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MANUFACTURING VIOLENCE: LOCAL MEDIA FRAMING AND PUBLIC OPINION ON YOGYAKARTA YOUTH'S VIOLENCE ACTION



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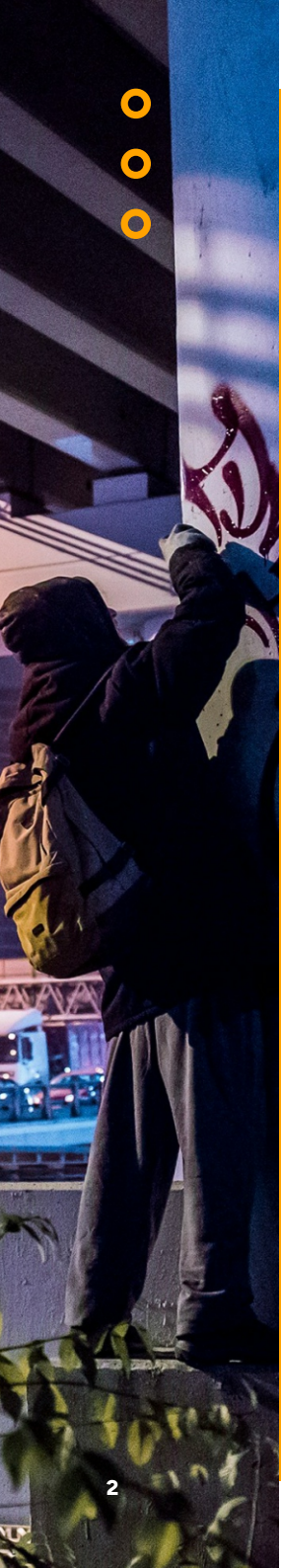


➔ BACKGROUND

The Special Region of Yogyakarta, which for the last decade has been colored by a form of youth violence called *klitih*, has become the object of national media coverage. *Klitih* is a form of violence perpetrated by a group of teenagers armed with sharp weapons, who wander around the city at night looking for victims (Rahman et al., 2021, p. 14). From 2000 to 2004, *klitih* was a common practice of violence between school gangs. This practice of violence became more widespread after the Government of Yogyakarta issued two repressive regulations, namely Mayor Regulation Number 24 of 2008 and Mayor Regulation Number 41 of 2010. These two regulations threaten youths who are involved in gang brawls to be expelled from their schools (Sugiarto, 2017). *Klitih* then expanded into violence that did not only occur between gangs, but also affected the general public.

After the local media, *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, published an article titled "Yogyakarta Darurat Klitih" in 2016; the term *klitih* is known by the general public. The *Kedaulatan Rakyat* article was also the first starting point when *klitih* began to become the object of local and national media coverage. In covering news of violence, the media has a role to investigate the structural dimensions of the violence, not just reporting the violence as it really is (Held, 1997). *Klitih* is a structural violence caused by problems in educational institutions and the shrinking of spaces for expression due to problematic city spatial planning (Marino, 2022).





This structural perspective is not shared by policy makers in Yogyakarta. Instead, *klitih* is seen as an individual problem, the solution of which is borne by the individuals who are the perpetrators (Jasmine et al., 2022). Meanwhile, meaningful structural interventions are not carried out.

This special case on how local media reports violence-related issues with a reductionist framing is related to the centralization of media ownership. Ross Tapsell (2017, p. 268) found that, since the advent of the “digital era” in 2004, media ownership in Indonesia has increasingly been concentrated in the hands of a handful of people, whom he later refers to as digital conglomerates. The “digital era” here refers to the massive use of US-based social media, such as YouTube (2005), Facebook (2006), Twitter (2008), and Path (2010) (Tapsell, 2017, p. 68). This centralization is possible because digitalization makes new media—which is synonymous with online media—merge with old media—which is synonymous with print, radio, and television media (Jenkins, 2008).

One of the implications of media centralization is an increasingly homogeneous news landscape. This has implications for journalists' autonomy, as their freedom to choose what issues to report on and how these issues are framed has been restricted by the media owners (Tapsell, 2012). A further implication of this condition is the spread of low-quality news among the public. The journalist's autonomy that was restricted due to the centralization of the media made them unable to do anything to write better and public-oriented news (Maudy, 2022). The specific form of this low-quality news is the proliferation of fast news or hard news, while in-depth news is rare. More specifically, according to Rizky (2021) and Darmastuti (2012), the mushrooming hard news stories usually only quote official statements from government agencies without further verification from other sources (Rizky, 2021).

Thus, the disruption of journalist autonomy due to media centralization not only affects the quality of reporting, but also threatens the role of journalism as a check on power.

The implication of various problems arising from the centralization of the media is the emergence of news that is insensitive to social issues, one of which is the issue of violence. News of this kind are often found in social circles that have a culture of violence. The role of the media in shaping this reductionist perspective is certainly questionable. With these various considerations, this study aims to examine local media's framing practices on issues of violence, specifically *klitih*, in Yogyakarta. Furthermore, this research also aims to examine how public opinion on *klitih* formed as a result of media framing.

➔ RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- 1 How is the practice of local media framing in Yogyakarta towards the issue of *klitih*?
- 2 How is public opinion formed as a result of local media framing of *klitih* issues?

➔ THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The formation of public opinion by the media is one of the most frequently debated arguments in media studies. Some scholars, namely Walter Lippmann (1922), Harold Lasswell (1948), and George Gerbner (1998) stated that the media is a human intermediary to understand reality. Furthermore, Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman (1988) stated that, due to its function as human intermediary to understand reality, often hijacked by the corporates and political elites to form public opinion in order to achieve their political and economic interests, especially to gain and maintain power.

On the other hand, there is Marshall McLuhan, who is famous for the statement "the medium is the message". For McLuhan, media studies scientists who focus on content analysis and discourse analysis often fail to see the important role of the medium for conveying content and discourse. McLuhan (1994) argues that the medium of conveying messages has a significant role in shaping the opinions, even actions, of the individuals who become their readers.

McLuhan's statement turned on all media research scientists who emphasized that the message carried by the media is an element of forming public opinion. In the 1990s, McLuhan's ideas regained popularity due to the emergence of the internet (Tapsell, 2017). The presence of the internet makes the argument "the medium is the message" even stronger. The internet has become a medium capable of making the messages it contains so influential, it can even have a very different effect from what the sender intended (Levinson, 1999).

Based on Lippmann and Lasswell's arguments, this study intends to analyze how the local media in Yogyakarta shape public opinion about *klitih*. The unit of analysis that will be the focus, with reference to Gerbner's argument, is the symbols that are exposed by the media to the public continuously, which are specifically contained in the news frame. On the other hand, the existence of digital media owned by local media in Yogyakarta cannot be ignored. Each local media has a social media account that serves to expand the reach of its coverage. In addition, the existence of these social media accounts also functions as a public forum to respond to news. By considering McLuhan's argument, this study will also analyze social media accounts from local media which are the unit of analysis to find out how the medium shapes public opinion.





➔ TECHNICAL-METHODOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

Four Framing Tools

To analyze news reports from the three local media that become units of analysis, this study uses the framing analysis method introduced by Robert Entman. To analyze framing or news frames, Entman (1993) introduces four framing tools as analytical tools: (1) define problems (define problems), (2) diagnose causes of problems (diagnose causes), (3) make moral judgments (make moral judgments), and (4) provide recommendations (treatment judgment). This framing analysis was carried out on three Yogyakarta local media which became the area of focus. Framing analysis was carried out on online media from the three media, namely *krjogja.com*, *harianjogja.com*, and *jogja.tribunnews.com*. The news articles whose framing is analyzed are news that contains the keyword "klitih". This method, specifically, serves to answer the second research question.

This research focuses on three Yogyakarta local media, namely *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Harian Jogja*, and *Tribun Jogja*. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* is one of the oldest media in Yogyakarta. It was first published on September 27, 1945 (Raditya, 2019). For this reason, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* is the most well-known local media and the closest to the people of Yogyakarta. *Harian Jogja* is a Yogyakarta local media that is part of the *Bisnis Indonesia Group*, a few percent of whose shares are held by the Yogyakarta Sultanate (Adikara, 2022). *Tribun Jogja* is part of the *Kompas Gramedia Group*, one of the eight media conglomerates in Tapsell's research.

Because of its proximity to the people of Yogyakarta, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* has a greater ability to influence Yogyakarta public opinion. Meanwhile, because a few percent of its shares are held by the Yogyakarta Sultanate, *Harian Jogja* certainly has an interesting editorial ecosystem to study. Because it is part of a national media conglomerate, *Tribun Jogja* also has an interesting editorial ecosystem to study. For these reasons, the researcher chose those three local media as the focus of the research. The data will be collected based on the keyword "Klitih" that was posted from 1 January 2022 until 31 December 2022 in those three local media websites. The choice of this time period was based on the explosion in the news coverage of *klitih* in 2022. The news exploded after a teenager named Daffa Adzin Albasith died after becoming a victim of *klitih* in Gedongkuning, Yogyakarta (suara.com, 2022).



Sentiment Analysis

Opinion mining or sentiment analysis is a process to determine the emotion of digital text by people. It can be put in various purposes, one of them is to determine the thoughts of people regarding an issue or event that happened around the world. Opinion, as well as related ideas like sentiment, evaluation, attitudes, and emotions, are the focus of the academic field of sentiment analysis (Liu, 2016). Sentiment analysis is an active research topic within Natural Language Processing that aims to develop a method that can be implemented into a tool that can be used for extracting subjective information in the form of sentiments or opinions from a data text. The source of this process usually comes from digital text or social media. In this case, Twitter. As a microblogging platform, Twitter can be one of the resources to opinion mining about certain issue,

Performing sentiment analysis on Twitter Data involves using Natural Language Processing or NLP techniques to classify tweets into three categories; positive, negative, or neutral. From Twitter, the data will be collected using Twitter scraping tools written in Python with a library called Twint. The data will be collected based on the keyword “*klitih*” that was posted from 1 January 2022 until 31 December 2022. The choice of this time period was based on the explosion in the news coverage of *klitih* in 2022. The news exploded after a teenager named Daffa Adzin Albasith died after becoming a victim of *klitih* in Gedongkuning, Yogyakarta (suara.com, 2022). The data collection will be preprocessed by removing irrelevant information such as URLs, usernames, hashtags, and stop words. Different pre-processing techniques will be applied to examine the main factors that cause those differences in performance between these classifiers. After that, the clean data can be used for the next step which is the modeling of sentiment. Sentiment analysis model will use a machine learning algorithm to classify the polarity of sentiment, besides that the accuracy of the model is also calculated. The process of sentiment analysis will be shown in the scheme below.

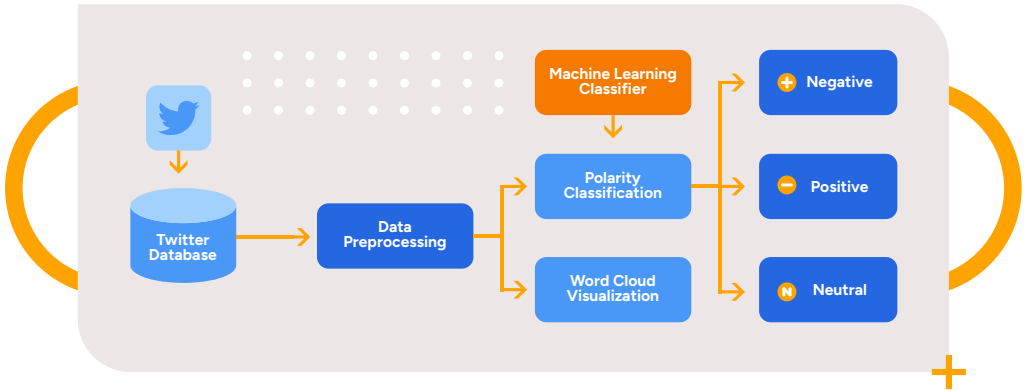


Figure 1. Sentiment Analysis Process

➔ RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Framing Analysis

By using the keyword "*klitih*", researchers managed to find 56 news articles from three Yogyakarta online media, namely *harianjogja.com*; *krjogja.com*; and *jogja.tribunnews.com*. The online media *harianjogja.com* contributed the most articles with 27 articles, compiled by *jogja.tribunnews.com* and *krjogja.com*, which contributed 19 and 10 articles respectively. The news articles that were successfully collected were grouped into three themes based on their framing: (1) identification of *klitih* and its causes, (2) the government's response to *klitih*, and (3) alternative solutions to *klitih*.

News with the first theme is written with the aim of identifying *klitih* and the factors that cause it. Articles written with this theme rarely focus on the structural dimension of *klitih*, which is seen as an individual problem. News with the second theme was written with the aim of conveying the government's responses, especially the Yogyakarta Regional Government, in responding to *klitih* issues. News with this second theme tends to amplify the repressive responses used by the Yogyakarta Regional Government to deal with *klitih*. On the other hand, the Yogyakarta local media are also trying to provide alternative treatment of *klitih* with the third theme of news. Because the basis for identifying *klitih* is individual, alternative treatments offered by Yogyakarta local media also tend to be individual rather than structural.

Harian Jogja

From January to December 2022, harianjogja.com has published 27 articles about *klitih*. Among the 27 articles that have been published, 6 articles are articles with the theme of identifying *klitih* and its causes.

Table 1. List of Published Articles about *Klitih* and Its Causes on harianjogja.com

No.	Date	News Title
1	4 Jan 2022	Ini Penyebab Klithih Menurut Sosiolog UGM
2	11 Apr 2022	Pelaku Klithih Maut di Jalan Gedongkuning Ternyata Anggota Geng Pelajar Berinisial M
3	12 Apr 2022	Polisi: Hampir Semua Sekolah di Jogja Punya Geng Pelajar, Sebagian Brutal
4	12 Apr 2022	Pemkot: Tidak Ada Korban Acak dalam Kekerasan Jalanan di Jogja
5	17 Apr 2022	Dosen UGM: Tekanan Pandemi Picu Kejahatan Jalanan di Jogja
6	18 Apr 2022	Jadi Biang Rasjal, Polda DIY: Geng Sudah Tak Lagi Identik dengan Sekolah

In an article titled "Ini Penyebab Klithih Menurut Sosiolog UGM", *klitih* is defined as a mere form of juvenile delinquency. Citing the opinion of UGM sociologist Wahyu Kustiningsih, harianjogja.com stated that *klitih* is a form of juvenile delinquency which is an expression of a show of power by the youth. This need to express power is caused by a lack of space for expression. Ian Wilson (2022) stated that *klitih* in Yogyakarta is very closely related to gentrification which deprives Yogyakarta of public spaces. However, this article does not further explore the structural causes, namely gentrification, that make this space for expression continuously diminish in Yogyakarta. Instead of highlighting the structural dimension that causes *klitih*, this article emphasizes that *klitih* is an individual crime that can be handled by the community itself with various schemes, such as coaching by Family Welfare Empowerment (PKK) and Neighborhood Security System (Siskamling) patrols.



Apart from reproducing labeling, *harianjogja.com* also continuously discusses *klitih* as an individual problem. In the articles "Dosen UGM: Tekanan Pandemi Picu Kejahatan Jalanan di Jogja", "Jadi Biang Rasjal, Polda DIY: Geng Sudah Tak Lagi Identik dengan Sekolah", and "Pemkot: Tidak Ada Korban Acak dalam Kekerasan Jalanan di Jogja"; *klitih* is reduced to an individual problem caused by a pattern of wrong upbringing in the family. Other causes such as education and urban spatial planning, which require structural responsibility from the government, were left out of the debate. The implication is that *klitih* is considered an individual problem that must be solved individually too, namely by improving family upbringing, without the responsibility of the government.

The second theme encountered in the *harianjogja.com* news coverage of *klitih* is the Yogyakarta Regional Government's response to *klitih*. In total, there are 14 news articles with this theme.

Table 2. List of Published Articles about Yogyakarta Regional Government's Response to Klitih on harianjogja

No.	Date	News Title
1	1 Jan 2022	Biaya Perawatan Korban Klitih Diusulkan Ditanggung Pemerintah
2	3 Jan 2022	Pasang Baliho Solo Aman di Jogja, Gibran Bantah Terkait Klitih
3	10 Apr 2022	Sudah Dibentuk, Satgas Anti Klitih di Sleman Butuh Keterlibatan Masyarakat
4	10 Apr 2022	Jogja Akan Anggarkan Penanganan Klitih di APBD Perubahan 2022
5	11 Apr 2022	Eksekutor Kasus Klitih yang Tewaskan Remaja di Gedongkuning Ternyata Warga Mergangsari
6	11 Apr 2022	Tersangka Klitih Pembunuh Remaja di Gedongkuning Ditangkap Polisi
7	12 Apr 2022	Kekerasan Merajalela! Sultan Siapkan Tempat Penampungan Anak Bermasalah di Pundong
8	12 Apr 2022	Benarkah Pelaku Kekerasan Jalanan di Jogja dari Keluarga Miskin? Begini Jawaban Sultan HB X
9	12 Apr 2022	KEKERASAN JALANAN: Biarkan Anaknya Keluar Malam, Orang Tua Bakal Ikut Diperiksa Polisi
10	13 Apr 2022	Cegah Aksi Kekerasan Jalanan, Masyarakat Minggir Dilibatkan

No.	Date	News Title
11	28 Jun 2022	Polisi Dituding Salah Tangkap Pelaku Rasjal di Gedongkuning
12	20 Okt 2022	Terdakwa Klitih Gedongkuning Minta Dibebaskan, si Ayah Singgung Salah Tangkap
13	14 Nov 2022	Mengaku Korban Salah Tangkap Polisi, Terdakwa Kasus Klithih Gedongkuning Resmi Ajukan Banding
14	19 Des 2022	Banding Ditolak, Keluarga dan Kuasa Hukum Terdakwa Klitih Gedongkuning Ajukan Kasasi

News articles with this theme tends to amplify the Yogyakarta Regional Government's repressive approach in responding to *klitih*. This can be seen in several news articles, such as "Sudah Dibentuk, Satgas Anti Klithih di Sleman Butuh Keterlibatan Masyarakat", "KEKERASAN JALANAN: Biarkan Anaknya Keluar Malam, Orang Tua Bakal Ikut Diperiksa Polisi", and "Cegah Aksi Kekerasan Jalanan, Masyarakat Minggir Dilibatkan". The three articles emphasize the repressive approach used by the Yogyakarta Regional Government to deal with *klitih*, namely by tightening curfews, imposing sanctions on parents who let their children go out at night, and using instruments of violence through a combination of police and Siskamling institutions. The use of this instrument of violence can be seen clearly in the news item "Cegah Aksi Kekerasan Jalanan, Masyarakat Minggir Dilibatkan" which uses a news illustration in the form of a group of Siskamling members carrying out semi-military training. This kind of news arises from the view of the media that identifies *klitih* as an individual crime due to wrong upbringing in the family. Reporting that amplifies this repressive approach further strengthens this identification.

Apart from that, several news articles also strengthened the Yogyakarta Regional Government's labeling of the perpetrators of *klitih*. Two news headlines entitled "Tersangka Klithih Pembunuh Remaja di Gedongkuning Ditangkap Polisi" and "Eksekutor Kasus Klithih yang Tewaskan Remaja di Gedongkuning Ternyata Warga Mergangsan" emphasized the labels "killer" and "executor" that the police pinned on the perpetrators of *klitih*. This labeling also occurs in the news that quotes the statement of the Governor of Yogyakarta, Sultan Hamengkubuwono X.



Two news headlines entitled “Kekerasan Merajalela! Sultan Siapkan Tempat Penampungan Anak Bermasalah di Pundong” and “Benarkah Pelaku Kekerasan Jalanan di Jogja dari Keluarga Miskin? Begini Jawaban Sultan HB X” amplifying the statement of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X who labeled the perpetrators of *klitih* as “problematic children” and “abandoned child”. The reporting that perpetuates the labeling of the perpetrators of *klitih* is of course contradictory to the previous reports on harianjogja.com which opposed labeling.

Some of the news also seems to polish the image of the Yogyakarta Regional Government. At the end of 2022, the Yogyakarta Special Region Police (Polda DIY) allegedly wrongly arrested the *klitih* perpetrators in Gedongkuning, Yogyakarta. The alleged wrongful arrest was also reported by harianjogja.com in several articles at once. Reporting on harijogja.com in four news headlines titled “Polisi Dituding Salah Tangkap Pelaku Rasjal di Gedongkuning”, “Terdakwa Klitih Gedongkuning Minta Dibebaskan, si Ayah Singgung Salah Tangkap”, “Mengaku Korban Salah Tangkap Polisi, Terdakwa Kasus Klitih Gedongkuning Resmi Ajukan Banding”, and “Banding Ditolak, Keluarga dan Kuasa Hukum Terdakwa Klitih Gedongkuning Ajukan Kasasi” tends to focus on disputes between the Polda DIY, the District Court of Yogyakarta, the High Court of Yogyakarta, and the legal team of the victims of wrongful arrests. In those news articles, it was as if the Yogyakarta regional government was not involved in this case at all. In fact, the findings of LBH Yogyakarta (2022) state that there is a strong connection between this case of wrongful arrest and the Yogyakarta Regional Government's ambition to immediately restore Yogyakarta's good image which was damaged by *klitih*.

On the other hand, news relating to the Yogyakarta Regional Government's efforts to deal with *klitih* provides a lot of room for Yogyakarta Regional Government officials. Two news articles with the headlines “Biaya Perawatan Korban Klitih Diusulkan Ditanggung Pemerintah” and “Jogja Akan Anggarkan Penanganan Klitih di APBD Perubahan 2022” provided a large portion for Yogyakarta Regional Government officials to be interviewed regarding their efforts and strategies for dealing with *klitih*. These two stories seem like PR articles rather than journalistic articles, because they place too much emphasis on the Yogyakarta Regional Government's arguments and do not verify the veracity of these arguments. This “friendly” relationship between local media and local government is nothing new in Indonesia (Arsyad, 2023).

Apart from highlighting the Yogyakarta Regional Government's response to *klitih*, harianjogja.com also offers alternative approaches to prevent *klitih*. This alternative offer is presented in 7 news articles.

Table 3. List of Published Articles about Alternative Approaches to Prevent Klitih on harianjogja

No.	Date	News Title
1	3 Jan 2022	Muncul Aksi Jogja Lawan Klithih
2	3 Jan 2022	Klithih Merajalela di Jogja, Ini Saran Gus Hilmy
3	4 Jan 2022	Ormas Ini Serukan Klithih Jadi Musuh Bersama Warga Jogja
4	9 Apr 2022	Klithih Merebak, Paguyuban Sopir Truk Siap Jaga Keamanan Jogja
5	12 Apr 2022	Marak Klithih, Mau Beli Sabit Disarankan Bawa Kartu Pengantar RT-RW
6	17 Apr 2022	Kebanyakan Pelaku Kekerasan Jalanan di Jogja dari Keluarga Broken Home, Begini Saran Penanganannya
7	18 Apr 2022	Remaja Jadi Aktor Rasjal, Sosiolog: Tambah Ruang Berekspresi bagi Anak Muda

Because harijogja.com views *klitih* as an individual problem from the start, the alternative treatments offered are often also individual in nature. Alternative treatment that is individual in nature can be seen in two articles entitled “Kebanyakan Pelaku Kekerasan Jalanan di Jogja dari Keluarga Broken Home, Begini Saran Penanganannya” and “Klithih Merajalela di Jogja, Ini Saran Gus Hilmy”. The first article again emphasizes *klitih* as a problem that is solely caused by the youth's personality and the wrong parenting style of the family. The solution to the problem of *klitih*, thus, is to limit the movements of the youth through the family. Meanwhile, the second article emphasizes that *klitih* is caused by youth's lack of understanding of morals. Therefore, the alternative solution offered in this article is to reproduce and deepen religious teachings, which are considered as one of the most important sources of understanding morality, for the youth. The practice of alternative discourse on individual handling like this has helped shape the public's perception that *klitih* is ultimately an individual matter rather than a structural one.

In addition to individual problem-solving alternatives, harianjogja.com also provides repressive treatment alternatives. This can be seen from the two news articles entitled “Muncul Aksi Jogja Lawan Klithih”, “Klithih Merebak, Paguyuban Sopir Truk Siap Jaga Keamanan Jogja”, and “Ormas Ini Serukan Klithih Jadi Musuh Bersama Warga Jogja”. These three articles amplify public calls to start seeing *klithih* as a crime against humanity, not just juvenile delinquency. By emphasizing the call to see *klithih* as a crime against humanity, these three articles also call for punishing the perpetrators of *klithih* with violence. These three articles actually depart from the unrest of the Yogyakarta residents over the stagnation of the handling of *klithih* in Yogyakarta, especially by law enforcement officials. Instead of framing the unrest, harianjogja.com amplifies the violent expressions arising from the unrest. Alternative treatment of this kind will actually reproduce the cycle of violence of *klithih* itself.

On the other hand, two news articles with the headlines “Marak Klithih, Mau Beli Sabit Disarankan Bawa Kartu Pengantar RT-RW” and “Remaja Jadi Aktor Rasjal, Sosiolog: Tambah Ruang Berekspresi bagi Anak Muda” deserve some attention. The first article highlights community initiatives at the grassroots level to get around *klithih*, namely by bringing a letter of introduction from the RT-RW, the government at the village level. Unfortunately, this article is only based on tweets and comments on social media, so the source of the data is questionable. Then, the second article became the only article on harijogja.com which highlighted the structural dimensions of the causes of *klithih*. Quoting the statement of Puji Qomariyah, Sociologist at Universitas Widya Mataram, this article states that *klithih* in Yogyakarta is caused by the shrinking of spaces for expression in Yogyakarta due to the capitalization of urban spaces. Thus, structural intervention from the government needs to be done to restore these spaces for expression.



Tribun Jogja

Tribun Jogja is the media with the most news articles about *klitih* after *Harian Jogja*. From January to December 2022, *Tribun Jogja* has written and published 19 *klitih* news articles on its online media, jogja.tribunnews.com. 5 of the news articles are news articles that attempt to identify *klitih* and its causes.

Table 4. List of Published Articles about *Klitih* and Its Causes on *Tribun Jogja*

No.	Date	News Title
1	1 Jan 2022	Petaka Pagi Buta, Remaja Dibacok Klitih di Jalan Kaliurang
2	1 Jan 2022	Kekurangan Ruang Berekspresi, Remaja Yogya Bisa Tergelincir ke Aksi Klitih
3	4 Jan 2022	Mengenal Apa Itu Klitih, Aksi Kekerasan Jalanan yang Sempat Trending Topic Twitter
4	6 Apr 2022	Mengenal Klitih, Aksi Kekerasan Jalanan yang Berulang Kali Terjadi di Jalan-Jalan Yogyakarta
5	8 Apr 2022	Kasus Pembacokan Seorang IRT di Ragunan Disebut Mirip Klitih, Kriminolog Beri Penjelasan

News articles with the headline “Petaka Pagi Buta, Remaja Dibacok Klitih di Jalan Kaliurang” tend to identify *klitih* in a reductionist and pejorative way. The article emphasizes that *klitih* is a brutal act that needs to be dealt with strictly by law enforcement officials. The “brutal” labeling carried out by the two articles is very visible in the description of the glorified acts of *klitih*.





The article places great emphasis on depicting the sadistic acts committed by the perpetrators of *klitih*, but misses exploring the structural causes. In an article titled “Mengenai Klitih, Aksi Kekerasan yang Berulang Kali Terjadi di Jalan-jalan Yogyakarta”, jogja.tribunnews.com only cited their own internal knowledge channel, namely tribunnewswiki.com, to define *klitih* and did not confirm and re-verify that definition.

An article with the title “Mengenai Apa Itu Klitih, Aksi Kekerasan Jalanan yang Sempat Trending Topic Twitter” also has a similar pattern of writing, *klitih* is described only as a sadistic act without a clear cause. This article even amplifies Sultan Hamengkubuwono X's statement stating that *klitih* is not a big problem, but only a small problem that is deliberately exaggerated to destroy the good image of Yogyakarta. The argument of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X, who ordered law enforcement officers to act indiscriminately on *Klitih*, is also emphasized in this article.

Efforts to identify the structural causes of *klitih* have actually been carried out in the article “Kekurangan Ruang Berekspresi, Remaja Yogya Bisa Tergelincir ke Aksi Klitih”. By quoting the statement of the Sociologist at Gadjah Mada University, Arie Sujito, this article states that *klitih* is caused by a lack of space for expression in Yogyakarta. This article even explicitly states that *klitih* is a structural problem rather than an individual one. However, the structural dimensions that specifically cause *klitih* are not explored and explained further in this article.



Furthermore, in the article “Kasus Pembacokan Seorang IRT di Ragunan Disebut Mirip Klitih, Kriminolog Beri Penjelasan”, the diction and definition of *klitih* that have been previously identified are associated with events with a similar pattern in Ragunan, South Jakarta. Based on a quote from the UI criminologist, Josias Simon, this article attempts to frame that event as *klitih* that happened in Yogyakarta. This kind of framing practice makes *klitih* uprooted from its structural causes and only seen as a mere sadistic act by the youth.

Reductionist reporting on *klitih* is not only carried out by jogja.tribunnews.com on news with the theme of identifying *klitih* and its causes. News that attempts to report the response of the Yogyakarta Regional Government to *klitih* is also placed in a reductionist frame. In total, there are 8 news stories on jogja.tribunnews.com which frame the Yogyakarta Regional Government's response to *klitih*.

Table 5. List of Published Articles about Klitih and Its Causes on Tribun Jogja

No.	Date	News Title
1	4 Apr 2022	Aksi Klitih di Kota Yogyakarta Menewaskan Pelajar SMA, Korban Luka di Wajah dan Kepala Belakang
2	4 Apr 2022	Aksi Klitih di Jogja Tewaskan Pelajar SMA, Korban Dianiaya Menggunakan Gear
3	4 Apr 2022	Jadi Korban Kejahatan Jalanan, Pelajar SMA di Kota Yogyakarta Tewas Kena Sabetan Gear
4	5 Apr 2022	Pelajar SMA di DIY Jadi Korban Klitih hingga Tewas: Sedang Cari Sahur hingga Reaksi Keras Sultan
5	6 Apr 2022	Penganiayaan Maut di Gedongkuning Yogyakarta Bukan Klitih, Polisi Ungkap Pemicunya
6	6 Apr 2022	Fakta Baru Kasus Tewasnya Pelajar SMA di Yogyakarta Berdasar BAP Polisi: Berawal dari Saling Maki
7	9 Apr 2022	Ditangkap Polisi, Admin Akun Instagram yang Sebar Video Hoaks Klitih di Klaten Minta Maaf
8	21 Apr 2022	Komplotan Remaja yang Diduga Klitih Muncul di Kabupaten Semarang, Begini Tanggapan Kapolres

The news on jogja.tribunnews.com regarding the response of the Yogyakarta Regional Government is too focused on the details of the *klitih* action itself and ignores a more substantial dimension. In three news stories at once, namely “Jadi Korban Kejahatan Jalanan, Pelajar SMA di Kota Yogyakarta Tewas Kena Sabetan Gear”, “Aksi Klitih di Kota Yogyakarta Menewaskan Pelajar SMA, Korban Luka di Wajah dan Kepala Belakang”, and “Aksi Klitih di Jogja Tewaskan Pelajar SMA, Korban Dianiaya Menggunakan Gear”, jogja.tribunnews.com chooses framing that is too narrow. Each of the three news reports chose to focus on information from Yogyakarta Regional Government officials regarding the chronology of events, the weapons used by the perpetrators, and the injuries that caused the victims to die. Regional Government responses that are more substantial, such as prevention and further handling, are left out of the spotlight. Reporting that focuses too much on details of violence like this reinforces the label that *klitih* is a brutal crime that must be responded to in a brutal way. In other words, this kind of reporting can reproduce the cycle of violence generated by the *klitih* itself.

The strong and sensational reaction of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X against *klitih* was also reported by jogja.tribunnews.com. This can be seen in a news article titled “Pelajar SMA di DIY Jadi Korban Klitih hingga Tewas: Sedang Cari Sahur hingga Reaksi Keras Sultan”. In this news, Sultan Hamengkubuwono X emphasized that the perpetrators of *klitih* must be processed according to criminal law regardless of age. For him, *klitih*'s action which caused death in Gedongkuning was enough justification to prosecute *klitih* regardless of age. In this article, jogja.tribunnews.com directly quotes the statement of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X who stated that criminal law is the only way to deal with *klitih*. This statement reduces all the factors that might cause *klitih* as well as narrows down the solution to handling *klitih* into one single method: strict and repressive criminal law.



In another news article, jogja.tribunnews.com appears to have become a PR for the Polda DIY. Two articles entitled “Fakta Baru Kasus Tewasnya Pelajar SMA di Yogyakarta Berdasar BAP Polisi: Berawal dari Saling Maki” and “Penganiayaan Maut di Gedongkuning Yogyakarta Bukan Klitih, Polisi Ungkap Pemicunya” present the Polda DIY version of the cause of *klitih* as a single fact without verification. The things that caused the incident are presented in a reductionist way, *klitih* is described as crimes caused by ordinary teenage fights. At the end of 2022, the Polda DIY findings in the article were strongly suspected of being a case fabrication. This finding is certainly a blow to the media which reports facts from the police without verifying them, as the two articles from jogja.tribunnews.com said. On the other hand, a reductionist depiction of the causes of *klitih* also makes the public's understanding of *klitih* become reductionist. Reductionist depictions also make the labels "bad boy", "brutal", and other pejorative labels stick more firmly to the *klitih* offender. This can provoke the use of a repressive approach to treating *klitih*.

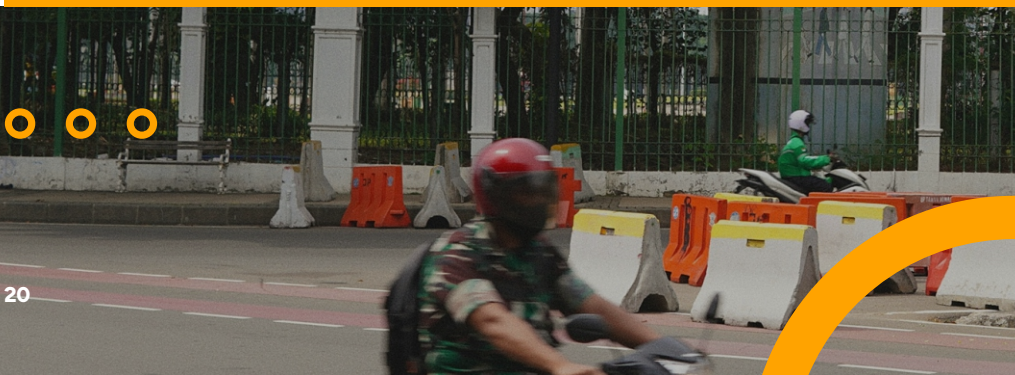
Because jogja.tribunnews.com uses reductionist framing in identifying *klitih* and their causes as well as the government's response to them, the alternative solutions they present also tend to be reductionist. There are 6 articles on jogja.tribunnews.com which contain alternative solutions for treating *klitih*. The alternative solution is presented reductionistically into three framings: (1) because it is identified as an individual problem, *klitih* must be solved individually too, (2) because it is identified as a small problem that is exaggerated to destroy the good image of Yogyakarta, *klitih* in Yogyakarta is quite resolved with only ceremonial solutions, and (3) *klitih* is a brutal act so the alternative solution must be brutal as well.



Table 6. List of Published Articles about Local Government's Response to *Klitih* on Tribun Jogja

No.	Date	News Title
1	1 Jan 2022	Sepanjang 2021 Terjadi 58 Kasus <i>Klitih</i> , Polda DIY Gandeng Dealer Motor Gelar Operasi Skala Besar
2	14 Feb 2022	Remaja Bandel dan yang Terlibat Aksi <i>Klitih</i> di Yogyakarta Bakal Dibina TNI
3	15 Feb 2022	Tiga Pemuda di Sleman Masuk Bui Gara-Gara Asal Meneriaki <i>Klitih</i> 2 Pelajar, Begini Kronologinya
4	7 Apr 2022	Soal <i>Klitih</i> di Jogja, Psikolog Forensik Singgung Peran Keluarga dan Sekolah Perlu Hadir
5	8 Apr 2022	Aksi Kejahatan <i>Klitih</i> Sedang Marak di Yogyakarta, Ridwan Kamil Sarankan Ini ke Pemda
6	12 Apr 2022	Pakar Hukum Ungkap Sederet Pasal yang Jerat Pelaku <i>Klitih</i> di Bawah Umur

In an article entitled “Soal *Klitih* di Jogja, Psikolog Forensik Singgung Peran Keluarga dan Sekolah Perlu Hadir”, jogja.tribunnews.com identifies *klitih* as an individual problem caused by the absence of families in educating children. By quoting the statement of Forensic Psychologist, Reza Indragiri, this article suggests the presence of a family to raise their children. This article also criticizes the role of teachers in schools who are unable to fill the gaps in education in the family. These two factors of problems in the family and education are presented regardless of the structural factors that cause them. Interestingly, at the end of the article, Sultan Hamengkubuwono X's statement about *klitih* which was deliberately exaggerated to destroy the good image of Yogyakarta was again quoted. This emphasizes that *klitih*, again, is not a big problem and can be resolved individually.



The emphasis that *klitih* is not a big problem also appears in an article titled “Sepanjang 2021 Terjadi 58 Kasus Klitih, Polda DIY Gandeng Dealer Motor Gelar Operasi Skala Besar”. This article only focuses on framing the various coordinations carried out by the Polda DIY in dealing with *klitih*. This kind of framing is of course too partial to be able to provide alternative treatment solutions. The article actually emphasizes that the root cause of the problem must be identified with *klitih*. However, the “root cause of the problem” is never explained again in this article. Furthermore, this article only focuses on ceremonial coordination carried out by Polda DIY with various elements of society without discussing the substantial dimensions of this coordination. At the end of the article, there is a quote from Polda DIY which states that *klitih* must be dealt with strictly by law. This reiterates that *klitih* is a brutal act that needs to be punished brutally.

This assertion that *klitih* is a brutal act that needs to be brutally punished also appears in three articles entitled “Pakar Hukum Ungkap Sederet Pasal yang Jerat Pelaku Klitih di Bawah Umur”, “Tiga Pemuda di Sleman Masuk Bui Gara-Gara Asal Meneriaki Klitih 2 Pelajar, Begini Kronologinya”, and “Remaja Bandel dan yang Terlibat Aksi Klitih di Yogyakarta Bakal Dibina TNI”. The first article seeks to find articles in the laws and regulations of the Republic of Indonesia that can be used to prosecute criminal offenders regardless of their age. Meanwhile, the second article amplified the repressive response of law enforcement officials in dealing with *klitih*, namely imprisoning youths who only scream at *klitih*. The third article departs from the premise that has been built by various labels of the Yogyakarta Regional Government and the media towards the perpetrators of *klitih*, namely that the perpetrators of *klitih* are “problematic children” and “brutal” so they need to be fostered by state institutions that have access to violence, the National Army. Indonesia (TNI).



Kedaulatan Rakyat

The third media that also reported on *klitih* in Yogyakarta is *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. There are 10 news articles about *klitih* on the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* online media, namely *krjogja.com*. 2 of the news articles were articles that attempted to identify *klitih* and its causes.

Table 7. List of Published Articles about *Klitih* and Its Causes on *krjogja.com*

No.	Date	News Title
1	17 Nov 2022	Viral! Aksi Klitih di Jalanan Sragen
2	24 Nov 2022	Sepanjang Tiga Tahun, 313 Remaja Terlibat Klitih

Two articles titled “Sepanjang Tiga Tahun, 313 Remaja Terlibat Klitih” and “Viral! Aksi Klitih di Jalanan Sragen” seeks to identify *klitih* and its causes. The first article departs from data found by the Yogyakarta Regional Police which stated that, in the last three years, there have been 113 cases of *klitih* in Yogyakarta with 313 of the perpetrators being teenagers. Moving on from this data, this news article then identified *klitih* as an unstoppable act of youth brutality. Therefore, by quoting a statement from UGM sociologist, Soeprapto, this article states that *klitih* must be dealt with strictly by law. On the other hand, this article actually states that *klitih* is a problem caused by certain structural conditions. However, in the end, these structural conditions were not further elaborated and reduced to just one variable, namely the family. In short, the *klitih* in this article is seen as unstoppable brutal juvenile delinquency, which is caused by individual problems within the family.

Meanwhile, a second news article titled “Viral! Aksi Klitih di Jalanan Sragen” seeks to identify *klitih* based on society pejorative labels circulating on social media. The label in question includes “brutal”, “spooky”, and “dangerous”. This article departs from the viral video of a group of teenagers riding motorbikes in Sragen, Central Java while playing with sharp weapons. Only with data from social media and without further confirmation, *krjogja.com* labeled this action as *klitih*. This kind of news makes *klitih* uprooted from its structural factors and at the same time perpetuates the societal label that encourages repressive treatment.



Apart from identifying *klitih* and its causes, krjogja.com also covers the government's response to *klitih*. There are a total of 6 news articles on krjogja.com which attempt to convey the government's response to the existence of *klitih*. The interesting thing about the reporting of the government's response to *klitih* by krjogja.com is the lack of coverage regarding the response of the Yogyakarta Regional Government itself. In fact, Krjogja.com reported more frequently on cases of youth violence in areas outside Yogyakarta, labeled them as *klitih*, then reported on the repressive handling carried out by the local government against the perpetrators of the violence.

Table 8. List of Published Articles about Local Government's Response to Klitih on Kedaulatan Rakyat

No.	Date	News Title
1	22 Agu 2022	Diduga Klitih, Seorang Remaja Diamankan
2	20 Okt 2022	Terdakwa Kasus Klitih Gedongkuning Tegaskan Dirinya Bukan Pembunuh Daffa
3	25 Okt 2022	Tawur Antar Geng di Klaten, Polisi Tangkap Empat Pelaku dan Sita Sajam
4	4 Nov 2022	Kuasa Hukum Terdakwa Klitih Gedongkuning Laporkan Penyidik ke Propam Polda DIY
5	8 Nov 2022	Terdakwa Klitih Gedongkuning Divonis 10 Tahun, Kuasa Hukum Ajukan Banding
6	10 Des 2022	Pembacokan di SPBU Loano, Polisi Tetapkan Dua Pelajar Jadi Tersangka



News with the headlines “Diduga Klitih, Seorang Remaja Diamankan”, “Tawur Antar Geng di Klaten, Polisi Tangkap Empat Pelaku dan Sita Sajam”, dan “Pembacokan di SPBU Loano, Polisi Tetapkan Dua Pelajar Jadi Tersangka” are not news about *klitih* even though they use keywords “*klitih*” in the news article. The first news article was about the stabbing case in Sukoharjo, Central Java, which the public suspected of being *klitih* due to its virality in social media. Without confirming and verifying these suspicions, *krjogja.com* immediately called the incident a *klitih* and amplified the repressive response of the Sukoharjo Regional Government. The same reporting pattern also occurred in the other two articles. Each of the two articles reported on youth violence in Klaten and Purworejo, Central Java. Without confirmation and verification, *krjogja.com* immediately labeled the action as *klitih* and amplified the government's repressive response to the perpetrators of the action. This kind of news, again, strengthens society's pejorative labeling of *klitih* so that its repressive handling becomes justified.

Even so, *krjogja.com* also continues to report on the response of the Yogyakarta Regional Government when the issue of the Polda DIY having wrongly arrested the *klitih* perpetrators in Gedongkuning surfaced to the public. There were three news articles reporting on this wrongful arrest case. Two articles with the headlines “Terdakwa Kasus Klitih Gedongkuning Tegaskan Dirinya Bukan Pembunuh Daffa” and “Kuasa Hukum Terdakwa Klitih Gedongkuning Laporkan Penyidik ke Propam Polda DIY” seem to be sympathetic news to the victims of wrongful arrests. These two articles exclusively provide space for the victims of wrongful arrest, namely by quoting the defense statements of the victims of wrongful arrest before the court and interviewing the attorneys for the victims of wrongful arrest. However, these two articles also seem to eliminate the responsibility of law enforcement agencies in this case of wrongful arrest. One of them can be seen from the use of the word “oknum” to refer to police who commit violence against victims of wrongful arrests. The word “oknum” is constantly repeated in both of these articles. “Oknum” is a political language in the New Order era used to reduce structural problems in an institution to become individual problems (Ajidarma, 2014). The aim is to avoid the accused institution from being responsible for dealing with the problem.





In addition, krjogja.com's reporting on the wrongful arrest case also seems to have eliminated the Yogyakarta court's agency and responsibility in this case. In an article titled "Terdakwa Klitih Gedongkuning Divonis 10 Tahun, Kuasa Hukum Ajukan Banding", krjogja.com seeks to convey the impression that the Yogyakarta District Court Panel of Judges is just a group of people who comply with laws and regulations in running the judiciary. Therefore, all decisions taken by the panel of judges, even if they are discriminatory and without evidence, are legally justified. Another impression that is trying to be shown is the generosity of the Panel of Judges at the Yogyakarta District Court. This impression was conveyed by placing special emphasis on reducing the prison sentence from 11 years, which was demanded by the Public Prosecution Service, to 10 years. Another fact that the Yogyakarta District Court made a decision without strong evidence is ruled out in this article. This article actually emphasizes several times regarding indications of falsification of evidence and the existence of allegations of obstruction of justice. However, the excessive use of the passive sentence makes the perpetrators of the alleged falsification of evidence and obstruction of justice remain unclear.

On the other hand, two articles titled "Antisipasi Kejahatan Anak di Jalanan, Pramuka Sleman Adakan Barata 2022" and "Murid SMAN 2 Bantul Ikut Apel Pembinaan Karakter" published by krjogja.com try to offer alternative solutions for dealing with *klitih*. There are two framing characteristics of these two articles: the suggested alternative solutions are individual in nature and run by an agency that actually has no responsibility for the existence of the *klitih*. These two characteristics arose because krjogja.com identified *klitih* and its causes from the start with individual characteristics rather than structural ones.



Table 9. List of Published Articles on Alternation Solutions to Prevent *Klitih* on *krjogja.com*

No.	Date	News Title
1	27 Nov 2022	Antisipasi Kejahatan Anak di Jalanan, Pramuka Sleman Adakan Barata 2022
2	20 Des 2022	Murid SMAN 2 Bantul Ikut Apel Pembinaan Karakter



In an article entitled “Antisipasi Kejahatan Anak di Jalanan, Pramuka Sleman Adakan Barata 2022”, *krjogja.com* places *klitih* as street crimes that do not only have to be resolved by the Yogyakarta Regional Government. Young people who are members of the scouts are considered to be able to solve this problem. Not only that, this news article also emphasizes that treating *klitih* is an obligation for scout members, who are also youths. If *krjogja.com* news articles on the response of the Yogyakarta Regional Government seems to be shifting the focus of the issue from Yogyakarta to other regions, this news article attempts to shift the responsibility of the Yogyakarta Regional Government to other institutions outside the government.

Meanwhile, in an article entitled “Murid SMAN 2 Bantul Ikut Apel Pembinaan Karakter”, *krjogja.com* seeks to present an alternative solution that is individual rather than structural, namely character building for school students by the Polda DIY. This alternative solution departs from the idea that *klitih* is caused by a child's character which is bad and cannot be developed. This idea can be seen from the arguments of the Polda DIY which are cited many times in this article. Apart from that, this article also emphasizes the label of “amoral” to the perpetrators of *klitih*. This labeling can be seen from the argument from the Polda DIY which emphasizes that *klitih* are actions that “tarnish the good name” of schools and parents. This argument certainly rules out the more concrete impacts of *klitih*, such as the resulting loss of life and the emergence of feelings of insecurity in Yogyakarta. The argument “tarnishes one's good name” is a moral argument so that the subject whose position is placed opposite to it, in this case the perpetrator of *klitih*, is considered immoral.



Sentiment Analysis

During the time period of January 2022 to December 2022, the researchers combed through 58,712 tweets obtained from the social media network Twitter. The information was gleaned by searching the term "klitih" with the geographical location of Indonesia. In April 2022, the public was shocked by the explosion of news coverage of *klitih*, especially after a teenager named Daffa Adzin Albasith died after becoming a victim of *klitih* in Gedongkuning, Yogyakarta. The data shows that the issue became a hot topic of discussion on Twitter with a total of 33,094 tweets in the same month. Meanwhile in the other months, there are constant discussions about this topic with an average of 2,329 tweets per month.

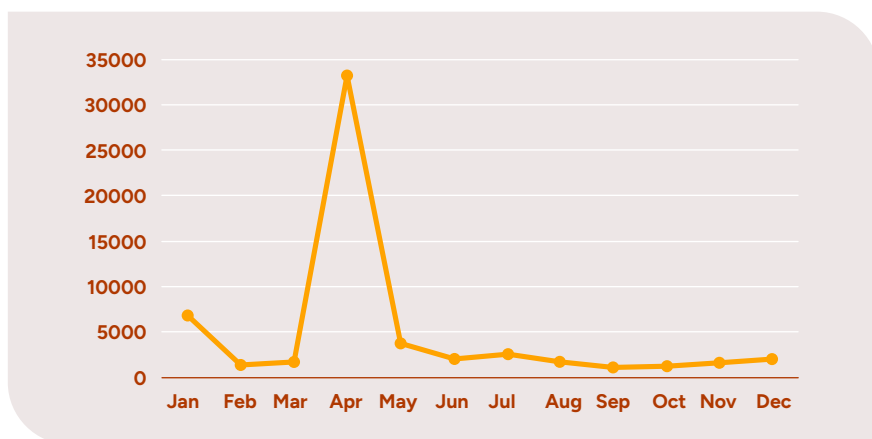
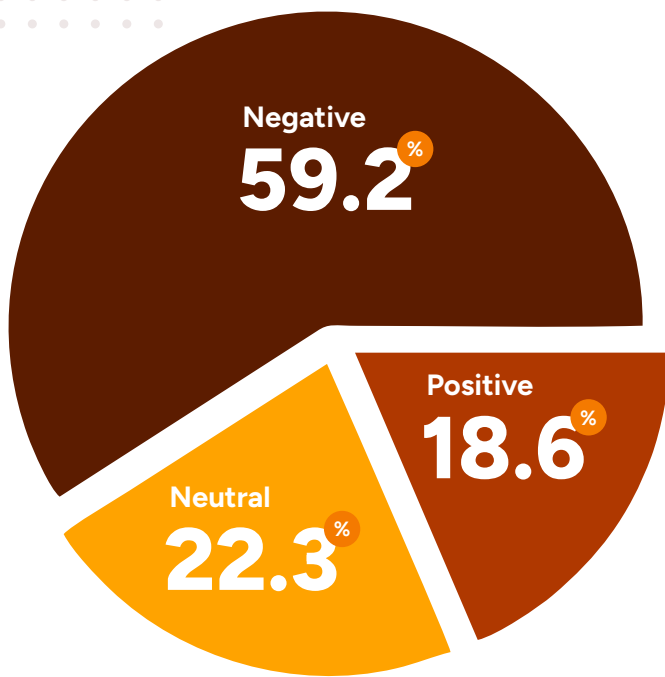


Figure 2. Distribution of *klitih*-related tweets by month

According to the information provided by Twitter, the sentiment polarity is dominated by negative sentiment by 59,2%. This indicates that more than half of the public opinion surrounding *klitih* tends to lean toward unfavorable thoughts. Followed by neutral sentiment by 22,3% and positive sentiment by 18,6%.







Word cloud of negative sentiment

The public tone is becoming increasingly gloomy, with the majority of people holding negative views. The analysis of 31537 tweets revealed a number of different terms that were used to address the emotion. There are 'takut', 'jera', 'perlindungan', 'ngeri', and 'mati'. It demonstrates that a lot of the public have been vocal about their concerns regarding the surroundings when this problem came to a head. In addition to that, individuals have been voicing their outrage about the way the authorities have been handling the situation.

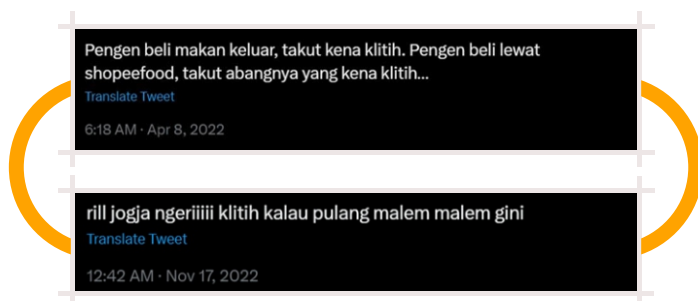


Figure 5. People expressing their worry about klitih

The tweets that are seen above show the residents of Yogyakarta expressing how terrified they are to move around the city at night because of the presence of *klitih*. As the individual who carried out *klitih* described as brutal, violence makes the people feel uneasy in their surroundings, which in turn makes them uncomfortable.

The people feel that the government has not handled this issue properly, so the offender has not received a deterrent effect for their actions. In addition to that, the public knows that most of the wrong-doer are still underage, that makes them bound by children protection law. The public believe, the indecisiveness of the government in handling this case was due to the existence of a child protection law which prevented them from being prosecuted criminally.

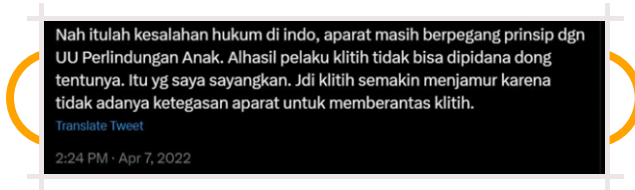


Figure 6. A tweet about lack of law enforcement

As a direct result of the worry and discomfort caused by this issue, the public is actively attempting to suggest some alternate solutions to stop this issue from continuing to occur. Nevertheless, the proposition is being made in a forceful and aggressive manner. It is evident from a number of tweets that mentioned the imposition of death penalties on the criminals as a means of providing a deterrent impact.

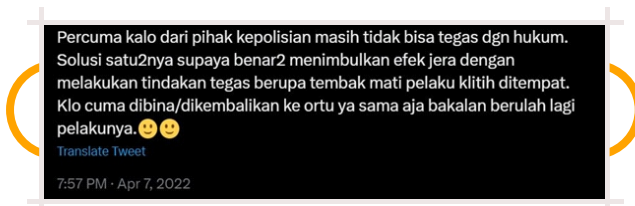


Figure 7. A tweet that suggested aggressive approach to handle klitih





Ini menjadi tanggung jawab bersama untuk bisa menjaga nilai-nilai sosial, memang tidak mudah namun jika keras dibalas keras tidak akan selesai, saran saya tetap kita waspada tapi pihak2 terkait pun harus proaktif merubah pola pikir klitih ini

[Translate Tweet](#)

3:36 PM · Apr 7, 2022

Problem klitih ini tak bisa ditangani secara parsial. Perlu ada langkah strategis dalam penanganannya.

Kami mendorong pencegahan yang dilakukan secara partisipatoris berbasis pendidikan karakter.

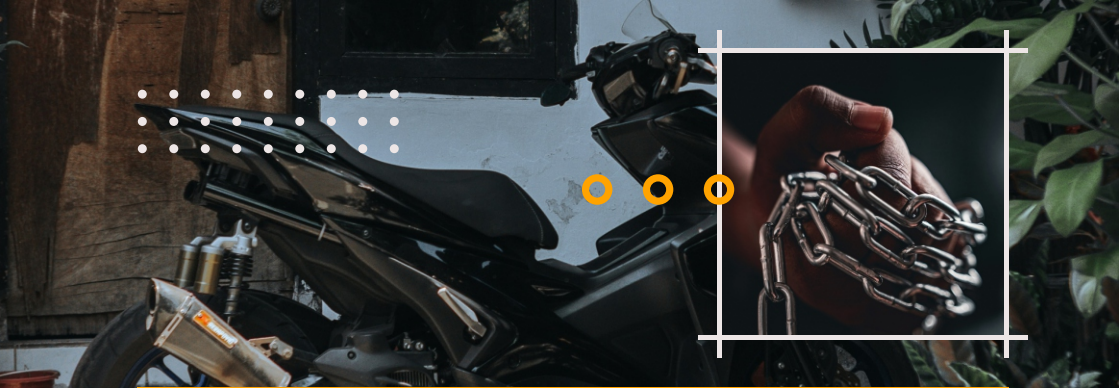
Tentu harus disertai oleh intervensi regulasi yang substantif.

[Translate Tweet](#)

11:29 PM · Nov 15, 2022

Figure 9. Tweets suggesting realistic approach on handling klitih

Neutral opinion coming from the people who are expressing their thoughts based on both points of view. One of the tweets expressed how they thought that the lack of handling this issue is the gap between the empirical situation and the discourse on media that makes Yogyakarta, which is actually safe, become insecure because of the existence of *klitih*. The other people are also voicing how they can relate in an emotional way to both of the parties which are the citizens and the offenders.



➔ CONCLUSION

Theories of media studies have proven the power of the media in shaping public opinion. Virginia Held (1997) states that the task of the media in reporting on issues of violence is to shape public opinion so that violence is seen as a structural problem. This is because violence which is seen as an individual problem will actually reproduce the cycle of violence instead of breaking it. Yogyakarta local media, instead of doing their job of viewing violence as a structural problem, have actually done the opposite. In identifying the causes of *klitih*, the local media actually positions it as an individual problem rather than a structural one. Meanwhile, in investigating the structural efforts to deal with *klitih*, the local media actually turned into a megaphone for the Yogyakarta Regional Government because it emphasized too much the arguments from the Yogyakarta Regional Government without confirmation from other parties. The arguments from the Yogyakarta Regional Government are often repressive, discriminatory, and reductionist in tone so that the problem is not comprehensively captured by the public. Yogyakarta local media actually also provide space for alternative offers in handling *klitih*. But unfortunately, the alternative offer is not much different from the Yogyakarta Regional Government's argument.

Public opinion that is formed can be more or less observed from the results of a sentiment analysis of the 58,712 tweets on Twitter during 2021-2022 which contain the keyword "*klitih*". Sentiment analysis found that bad sentiment towards *klitih* dominated with a percentage of 59.2% of the total tweets. Neutral and positive tweets only had a percentage of 22.3% and 18.6%, respectively. Most of the negative sentiments contain violent keywords, such as "shoot", "slash", "jail", "death", "deterrent", and so on. These many negative sentiments show that the public opinion that is formed on Twitter, which is also formed by local online media, has the potential to trigger the reproduction of the cycle of violence rather than breaking it.



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ABOUT CfDS

Center for Digital Society (CfDS) is the research center established by the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada. The institution is created under the concern over the contemporary dynamics of socio-political condition of the world that is accentuated by the impeccable influence of information technology. The phenomenon triggers the new patterns and complexities in the society, and thus requires new approaches in managing such complexities.

CfDS pledged to delve more on the study of contemporary digital society, including related issues surrounding the topic; such as the issues of smart city and urban development. The emphasis is then put on the utilization of technology to shape the society in becoming digitalized, as well as to bring solvency to social issues.

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Solving Social Problem and Accelerating Prosperity through Indonesia Digital Society

ACTIVITIES



- Research and Development
- Dissemination and Publication
- Education and Policy Advocacy



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