

Nationalism and Pandemic in Indonesia: An Analysis of Discursive Nationalism in New Media During Pandemic

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Abstract. This study aims to understand how the discourse of nationalism in the pandemic era in Indonesia, especially in online news and social media. In addition, this study also aims to find out how the hegemony of new media is in replace to is related to the discourse of nationalism in the pandemic era. This study formulates research questions; First, the discourse on nationalism in the pandemic era. Second, how is the hegemony of new media in the discourse of nationalism in the pandemic era? The method used in this research is the web crawlers method. This study found that the discourse on nationalism in Indonesia and the pandemic era has consisted of three things, namely; First, where did the covid-19 virus come from, Second, about vaccinations from outside Indonesia. Did the covid-19 virus originate from the city of Wuhan, China, or a western country? The third is the discourse on conspiracy. Furthermore, online news is dominated by conventional media that migrate to the digital world and exert their hegemonic influence. While on social media, twitter holds the control of hegemony through the power of hashtags, mentions, replies, and retweets.

Keywords: Discursive, Hegemony, Nationalism, New Media, Pandemic.

1 Introduction

Pandemic in a global context does not only focus on the discourses of health but also other discourses such as social, cultural, including nationalism. At the beginning of the pandemic, health discourse became a major issue. However, the issue of nationalism is slowly becoming a subject of discussion that often appears in new media, especially on social media. Social media is a place for contestation about pandemics and nationalism. Likewise for online news, which also discusses the issue of pandemics and nationalism.

Nationalism and the media, in recent studies, have shown that the media plays a role in increasing support for the country's social and political system. In China, for example, the interrelation between nationalism and the media encourages an increase in the stability and

legitimacy of the political system through the consumption and production of news [5]. In terms of social media, the use of WeChat helps actors in gaining political support and has a positive influence on the issue of nationalism, which in turn can increase support for the national political system [8]. Researches on nationalism tend to focus on exploring the behavioral themes of the state and community. Research with this theme dominates research on nationalism the most.

Research on nationalism and news coverage in the mass media has been carried out by Zhongshi Guo, Weng Hin Cheong, and Huailin Chen. In their research, they found that attention to the news in the mass media had a direct effect on nationalism [11]. Researches on nationalism, new media, and social media have been carried out by several researchers including Ki Deuk Hyun & Jinhee Kim [6] research on online communication and populist nationalism in China. The study found that online political expression and facilitated by news can increase support for the socio-political system [6].

Research on Covid and Nationalism has also been carried out in America. Research conducted by Samuel L Perry and his team examined the political leaders of the American wing associated with views of racism and xenophobia. The study found that the racist and xenophobic views propagated during the COVID-19 crisis were supported by white Christian nationalism [7]. In another study, the issue of pandemics and nationalism shows a unique trend. The term "vaccine nationalism" is known, which emerged based on the context of vaccine production and the process of spreading it in various countries by taking into account the complex relationship between the global public health crisis and globalization [10].

The issue of nationalism in the pandemic era is not just a vaccine issue. There is also a discourse of nationalism related to the discourse of the coronavirus conspiracy in China [9]. Xi Luo & Hepeng Jia in their research took a total sample of 1000 samples. They found that three types of COVID-19 conspiracy theories were identified. Type I relates to the origin of the pandemic. Type II is defined as a "China as the culprit" conspiracy theory, and Type III refers to the virus as a Western creation. The results of the study reveal that nationalism and scientific literacy are significantly related to how to understand conspiracy in almost all types of conspiracy COVID-19 [9]. In some cases in several countries, the pandemic not only caused health problems and poverty but also led to the birth of neo-nationalism as has been investigated by [3].

Our research is different from previous studies. This study not only looks at the issue of nationalism in a pandemic but also looks at how new media (online news and social media) work in the hegemonic project of discourse on nationalism in the pandemic era. This research is interesting because it focuses on two mediums at once, namely social media and online news. Not many other studies have examined nationalism and pandemic with databases from online news and social media. In addition, the use of the web crawler method in this study also provides novelty in research on the issue of nationalism in the pandemic era. This study aims to understand how the issue of nationalism in the pandemic era, especially in online news and social media. In addition, this study also aims to find out how the hegemony of new media is in the discourse of nationalism in the pandemic era. This study formulates research questions; First, how is the discourse on nationalism in the pandemic era. Second, how is the hegemony of new media in the discourse of nationalism in the pandemic era?

2 Methodology

2.1 Data Collection

Data about the pandemic and nationalism in online news and social media were taken using the web crawlers method, in collaboration with astramaya.id. The total online news in this study is 19 online news (see figure 1. distribution by online news) and social media in this study include Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook. This research data was taken from August 30, 2020, to July 31, 2020. This time was chosen with the consideration that there was a lot of discussion about the issue of nationalism and the COVID-19 pandemic. Research data on online news and social media using search keywords include pandemic, covid-19, nationalism. In the data reduction process, in addition to the time criteria and keyword criteria, they were ignored or not included in the data of this study.

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 Pandemic and Nationalism Discursive

Based on data taken using web crawlers, there is a map of topics related to pandemics and nationalism. The topic map does not show based on the number of words, but issues or discourses that appear in online news, including the following topics; "Covid originated from Wuhan China", "Vaccine from China", "Clinical trials of vaccines from China enter stage 3" "Waiting for vaccines made in Indonesia", "import vaccines". From the topic map, it can be seen that the discussion about the pandemic related to the issue of nationalism is related to three things, namely; First, where did the covid-19 virus come from, Second, about vaccinations from outside Indonesia. Whether the COVID-19 virus originated in Wuhan City, China, or a western country, prompts discussion in new media to continue increasingly The second point leads to the third discourse, which is about conspiracy and nationalism. Moreover, the previous issue of nationalism that occurred in Indonesia was about foreign workers who also came from China. Then, regarding the import of vaccines. In the history of discourse in Indonesia, almost all issues regarding imports will encourage public nationalism. For example, discourses on food imports (rice, onions, salt), technology imports, and other imports. Directly and indirectly, the public and online news responded with the instinct of nationalism.

Furthermore, how is the distribution of online news related to pandemics, vaccines, and also nationalism? The following is the distribution of online news taken by the web crawlers method.

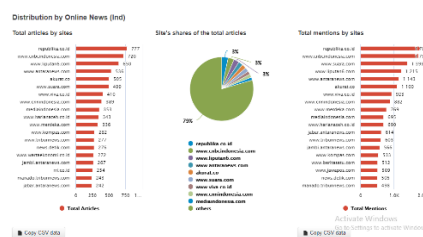


Figure 1. Distribution by Online News

In figure 1, there are 19 online media (online news) with the highest number based on catches using the web crawlers method. The trend in the new media world, there is a lot of news related to pandemics and nationalism. Moreover, people can easily create websites and online news media. However, the 19 online media (see figure 1), are not from the community or communities but from the online media industry that has been around for a long time in Indonesia. In addition,

the 19 online media tend to have a moderate and nationalist ideology, when compared to community media or citizen journalism.

The discourse on nationalism in the context of a pandemic is a forum and a common force in dealing with pandemic problems in Indonesia. So, it is natural that the discourse on nationalism is often contested, including in the pandemic era. This struggle raises negative, positive, and neutral sentiments. The following are sentiment figures in the mass media and social media.

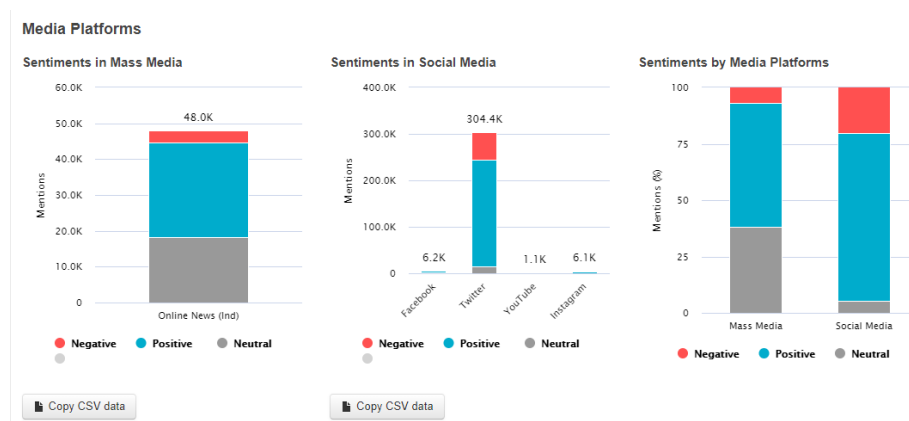


Figure 2. Sentiment in Mass Media & Social Media

The data in figure 2 shows that positive sentiment ranks highest in mass media and social media. In mass media data, it can be understood why positive sentiment is higher than negative sentiment. As explained in the previous section, the struggle and contestation of discourse were won by online media which optimistically distributed positive news. What about social media? Based on web crawlers data, social media, especially Twitter about the pandemic and nationalism discourse, was won by pro-government buzzers and there is also the official account of President Joko Widodo in the top 6 with 16,162,941 followers, a total root reply count of 7,511, a total of 7,280 retweets (Data) Web Crawlers Astramaya. id on July 31, 2020). In short, online news media are dominated by conventional media that have been around for a long time and on social media have been won by pro-government buzzers. In the end, this is what is called the hegemony of new media in the nationalism discourse in the pandemic era.

3.2 New Media Hegemony on Nationalism Discursive During Pandemic

Substantively, nationalism has no physical and empirical form, it is very imaginative, abstract, and invisible. But with the main goal of gaining political legitimacy [4]. On the one hand, nationalism is often institutionalized in the form of an education system, ideological views of the state, and can be found in people's social life. On the other hand, this nationalism is also hegemonic and can occur in a natural process [2]. Billig provides the term and the view that nationalism lies in the internalization process in collective knowledge [1]. The contestation of media and news coverage in the new media era is no longer a physical and local or regional contest, but a cross-network contest. The debate about nationalism is not only in an ideological and intellectual space but also in a non-ideological and non-intellectual space which is a new feature of contemporary nationalism.

In this study, both were found at once. This means that ideological and non-ideological debates, intellectual and non-intellectual debates become one. This can happen because of the speed and ease of access which are the strengths of new media. Through the web crawlers method, it was found that online news coverage is still dominated by conventional media that have been established in Indonesia, such as detik media, Kompas media, metro media, and Republika. (See figure 3).









No.	Avatar	Name	Account Name	Engagements	Posts	Retweets	Replies	Followers	Impact
1		detikcom	detikcom	154	139	14	1	16,075,677	2,475,654,258
2		Kompas.com	kompascom	199	181	10	8	7,770,090	1,546,247,910
3		METRO TV	Metro_TV	61	48	13	0	10,564,680	644,445,480
4		Liputan6.com	liputan6dotcom	152	150	0	2	3,734,248	567,605,696
5		VIVAcoi	VIVAcoi	118	71	47	0	4,360,555	514,545,490
6		TEMPO.CO	tempodotco	243	222	20	1	1,717,449	417,340,107
7		Radio Elshinta	RadioElshinta	100	80	11	9	3,642,517	364,251,700
8		Republika.co.id	republikaonline	137	137	0	0	1,346,969	184,534,753

Figure 3. Top User by Impact

These news media, which have a wide impact, are the largest conventional media in Indonesia. The figures in figure 3 show that these media can hegemony news about pandemics and nationalism. In simple terms, the media is like an old container, with new content. Then, what about the hegemonic project on social media? In the context of pandemics and nationalism issues(as well as other issues), Twitter has become one of the media with hegemonic strength and power. This can be seen in figure 4 below.

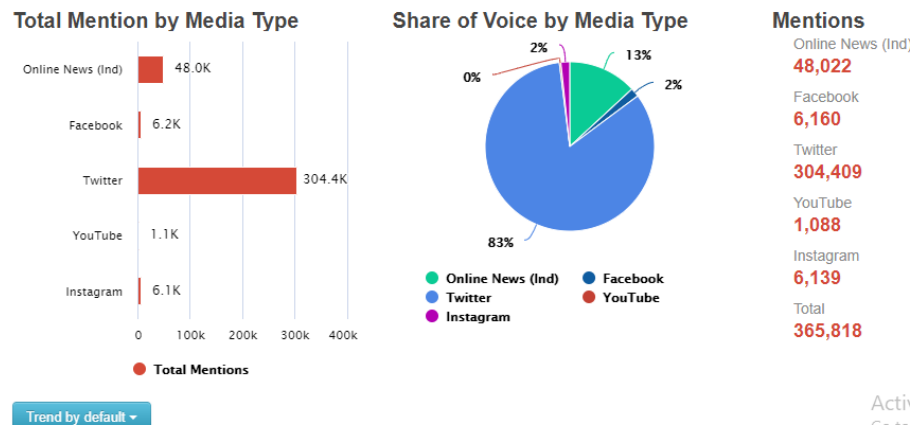


Figure 4. Total Mention by Media Type and Share of Voice by Media Type

In figure 4 in the total of mentions section, Twitter reaches 304.4 K, far above other social media. Likewise in the "share of voice" section, Twitter is more hegemonic when compared to Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. This is because the power of Twitter stems from the power of hashtags, mentions, replies, and the power of retweets.

4 Conclusion

This study aims to understand how the discourse of nationalism in the pandemic era in Indonesia, especially in online news and social media. In addition, it also aims to find out how the hegemony of new media related to the discourse of nationalism in the pandemic era. Data analysis shows that the discourse of nationalism in the pandemic era consists of three things, namely; First, where did the covid-19 virus come from, Second, about vaccinations from outside Indonesia. Did the covid-19 virus originate from the city of Wuhan, China, or a western country? The third is the discourse on conspiracy. Furthermore, online news is dominated by conventional media that migrate to the digital world and exert their hegemonic influence. While on social media, twitter holds the control of hegemony through the power of hashtags, mentions, replies, and retweets. This research contributes to the study of nationalism discourse in the pandemic era, by presenting big data from social media and online news through the web crawlers method. This study has limitations, namely the analysis presented is not detailed. Future research is expected to be able to examine in more detail the discourse of nationalism in online news and social media in a more comprehensive manner.

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