation influence the fake news reporting? Anything specific in the context of Palu disaster?</p> <p>38. In the case of Palu fake news, were there fake news that had political undertones (e.g. FPI)? How did government's response or stance influence the way news is being produced?</p>
Third-party Fact-Checking Organization's Influence	<p>39. How do the fact-check third-party organizations influence the fake news reporting?</p> <p>40. Have you waited for the government or third-party's clarifications before processing your news? Why? How to balance immediacy/timeliness with accuracy?</p>

Set 2

Interview Questions for Fact-Check Professionals

Demographic Questions	Name: Gender: Age: Education: Working Experience: Job position:
Personal Trait	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are your personal opinions regarding fake news in Indonesia? What were their negative impacts you observed? 2. Prior to Palu's fake news, what were your experiences in dealing with fake news? How did your previous experience help you in dealing with Palu's fake news? 3. How did your training in fact-checking or education influenced the way you perceive fake news and handled fake news? 4. What were the differences when you worked on fake news related to natural disasters and politics?
Professional Value	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. As a fact-check professional, what are your takes on your role in the battle against fake news? What are the key requirements to be a good fact-checkers? 6. How important do you think fact-checkers are, in terms of conquering fake news? Why? How did your readers or general Indonesians view your role as fact-checkers and how did this affect your professional value and practices?
Information Gathering	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. During information gathering, what will you do to avoid reporting fake news? In the event of fake news during Palu disaster, did you encounter any difficulties in gathering information and differentiate true or false information? Please elaborate
Source Credibility	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. What did you do to ensure your sources were trustworthy when fake news was rampant? Were there any specific requirements or guidelines in selecting your sources? What about in the case of Palu fake news?
Timeliness	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. How did you balance between speed and accuracy? Which one did you prioritize over the other, and why? 10. When you encounter fake news (e.g., another earthquake and babies to be adopted) during the disaster, what did you

	do? Did you treat different cases differently? If so, why?
Source Knowledge	11. With regards to fake news during Palu disaster, what kinds of sources that equipped knowledge you (or your colleagues) would interview and what you would like to confirm from them? Give examples to elaborate
Information processing/ production	12. Have you or your colleague produced fact-check reporting on the fake news, but found out they were untrue later? What would you (or him/her) do about it? 13. How does the prevalence of fake news influence the way your news making in processing information and producing news?
Constructing	14. How did you make sense or select relevant information when constructing content related to fake news? What are considerations to be taken into account 15. In the case of Palu fake news, did you emphasize any aspects of the information (e.g. the motives, the consequences etc)? Why or why not?
Correcting	16. How did you verify your information? If there was a mistake in the results, what measures did you take? Were there any past cases? 17. In the event of fake news during Palu disaster, did you post and revise content in a timely manner? Use examples to elaborate. 18. How does making corrections, in relation to professionalism, is perceived in your workroom?
Information Distribution	19. What are the advantages and challenges when disseminating fake news related information via the various distribution channel your company has, such as news websites and social media? 20. When publishing information on fake news, what is the primary channel you use to distribute information? Why?
Traditional Mass Media	21. As your organization did not use traditional media to distribute your results, what are your strategies to deliver fact-checked information to the audience? 22. How did you make the traditional media report your fact-check results? Use examples to elaborate.
News website	23. What are the guidelines in distributing information via news websites? What about in the case of fake news during Palu

	disaster?
Social Media	24. What are the guidelines in distributing information via social media? Please elaborate
Choosing claims to check	25. How did you or your organization decided which information (fake news) need to be clarified? Is it based on the government, the public interest or certain decision made by the team? What about the case of Palu disaster?
Contacting the fake news creator	26. In the case of Palu fake news, did you contact any of the fake news perpetrators? Why or why not?
Referring to Experts	27. During Palu disaster, did you contact any experts or organizations that could assist you in fact-checking? Please elaborate.
Showing Results	28. When communicating your results to the public, what are the guidelines you need to follow in order to depict that you have verified information? 29. How about in the context of Palu's fake news? Were there any challenges in communicating your results (e.g., netizens who don't believe)?
Editorial Policies	30. What are the editorial policies toward fact-checking practices in your organization? 31. As fake news is becoming a serious issue, it or change the SOP of your organization? 32. Given the nature of Palu disaster, how does the SOP differ from other types of fake news? Furthermore, as there are many types of Palu fake news, did you have different approach to it? For example, FPI fake news compared to babies adoptions?
Organizational Culture	33. Describe the organizational structure of your organization? (size, division, management, etc.). 34. What is the organizational culture like in your company? Are there any implicit rules? Please elaborate 35. When you were checking facts about fake news (Palu), what and how did organizational culture influence you in fact-checking processes?
Government's Influence	36. How does the government or policy/regulation influence the fake news reporting? Anything specific in the context of

	<p>Palu disaster?</p> <p>37. In the case of Palu fake news, were there fake news that had political undertones (e.g. FPI)? How did government's response or stance influences the way news is being produced?</p>
Third-party Fact-Check Organization's influence	<p>38. Did you pay attention to any other third-party fact-checking organization? When fact-checking statements related to Palu fake news, did you keep tracks on how other fact-checking organization produced their information? Does it impact you in certain ways?</p>



Set 3

Interview questions for collaborative fact-checking

Demographic Questions	<p>Name:</p> <p>Gender:</p> <p>Age:</p> <p>Education:</p> <p>Working Experience:</p> <p>Job position:</p>
The Organization	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Could you please describe about CekFakta and your roles in this organization? What are the benefits of being a member of CekFakta? How is the working mechanism in CekFakta? 2. (For partner/s of CekFakta) Could you please describe about your organization? How is your relationship/ partnership with CekFakta?
Fact-Check Ecology	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. What do you think about Indonesians' perceptions about fact-check? How would you position fact-checking in this country's information ecology? 4. What are the benefits of having this collaborative effort for Indonesia? How would this collaborative effort assist Indonesia against the battle with fake news? 5. How would you describe the changes observed before and after having CekFakta? Both in terms of your own media or fact-checking organization and the public.
Personal Trait	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. What are your opinions regarding fake news in Indonesia? What were their negative impacts you observed? 7. How did your previous experience help you in dealing with current fake news issues? 8. How do you think your training or education related to journalism influence the way how you perceive and/or handle fake news?
Professional value	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. As a professional, what are your takes on your role in the battle against fake news? What professional values o you think are necessary to possess in this post-truth era? 10. During the training provided, what are the professional values instilled? As the trainer, why are these values selected? If you are the one receiving training, how did these values influence the way you handle fake news? What were the differences when you worked on fake news related to

	natural disasters and politics?
Information Gathering	11. During information gathering, do you work internally with your organization? Or do you cross-share your information and sources with members registered in CekFakta?
Source Credibility	12. As this is a collaborative effort, how did you ensure the source credibility? Is there SOP that is shared within members of CekFakta? Or every online news media work accordingly to their own SOP and then share it with other members of CekFakta?
Timeliness	13. Is there any time pressure as member of CekFakta? How is timeliness/speed and accuracy is perceived in this collaborative effort? 14. When posting a content related to fake news, do you usually post it on your website first or at CekFakta? Why? 15. (For partner/s only) When you were providing trainings for members of CekFakta, what kind of trainings did you provide? Was the aspect of speed included as part of your training too?
Information Processing/Production	16. Have you or other members of CekFakta produced news reporting on fake news, but found that they were untrue later? What did you do about it?
Correcting	17. How did you verify your information about news reporting? Did you cross-check with each other? How does it work?
Information Distribution	18. What is the primary channel used to disseminate information here at CekFakta? Aside from the primary channel, did you use your own media's channel and/or other members' media channels to boost the content? 19. What are the guidelines to post on CekFakta's primary channel? Who has the final say in terms of posting these content on CekFakta's platform/s?
Choosing claims to check	20. How did CekFakta decided which information (fake news) need to be clarified? Is it based on the government, the public interest or certain decision made by the editorial team?
Referring to Experts	21. What is your benchmark of fact-checking? Do you refer to Mafindo, your internal fact-checking system or a mix of

	both? Please elaborate benchmark
Showing Results	22. When communicating your results to the public, what are the guidelines you need to follow in order to depict that you have verified information? As this is a collaborative effort, what are the benefits and challenges of communicating your results under the label of CekFakta?
Organizational Culture	23. What are the organizational beliefs, principles and cultures in CekFakta? How does it influence how you fact-check?
Government's Influence	24. How does the government or policy/regulation influence the fake news reporting? Please elaborate saat ini ada 2
Training (for partner/s)	<p>25. Could you please describe the types of training you provided for members of CekFakta?</p> <p>26. What do you think are the current strengths and weaknesses of fact-checking system in Indonesia? What area of improvements can be made? Why?</p> <p>27. With the trainings provided, how would you envision Indonesia's fact-checking ecology in the next few years?</p>