Political Communication: Social Media Strengths and Threats in the 2019 General Election

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Abstract

Social media makes it easy for a group to exchange information and influence each other. Today, most Indonesians are familiar with social media and have social media accounts. Participating candidates in the 2019 General Election did not just ignore this, they used social media as a means to campaign. The candidates introduce their programs and try to get the sympathy of potential voters without having to go outside. It is more efficient in terms of time and cost. But apart from having a positive side, social media also has negative impacts such as the rise of hoaxes, post-truth and black campaigns. This study aims to examine the phenomenon of the widespread use of social media as a political campaign strategy by building a sense of sympathy and voter emotions rather than rationality. The author uses data collection methods with literature study, and the method used for this study is literature study.

Keywords

Social Media; Negative Effects; The 2019 Election

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to examine the phenomenon of the widespread use of social media as a political campaign strategy by building a sense of sympathy and voter emotions rather rationality. than This study interesting, considering that in the era of Industrial Revolution information and communication technology developed rapidly so that it

shifted the form of direct communication to virtual communication.

Social media is not only a means of communication and expression, but also an opportunity for political actors during the election season. According to Ardha (2014) and Nastiti et al. (2018) social media can be used as a means of political participation. This participation is in the form of electoral activity that can be carried out by the community using social media. The candidates, through social media, try to attract and convince the public to vote for them on the voting date. Candidates can deliver their vision and mission and orations without having to go outside. On the other hand, prospective voters also only

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need a gadget to know many things about the election candidates. That type of campaign is certainly more efficient in terms of cost and time than conventional campaign.

A real example that social media increases the impact of Indonesian politics can be seen from the comparison of the 2014 election and 2019 election. Both elections have the presidential candidates, namely Prabowo and Jokowi. However, based a survey from Kompas, contestation for the presidential and vice-presidential elections in the 2019 election received greater attention, by 65.2%. Public attention to the 2019 election has increased because people are familiar with social media such as Facebook. Twitter. Instagram, WhatsApp, and YouTube. On the other hand, to respond to the social media literate society, candidates also change their winning tactics and strategies. The two presidential and vice-presidential candidates have almost all social media accounts and build a special team to handle these accounts. Each candidate regularly posts moments or just tweet questions and answers. **Political** contestants and their teams responded almost all questions posed by prospective voters. In this way, it is hoped that prospective voters will feel psychologically close with the candidates.

The existence of social media also helps the candidates to reach the special voters, namely first-time and young voters. Special voters are difficult to "touch" except by using a device that they are interested, such as a social

media. Therefore, the presidential and vice-presidential candidates also have a special team to create fun and interesting content and use a youth language style that is easily understood noticed the millennial by generation.

With the support of social media, the 2019 Election is considered as a tiring election but has attracted the most attention. On the positive side, this election is considered the best election because for the first time in history, a series of general elections were held, starting from Candidates for President and Vice President, the House of Representatives (DPR), the Regional Representative Council (DPD), the Provincial People's Representative Council (DPRD) and Regency DPRD. This is reinforced by the opinion of constitutional law expert Mahfud MD who stated that the 2019 Election is the best election from an instrument point of view, with the assumption that with this instrument the people can take control from the beginning to the end of the 2019 election.

Apart from getting the title for the best election administration, the 2019 Election is also the toughest because the KPU is considered to have been attacked by fake news and fake news that cornered the institution. Fake news or hoaxes are becoming a new scourge because truth and lies are increasingly difficult to distinguish. The news of increasingly is spreading hoaxes because people have become technology literate and are flooded with various kinds of information. This information flood had a number of social impacts.

The community's problem is not how to get news, but a lack of ability to digest correct information. The credibility of the mainstream media, which has always been undermined by interests of elites and owners, has forced the public seek alternative information (Syuhada, 2018). The gap between the lack of media literacy amidst the flood of information is being misused by some groups to produce unconfirmed news, which is not necessarily true or is often called hoax. Social media is an important medium for hoax spread (Figueira & Oliveira, 2017; Grech, 2017).

Advances in information technology allow someone to create false information in cyberspace to manipulate netizen's emotion. This is done continuously so that in the end it suppresses the rationality of social media users. The existence of a buzzer also supports the increasingly hectic world of politics in social media. Buzzer is a movement commonly used in the business world. Usually, their job is to market the product in cyberspace massively and continuously. purpose is to make the audience curious and eventually interested in following the buzzer's orders. Currently, buzzers have also been used in the world of political marketing. They usually consist of volunteers or cadres from the party itself. The job of the buzzer is to process public opinion in such a way that it can increase the popularity and electability election participants. involvement of buzzers in politics has 2 impacts, that is positive and negative impacts. The positive impact is related

to the branding process or campaign that is much easier and more flexible. The negative impact is related to the emergence black campaign. Sometimes a lot of irresponsible buzzers create special social media accounts with anonymous identities. anonymous buzzer then spreads fake (hoax) which is accompanied by hate speech and sensitive issues aimed at the opponent or competitor of the candidate he supports. Buzzers do this to lower the competitor's image and trigger people not to trust (distrust) their political opponents.

One example of cases related to fake news or hoaxes carried out by buzzers (according to the results of Bawaslu's research) is an issue that has developed in the 2014 and 2019 elections. This issue relatively not changed much compared to the previous elections, which concerns identity politics. Each candidate looks for weak points that have the potential to reduce voter support from the opposing candidate pair and can turn support to him. In the 2014 election, the issues addressed were related to Prabowo's status as an army general and the issue of foreign business ownership. There is also the issue of Jokowi and his party's closeness to China. There are also issues related to a candidate's Islamic level religious activities. In the 2019 Election, these issues were again produced. In a Kompas survey in 16 cities, it shows that 24.5% said that the campaign period was filled with issues of insulting a person, religion, ethnicity, race, and class. And as many as 27.1% said that the campaign

period was filled with incitement or pitting. In this case, the identity bonds of the two pairs of candidates are still selected as part of the strategy.

The continuation of the black campaign is the emergence of a new phenomenon called "post-truth". Several parties compete to legalize a truth up roaring both in cyberspace and in the real world. This phenomenon increases the potential for vulnerability and affects the national stability. The theme of "post-truth" which is already a trend in America and England has also entered Indonesia. For example, the post-truth phenomenon in Indonesia that has shocked the public is the case of Ratna Sarumpaet. According to the article on the Republika.com page, after seeing Ratna Sarumpaet's lies, the exsupporter of Prabowo Subianto destroyed the image of Prabowo and his team greatly. At that time the news about Ratna Sarumpaet was able to divert people's focus from the news of the Palu tsunami. The tragedy of Ratna Sarumpaet became an extraordinary spotlight which led to the conclusion that this issue was not just an ordinary criminal issue but also propaganda conceptualized in the world of politics. The #RatnaEffect in the 2019 Presidential Election has lowered the number of supports for one of the candidates in the Presidential Election, namely Prabowo, which led Prabowo to make an apology in the media.

The example above raises a deep question, why the public is more focused on the issue of Ratna Sarumpaet rather than the phenomenon of natural disasters that occurred at the same time. According to the Oxford dictionary, a post-truth is a situation where objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than emotional considerations and personal beliefs. Scientifically, political post-truth refers to political debate or contestation that is filled with elements of false news or fake news, lies, fake propaganda, and even slander to influence the public opinion of voters. Post-truth in the Ratna Sarumpaet case shows that candidate supporters do not highlight work programs or show the success that has been obtained from candidates, but instead they focus on other things such as spreading hoaxes and making false propaganda.

The positive and negative impacts of social media in political life can be attributed to research conducted by Dimitrova et al. (2014) and Molaei (2017). The research data reveals that social media has a strong influence on political participation of voters but has a weak influence on political knowledge. The function of social media strengthens the aspect of political participation but does not guarantee voters will have qualified political knowledge. Social media as a new media has a high degree of involvement in terms of involvement because voters can follow a candidate's or party's account, which means they can monitor the activities, as well as the online news of the candidates (Jandevi, 2019; Ritonga & Syahputra, 2019). Social media in the connect function is also high because through social media the public can directly communicate with candidates through their social media accounts. The public can ask directly,

provide comments, share messages or simply like information provided by candidates so that the communication that is built is two-way communication. Likewise, social media has a high level of function in terms of mobilizing (mobilizing) to do things that are done by candidates or political parties, such as using campaign stickers, campaign clothes, attending gatherings, or other things (Rahman & Prihatini, 2019). However, social media has not provided good information as a campaign medium because it does not provide complete information, in the Indonesian context, especially the level of reading and listening to the public is still low.

Based on the positive and negative impacts of social media on Indonesian politics that the author has reviewed, the 2019 Election stages actually need to be viewed from two different perspectives, and namely positive negative perspectives. The positive impact was evident when it was associated with voters who were more enthusiastic and gave more attention than the previous election. The 2019 election really has its own charm and encourages voters to build a country with the figure of their chosen presidential and presidential running mate. Voters have a tendency to participate in the election, at least just to attend the polling stations and exercise their voting rights. Apart from the influence of social media, voter behavior towards the implementation of voting is also influenced by various program implementations conducted by the KPU.

The negative impact of the 2019 Election stages is closely related to hoaxes and post-trust which causes people not to be interested in getting involved in politics. There are even people who choose to be apolitical (not involved with politics), abstain from voting and destroy ballot papers at election time. Seeing these problems, the writer tries to see and analyze how social media is very influential in the world of politics and looks for ways to overcome hoaxes and post-trusts that threaten the democratic process in Indonesia, especially the upcoming elections to be better than the 2019 elections. The ripples in the 2019 Election are expected to increase voter participation as long as it is viewed positively by parties who have an interest in the success of the Election.

Seen from the pros and cons, the 2019 Election is categorized as a dynamic election. Based on research conducted by Fauzi (2019), a conclusion is drawn that what affects the type of Indonesian voters in 2019 is voter behavior towards the 2019 Election because it is able to steal the attention of voters.

Therefore, this paper has a problem formulation, that is how social media is very influential in the world of politics and how to solve the hoax and post-truth actions that threaten the democratic process in Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHODS

The author uses data collection methods with literature study. The method used for the assessment is literature study. The method used to study political communication: social media strengths and threats in the 2019 general election, the data obtained is compiled, analyzed, and concluded so as to get conclusions about the theme being discussed.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Discussing the relationship between social media and politics, it is necessary to put various thoughts or theories as an analytical blade in seeing and analyzing existing phenomena. There are at least three big concepts, namely: social media, social media in politics and the hoax phenomenon during elections. Calderaro (2018) and Heryanto (2019) states that social media is a new platform for exchanging messages that are one-to-many and even many-tomany, meaning that social media is the element communication. main in Humans today, either individually or as a whole with more than 10 people, according to Nasrullah (2015), social media allows users to present themselves and interact, collaborate, share, communicate with other users, and form social bonds virtually.

In connection with this convenience, today news is very easy to spread and is even able to become a trending topic in social media searches, besides that there are features like, hashtags, and shares which greatly affect the interests and preferences of information to social media audiences. This is in line with the results of the study by Jonah Berger and Katherine Milkman (Thompson, 2014) which concludes that news that is shared viral via social media is news that can generate very strong positive and negative emotions (high-arousal emotions).

These emotions can arise because social media users such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp, Line and other social media are able to become an impromptu journalist in the sense that social media users are able to write news with a very fast speed of spreading the news, and allows interaction with other users (reciprocal) in a short time too. However, sometimes these impromptu news makers do not heed the importance of accuracy, often miss/do not verify news in the field and do not know the existence of journalism ethics and social media laws when sharing this information, and this often raises hoax/fake news.

Social media in politics

The power of social media in disseminating information has become a new air in Indonesian politics, research conducted by (Nugroho & Syarief, 2012; Lim, 2014; Johansson, 2016; Idris, 2018) states that the specific characteristics of social media are currently in a climate and atmosphere of free democracy, social media activities in Indonesia are very dynamic, high activity can even impact social movements and political change in Indonesia. It is undeniable that every era, the practice of democratic communication has changed, used previously politicians conventional methods (radio, newspapers, television, etc.) and used political socialization agents such as family, educational institutions, peers, political institutions, organizational groups, groups. religion and military (Owen, 2008) as means of political participation and campaign tools, where

these methods have a weakness, namely only there is one-way communication. Whereas in the current era communication in politics tends to be (interactive) two-way communication, where political candidates can interact with their potential voters through their social media accounts, this is the interactive side that makes the internet and social media compatible with democracy.

In the context of politics, social media is used by the public as a new expressing political space in participation, one of the forms is making a tweet to the candidate he supports, or making a post with the candidate. Meanwhile, for candidates, social media means establishing new of communication, building interactions and disseminating political information to the public. On the other hand, social media plays an important role in the political marketing system in Indonesia, especially during the campaign period, for example during the 2019 elections, where social media is used to promote political candidates, no longer uses television, newspapers, magazines, radio, tabloids, pamphlets, banners but also now utilizing new media, namely the internet (Heryanto, 2018).

On the other hand, the perceived convenience, the important role of social to develop the "political media is literacy" of Indonesian society, especially younger generation. the Political literacy is important because with political literacy, citizens will be aware of their rights and obligations and this raises awareness of autonomy in participating in the development of a

better quality political and democratic system.

Hoax Phenomenon During Election

Social media with all its conveniences and goodness is not without negative effects in it, according to Simangunsong (2017) states that the existence of social media should be used to strengthen relationships or seek relationships with other people, but in fact individual activities on social media to be arbitrary in Even the majority statements. netizens in Indonesia on social media attack, harass or injure the identity of other individuals. This shows the existence of individual weaknesses in social media literacy itself.

All of that is possible due to individual social media users not only as news connoisseurs but also producers of information, according to Gordon (2017) in Indonesia, everyone is free to have opinions and express their opinions on social And media freely. online (netizens) communities and media can act as agents of social and political change. With the freedom that every social media user has, it allows someone to make their own opinion or be allowed to comment on any matter with various open spaces (Lim, 2017). And it cannot be denied that the emergence of the hoax phenomenon. According to the classical theory of MacDougall (1958) hoaxes can understood as untruths that produced intentionally to disguise the truth. The effect of fake news is very large where hoax content that is carried continuously repeatedly out and

through social media will be able to change people's opinions and choices, especially in the case of the 2019 election.

At the time of the 2019 election momentum, such as the harvest period for fake news, hate speech and so on, usually in making fake news or hoaxes using anonymous accounts that are designated for political interests, deception in social media is especially when the political period is usually carried out by buzzer account, this group is very shrewd and adept at managing lies and ignorance as well as public issues through social media. Without realizing it, the massive activities carried out by these buzzers have hurt digital democracy. This shallow debate between buzzers is not only detrimental to the public but also threatens the future of democracy which leads to a democracy full of insults. Why is that? The biggest possibility is that netizens' weak self-control is usually described as the online disinhibition effect. this happens because there is no control on social media users to convey freely and whatever they want to convey.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The dynamics of the 2019 Election are not only a description of the competition between election contestants consisting of 16 national political parties, 4 local political parties in Aceh and 2 pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates. election contains vulnerabilities and threats that can disrupt security stability and even have the potential to destroy

the life of the nation and state. Where social media had a dominant influence in the implementation of the general election at that time.

Not only the contestants participating in the general election who are busy and full of competition, in the voters' side, there are two type of voters, that is loyal voters and swing voters. The very popular camp has emerged in 2019 is Cebong Vs Kampret. This divided society and made the atmosphere of democracy begin to get noisy with the many buzzers who often used hoax news. It is unfortunate if behind the democratic process there are parties who deliberately spread lies and false information to the public for political Increasingly sophisticated purposes. communication information and technology and the ability of the public to access social media have also exacerbated the spread of hoax news and the creation of post-truth, where at that time the public received a lot of wrong information and even believed the information.

Then it is called the post-truth era because in this period the use of reason that underlies the truth and observation of facts as a basis for measuring objectivity seems insignificant influencing public opinion, thinking, and behavior. In this period, people influence the public by numbering sensationalist and stirring emotionality. The public is more interested in the excitement of a news, so they are more affected by news and things that touch feelings, such as making people feel giving birth to happy, sadness, disappointment, anger, and so on. The public is more sensitive when touched a little emotion. The presence of social media as a new form of media blurs the lines between what constitutes news and opinion. People easily share stories on personal blogs or alternative news sites, as if everything has been verified. We can click on 'news stories' which tell us what we want to hear, as opposed to some factual content in the mainstream media that may be unpleasant to hear. With minimal editing and checking freshness, regarding news increasingly difficult to choose which news to rely on. Moreover, some people prefer to read and believe news that is in accordance with their point of view

The rise of fake news or hoaxes and the rampant post truth in Ball (2017), he mapped five actors who played a role in the development of "post truth" namely politicians, old media, media new, fake media. Ball emphasized that the five actors, 2 of whom were new media and fake media, had the most effect in influencing the emergence of the "post-truth" phenomenon.

The development of fake news cannot be separated from the decline in the quality of traditional media and its shift to online media, if in Europe this phenomenon has been highlighted by Ball (2017) who explains that the shift of traditional media to online sites is caused by a decrease in the number of consumers. Large traditional media outlets such as the New York Times and the Financial Times have good prospects but retain online subscribers who are willing to pay their news subscriptions. But for small traditional media, the way to keep engaging readers is to broaden

their reach, which can generate huge customers and make each story the lowest possible cost. For example, assigning a reporter hour of time to produce a story with great care and making sure it is true actually costs more but usually gets fewer "clicks". An alternative to all of this is to write down claims that can stir up emotions in the reader. and not only abroad like that, but in Indonesia, there are many newspapers, tabloids and magazines that have lowered their flags because no enthusiasts have bought their products, and their lack of speed in keeping up with the latest changes communication modes today, and that's the case with television which often Kali adds the content of "Citizen Journal" where citizens in general can make an audio visual and report it like journalists in general, that is one way to keep news enthusiasts looking for the latest news but at a low cost. And because this is what drives fake news to flourish.

What is interesting here is the strengthening effect of those closest to you through social media which makes fake news even more dangerous, the difference between old media and new media lies from the source of the news provider. In new media, when false or misleading information is shared by friends and family, we tend to trust it more than any other source. Another small example is through the Facebook social media account where this social media shifts and reduces the visibility of news publishers and puts new posts from friends and family in a superior position because Facebook is considered as important as Google as the largest search engine in the world, with the tagline "ensure You don't miss posts from friends and family that you might care about". And Facebook indirectly promotes fake news to hundreds of its users.

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that there are 3 important characteristics that support the Post-Truth Society. One, the emergence of new media due to advances in information technology, which is able to make a person not only a news consumer but also able to become a news producer himself, from which then emerges "alternative facts" in the form of information that may differ greatly from what is expected. actually happened. Two, there relationship with the first point because the development of the flow of information through new media is a threat to existing mainstream media, for example cases such as the Action to Defend Islam in Indonesia, such as inviting the public to no longer trust information sourced from mass media reports on generally.

Third, the content of the information that is spread must have sensational value or be able to touch the emotional side of the reader, usually news published by new media often takes the form of fantastic news even though it is often just claims. These three things then continue to create what is called the Post-Truth Society and the end of this post-truth nuanced information will become material for evaluation and material for one's consideration in deciding his political choices.

In this post truth era, what actually happens is that power lies with people who are vocal and hold resources on social media (Tapsell, 2017). Therefore, many politicians who do not want to miss this momentum are also many candidates and politicians who attract celebrities or public figures to promote themselves in society. The construction of charm that is spread by iconic figures is expected to be able to create the illusion of widespread opinion. The packaging of the news narrative which is full of interests and manipulation and that is consumed by the Indonesian people certainly has a negative impact. On the other hand, there is also coverage of competition in intense politics which often produces cynicism and leads to negative attitudes towards certain political institutions. The lack of media literacy in Indonesian society has worsened the condition, which as a result could lead to divisions between groups support and become frightening specter for the values of Indonesian nationalism and diversity.

From the explanation above, social media should be used to carry out literacy so that Indonesians understand politics and know their rights and obligations in the political field. Unfortunately, for some people, social media is actually used as a media for propaganda and provocation to bring down political opponents. This is what is called a political hoax, namely fake news about politics that is used as propaganda to provoke people to be influenced according to news content. This is popular in the post-truth era. The lack of filtering of news information on

social media from the authorities makes it easier for hoaxes, slander, hate speech and blasphemies to spread.

As an effort so that people are not easily influenced by hoax news is to provide political education. Good political education is based on openness, transparency and good accessibility. The form of political education itself is knowing the rights and obligations of citizens, such as knowing the right to vote using e-KTP, being smart and not responding too quickly to news that is spread especially regarding bringing political opponents. down Public awareness must also be grown that they have the right to know and participate in guarding elections. They as citizens must be ready to support the KPU, BAWASLU and other related parties by way of complaining if there are violations committed by each election participant. Apart from that, the socialization of elections must also be carried out periodically so that the success in educating the public about elections can be successful.

In line with the description above, there are several ways expressed by Golose (2019), states that counter narrative is an alternative solution in dealing with the spread of lies, when the 2019 election is political very high, including the production process of hoaxes, slander, incitement and hate speech. Counter-narrative is very important negative counter narratives. The government, community leaders, religious leaders, academics and practitioners, as well as related institutions, should continuously and massively provide constructive

information to the public, as well as remind the people of Pancasila values that promote national unity integrity. Information that builds and strengthens this unity must be able to drown out provocative discourses. And messages must be spread massively on social media, because in post truth era, information disseminated massively will be easier for the public to believe.

There are also Counter Hoaxes that can be done by building a Fact check service that can be accessed and used easily. This convenience is very important considering the community is experiencing information overload. This fact check also needs to be developed by the mass media, funds from nongovernment organizations, to assist the public in checking the truth of a story.

On the other hand, society must be required to be aware of the importance of their role in the development of Indonesian democracy. Apart from political education and socialization about elections, the public should know as much as possible the candidates who will advance in political contests. So, when the election takes place, the public can give their choice according to their conscience and do not come under any candidate. pressure from accordance with the suggestion Hartono's research, his writing covers several ways to suppress hoaxes that occur in digital media (Hartono, 2018). According to him, the opponent of post truth is not the truth itself, because basically Post-Truth is a denial of the truth. So that attempts at clarification were in vain. In fighting hoaxes or post-

truth, it is also important to expose and disseminate to the public, how a lie is fabricated and spread. By providing knowledge on how the strategy of spreading lies is carried out, it is hoped that the community will be able to independently assess the information it receives.

Another way to overcome this posttruth or hoax attack can be by carrying out fact checking as conveyed by Born (2015), saying at least it is carried out with three goals, which may be in mind. each with a different audience, related to:

- 1. For a wider audience, to increase understanding of the problem by responding to misinformation;
- 2. For journalists to help shift the culture from "the word" to greater fact-checking;
- 3. And politicians, political experts or news networks are asked to be accountable for writing statements that have been issued to prevent false statements.

CONCLUSION

The Indonesian democratic party, which is held every 5 years, becomes an interesting party event because the people can decide who will be given the mandate by them. However, in its implementation, several obstacles arise such as identity politics, money politics, and black campaign, which are still joint PR. On the other hand, the development of the media causes the problem to be likened to mushrooms in the rainy season. In addition, the mass media is also used as an arena to attack each other between candidates, as a result, the

media cannot maintain its neutrality as a bridge between society and candidate. The implication is that the public is not interested in politics and behaves in abstinence, thus destroying the ballot paper during the election.

There are also several important elements that more or less create an atmosphere that is not conducive to politics in Indonesia, especially during the 2019 elections and after the election. First, the post-truth paradigm, which understanding creates an everything's personal interests rather than public interests, allows for lies in capturing the news. Second, political discourse, which is a form representation from interest elite groups, is ambiguous in perspective, the material in the production of fake news on social media. Third, social media, which plays a role in crossing all content into the hands of the public. This psottruth and hoax threat must require a multidisciplinary integrated more analysis to find solutions to today's political problems.

Through literature review documentation study, the method used in conveying political communication so can people increase their that participation is through political education and political socialization on a regular basis. This is important because through education the public can realize their role in the development of democracy in Indonesia. Meanwhile, through political socialization, public can find out which candidate they will vote for, so that when they give their vote, the public can vote according to their conscience without any pressure

from any candidate. Thus, the public can have political awareness and together with related institutions or agencies (KPU and Bawaslu) can oversee election activities. On the other hand, there are a number of suggestions for tackling post trust and hoaxes. First, there is a nongovernmental organization that creates a lie-tracking system. Second, hiring an ombudsman or editor who oversees newspaper operations and responds to public criticism. Third, public learning about how fake news campaigns work. Fourth, general training in information literacy from an early age. Fifth, technology education to anticipate the automatic filter bubble mechanism. Sixth, guaranteeing freedom of expression in the democratic public sphere through rational claims.

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