

10th Biennial Convention
of the Pacific and Asian Communication (PACA) 2014

Beyond Asia: Communicating Asian Culture to the World

Universitas Padjadjaran
June 24 - 26, 2014

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PACA



Pacific and Asian
Communication Association



Faculty of Communication Science
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16.00 - 17.45 Session 2

Social Media

Chair : Antar Venus

- **Ningping Jiang (China)**
Representation of AIDS/HIV in Microblog: A Text Mining Approach
- **Ferly Tanggu Hana (Indonesia)**
The Effectiveness of HIV/AIDS Campaign through Facebook (A Case Study of Facebook Account of East Nusa Tenggara Province's AIDS Commission)
- **Evie Ariadne, Agus Rahmat, Heru Ryanto & Kokom Komariah (Indonesia)**
Media Online Utilization on HIV/AIDS Health Information in Bandung
- **Nurdin Abd Halim (Indonesia)**
Adolescent Behavior in Using New Media : Mapping Adolescent's New Media Habit in Riau Province

Day 2

Wednesday, 25 June

08.30 - 10.15 Session 3

Social Media

Chair : Siti Ezaleila Mustafa

- **Mia Angeline & Yuanita Safitri (Indonesia)**
Social Media Use and Civic Participation in Indonesia: Study of Political Participation Among Women in Jakarta
- **Dian Purworini**
The Question of Public Participation Possibility in Social Media : The Case of Sukoharjo Local Government
- **Nunik Maharani Hartoyo & Rinda A. Sirait (Indonesia)**
Politics, Young Voters and Sea of Change in 2014 Indonesian Legislative Election
- **Rajab Ritonga (Indonesia)**
Politic in New Media Public Space : Democratic Challenge or a New Area for the Ruler

10.20 - 12.05 Session 4

Social Media

Chair : Agus Rahmat

- **Yayuk Lestari, Yesi Puspita & Rahmi Surya Dewi (Indonesia)**
Facebook as the New Public Sphere - Study On Facebook: Solok and Pariaman
- **Yong-Hyeok Choi (Korea)**
How Personality Traits Are Related to Facebook Status Updates and Life Satisfaction
- **Tita Melia Milyane & Siswanti (Indonesia)**
Perception of Smartphone Use among Children: A Transcultural Comparison
- **Siti Ezaleila Mustafa (Malaysia)**
Online Social Networking As A "Third Place": Usage in Malaysia

13.05 - 14.50 Session 5

Social Media

Chair : Ninis Agustín

- **Ipit Zulfan (Indonesia)**
Media Convergence at Pikiran Rakyat Group
- **Gang Li, Xinkai Huang & Mengdie Zhang (China)**
Communication Studies of Wechat Usage of Foreign Students in ChengDu
- **Muhamad Rosli Selamat & Muhamad Ridhwan Rosli (Malaysia)**
Agenda Setting Construct: A Study of News Article Coverage on Bersih 3.0 by Keadilandaily.com and Umnoonline.com
- **Tian Yuan (China)**
A Study on The Merging Between the Radio and WeChat-like Apps : A thought based on the interactive practice between Chinese radio and WeChat
- **Sulih Indra Dewi (Indonesia)**
A rising Southeast Asia: one identity one community

14.55 - 16.40 Session 6

Social Media & Communication Technology

Chair : Nindi Aristi

- **Kartina Sury & Tina Mariany Kariman (Indonesia)**
Engaging Your Brand: How Social Media Responding Customer Dynamics and Asia's Booming Digital Appetite

Ridaryanthi, Meily, Pawanteh, Latiffah & Latif, Ahmad (Indonesia)

THE SELF: ME OR NEW ME(?) IDENTITY TRANSFORMATION OF INDONESIAN MIGRANT WORKERS IN MALAYSIA

The migration of Indonesian Migrant Workers to Malaysia has never been a history, for it is still ongoing and becoming daily story. The come and go activities, the stories covered by media and the interactions of the workers that occur in the host society are part of the migration phenomenon. Migrant workers are not robots without identity which merely sent to the employer for working. They are not alien which live separated and unknown. They are visible with constructed identity in the host society and the socialization between the workers and the host society has resulted process of communication; when role, norm and meanings are shared. The society shared richer cultures with new group member in the host country; the immigrant. Therefore, the communication process may lead to the transformation of immigrants' identity which culture shared in the interaction with host society. This study explored the adaptation experience of Indonesian Migrant Workers which lead to identity transformation. Focus group discussions were conducted toward two groups of workers. Data shows that identity transformation occurred as the product of intercultural adaptation in the host country.

Keywords: Indonesian Migrant Workers, intercultural adaptation, cultural identity

Ritonga, Rajab (Indonesia, Prof. Dr. Moestopo (Beragama) University)

POLITICS OF NEW MEDIA IN PUBLIC SPHERE: THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY OR THE NEW LAND OF AUTHORITY

The development of new media as an implication of the advances in information technology has created a new communication character that is communication which uses a lot of computer mediated communication (CMC). Consequently, the character of political communication is also changing. New public spaces are now emerging, to perform political devices and communication with the character that was previously unknown or extremely unused. The experts relate this condition as a new opportunity for democracy. Meanwhile, the questions arise whether this is pure for democracy space, or this is only a building of new power constellation in the context of political communication. In Indonesia as a democracy country, new media becomes a new device of political communication characterized by a lot of political cases in the new media spaces, so that the parameter of old political communication is questionable, although it is still used in the context of grass roots. In answering and illustrating these problems, several theories have been used as the explanation and comparison. These theories are assessed by generating new questions and propositions of the theory genres. The theories range between critical theories that discuss new media public space (Habermasian) and power relations (Foucauldian), along with some concepts and new media models, by presenting some political cases that are closely related to new media in Indonesia and in some other countries. On the one hand, new media has created a political public space which seems to be more democratic, but on the other hand, it has produced a particular monitoring system, especially associated with the acquisition of electronic media from several apparatus and political virtuality which in the view of postmo critical has created a widespread power without any institution, and without any rule of law that is able to bind, so that the politic – and its public space – up to a virtual era which not only produces presentation, but also creates reality. Not only in the reality itself but also creates specific virtual actors

Keywords: new media, political space, power

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Politics of New Media in Public Sphere: the Challenge of Democracy or the New Land of Authority

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Abstract

The development of new media as an implication of the advances in information technology has created a new communication character that is communication which uses a lot of *computer mediated communication* (CMC). Consequently, the character of political communication is also changing. New public spheres are now emerging, to perform political devices and communication with the character that was previously unknown or extremely unused. The experts relate this condition as a new opportunity for democracy. Meanwhile, the questions arise whether this is pure for democracy space, or this is only a building of new power constellation in the context of political communication. In Indonesia as a democratic country, new media become a new device of political communication characterized by a lot of political cases in the new media spaces, so that the parameter of old political communications is questionable, although it is still used in the context of grass roots. In answering and illustrating these problems, several theories have been used as the explanation and comparison. These theories are assessed by generating new questions and propositions of the theory genres. The theories range between critical theories that discuss new media public sphere (Habermasian) and power relations (Foucauldian), along with some concepts and new media models, by presenting some political cases that are closely related to new media in Indonesia and in some other countries. On the one hand, new media have created a political public sphere which seems to be more democratic, but on the other hand, it has produced a particular monitoring system, especially associated with the acquisition of electronic media from several apparatuses and political virtuality which in the view of postmo critical has created a widespread power without any institution, and without any rule of law that is able to bind, so that the politic – and its public sphere – up to a virtual era which not only produces presentation, but also creates reality. Not only in the reality itself but also creates specific virtual actors.

Key words: new media, political space, power

Introduction

The title of this article implies two interrelated sides in the political life, namely democracy and power. In a variety of political discourse, particularly the studies of political communications which are related to public and power discussions, they are two different poles in a certain extreme point. The political communications discusses this as a phenomenon in communications that is how an actor talks about his political messages to the egalitarian public democratically.

Politics today is unseparable from political communication media. The development of the mass media since the 1950s has undergone significant changes, especially since the internet was invented. Media changes in the ways of search, presentation and use by the audience. Even the basic properties of the medium themselves have also changed with the

presence of new media as a continuation of the use of the internet as a whole to the public after the introduction of the www (world wide web) .

The development of information technology also has the impact to the world of journalism. As a mode of communications that uses many transmissions, the world of journalism was triggered to follow the nature of new media-based space. On the other hand, after the September 11 incident in 2001, the internet-based communications is very prominent in its role as a new mode of journalism along with the birth of citizen journalism (Marshal in Consalvo and Ess, 2011: 407). This has broken the old paradigm of one-way mass media communications into interactive mode in mass media and public sphere. But the matter does not stop here. Media convergence and the rapid development of IT make the roles of the media communications (new media), try to convey information in the form of stories of reality, and media (new media) deliberately construct reality and at the same time create reality in new public spheres.

In general, power or authority — at least including ownership — becomes a major factor in the practice of power in the conventional mass media. Let us say an example of Herman and Chomsky who turn ownership into main power in determining reality and mass media contents (Chomsky and Herman, 2002: 3). In the new media, it is very difficult to determine the practices of power for certain, because the monopoly owner of the contents is not easy to identify them (McQuail, 2010: 141). In other words, new media space presents a new pattern of power that typically becomes a new field for the play of power which has becomes wider and wider, anonymous, not centralized and highly accessible.

Manuel Castells said, the development of IT and communication technologies which underlines the general character of new media communication modes based on the fact that the limits and forms of mass communications are not clear (Castells, xxvi: 2010). For example, when someone sends an e-mail, he or she essentially does an interpersonal communication (face-to-face communication), but when the content of the e-mail is broadcast to many people, then the nature of dissemination by mass communication has transformed into a form of the e-mail disseminating communications.

In terms of political communications, it is unsparable from the game of power. Politics as an art of power uses the mass media as a form or a tool to form power domination. On the other hand, democracy as a form of rule is the basis of the formation of political egalitarian space for anyone, regardless of the domination and occupation of any parties. Political interest in democracy is how everyone gets accommodation in a public sphere, while a political message in the political world, which is focused heavily on the power struggle, is how the message is used as a tool to maintain power.

Power in the classic term is described as a pyramid hierarchy that provides direction of message or direction of political role in the dichotomy of ruler and those controlled in a pyramidal way (Lynch in Taylor (ed), 2011: 13). Rulers are at the top of the pyramid while the apparatuses as well as the people are in the bottom of the pyramid, with the direction of the message following the hierarchical models of the top (ruler) to lower particle (controlled). Power itself cannot be separated from the space where the dimensions of the clash and struggle over the domination. Public sphere in the new media has different characteristics. This happens since the internet becomes the basis of information networks in the public sphere.

Internet has become a symptomatic political transformation phenomenon, spread and burst like plagues. Internet has resulted in a public sphere or a political space in the new context. In highly virtualized cyberspaces, virtual public spheres have the duty to create a frame of freedom and imagination of a country or a group which is virtually realized (Axford and Huggins, 2001:103). Thus, virtual political ideas can be found in a personal conversation and be massively spread.

New media in political communications in Indonesia encourage the formation of a new space for conversation. Given this space, anyone who has internet literacy can speak directly to certain political actors. They are, for example, can be present in the facebook and twitter accounts of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to discuss various matters, including to praise or criticize the President related to the failures and irregularities of the government. In other words, the ocean of thousands of messages of new media content is filled with so many political actors participating in the discussion of certain issues.

The above conditions, on the one hand look democratic, but on the other there are aspects of the power playing with a new pattern. Private information becomes public information. Contents of the private room can be open to the public with the modes of doubling and digitalization. The supervision of ideas on an issue keeps running with the people's ability to build networks at once and to identify them. In this context, power does not only mean controlling media ownership, but turns into an anonymity-based effort to uphold the image of virtual politics, containing images or lies by taking advantage of relationships in new media.

Material and Methodology

The problems discussed in this article are about the form of domination in new media space, and how the political implications, as well as what is the Foucault's theory of power considers this political phenomenon in general. The next problem is how the public sphere theory describes it as a phenomenon.

The merging of communications and information in technology that is capable of processing, storing, and communicating, causes major changes in people's lives. McLuhan termed it as a global village (Little John, 2008: 285). According to McLuhan, the world will come to a space where human beings are connected to each other. Human beings communicate with one and another without limit in one space in the world. This unity is made possible by the nature of technology which is analogized as a form of extended function of human life (Little John, 2008: 290). By doing so, technology becomes an element that sometimes or even be substitution of the reality in the human life.

In the new media-based communications, all the extensions of are presented as tools and at once as organs that do not just substitute the functions of life, but also create space and content of life itself. The term of new media is a "sexy" idiom which becomes topics of discussions in various groups in the study of communication science, especially that on mass communication. There are thousands of definitions of new media, with some angles that have always been materials for discussions (Lister et al, 2009: 12).

According to Lister, (2009: 13) there are several main characters related to the aspects of new media in general. *The First* is digital. Each entity of data in the form of physical or non-physical are fed into the input of the numbers which can be output as a source of the online, digital disks, and can be operated in a more complex computer system. *The Second* is interactive. In the old media, the audience is passive, whereas in new media, it is active. The audience can give feedback directly on a content, and even manipulate it.

The use of media in the new media that is more individual in nature, and the convergence of media that blurs the line between the communicant and communicator, ultimately generates a specific way of communications. This condition causes the formation of "a separate freedom" in communications with new media. The communicants or audiences tend to be users because of its possibility that allows the audience to change the content (images and text), and commit direct interventions in the communication processes (Lister, 2009: 22). Sabbah quoted by Castells argues the audiences in new media tend to choose messages (Castells, 2010: 368). This selection is a different form of interactivity with

the old media. In new media, one chooses the message and ignores messages that do not suit him/her.

The Third is hyper textual. Hypertext is a work made of different materials units where each unit carries a number of pathways to other units (Lister, 2009: 26). *The Fourth* is virtual. Virtuality in virtual space is no longer wishful thinking. A virtual space is capable of generating a virtuality whose quality approaches reality. Gilles Deleuze argues virtuality is not the opposite of reality, but a reality that is in opposition to the real thing (Lister, 2009: 37). In the new media space, the reality presents to uphold good image and imagination which is manifested visually and in audio but not associated with the relationship between the picture of reality and actual reality.

The Fifth is networks. Information society is defined as people living in a particular web where the public generally constructs and defines the forms of production, experience, power, and culture (Castells, 2010: 500). In new media, the main basis of communication technology medium is the internet. The internet becomes the basis of network construction in information resource flows which are substituted, shared, traded, and become a certain identity. *The Sixth* is simulated. Simulation is a word popularized by Jean Baudrillard related to a reality that generates more original than the original, in which the image is no longer a representation of reality but a representation of imagination that produces pure image: as if it is original and factual but does not exist in reality (Baudrillard, 1983: 11).

The mentioned aspects result in a political implication for the existence of new media, where they have new patterns of relations in political communications. Political communications has a different space, in which messages and channels of political actors as communicators have distinct existences from the patterns of media-based communications in general. The implications could be explained in several ways: *firstly*, with the simplicity of the message material in the form of digitized data will be distributed promptly. An actual political reality is determined by the speed of delivery and presentation of communication messages. Paul Virilio argues the reality is more determined by the constructions of speed and movement, in this case the movement of information (Krug, 2005: 1). The reality of the presented information depends on how fast the information is delivered to the public. Up-to-date information, real time is regarded as a reality. The space of the reality with a lot of information will be filled with a variety of reality served rapidly so no needs confirmation of the original reality.

The Virilio's opinion is an excess of digitalization that facilitates data access, data transformation, and reconstruction of information and duplication of data. The spaces of power aspects then get a particular variable, namely how the speed and quality of information are received by the dominant entity, or digitalization creates a dominant entity of the information ruler itself. It only happens in digital media where digitalization as a mode of communications has given its ability for the audience to get information materials quickly.

Substantially, the information digitalization changes the quality packaging and facility of the information transmission from one point to another point where information, such as books, can now be packaged in a flash disc containing more than one book. Consequently, the data and information can be easily stored in a storage area which virtually and digitally has a large capacity, but physically more compact. However, digital-based equipment requires certain literacy that not everyone can use it, meaning digitization allows for gaps in information channels.

Secondly, anonymity. The anonymity of political actors in the new media space struggle has a very high interactivity. The created virtuality is not only the image but also a political virtualization in which people meet each other without having to depend on representational rules. Whoever the person, one can be connected to each other in the

network, although they do not know each other, and not need to know each other. This makes the control system rather difficult.

Thirdly, internet and ownership. Internet as one of the new media driving is a global network that creates a new social network. The social network depends on electronic resources. In the perspective of world systems theory presented by Thomas Shannon, a core country as the owner of the electronic and information resources is the ruler and, creates the peripheral domination to a country that has minimal electronic resources and information (McQuail, 2010: 26 -27). Therefore, the determination of power among others comes from how these resources are controlled. However, new media have aspects in which power can move easily. The physical owner separates from the strength of content ownership networks.

Fourthly, internet as a part of a new media system is a medium that can be categorized as lawless. Collins says, there is no law that can really provide the hierarchical rules as well as going on old media (McQuail, 2010: 141), so as if there is no ruler in new media. In other words, the rulers in new media are spread: in content, hardware, or software in the network owners.

Fifthly, the characteristics of internet-based new media are basically moving by the specific coordinate identification in the network, resulting in sharper supervision. Wiretapping and surveillance are often a major issue in new media, where on the one hand this gives freedom of communications in the public sphere, but on the other hand when it comes to network, it can be recognized as a node with a specific address.

1. New Media and Foucault's Practice of Power

Authority and mass media have become a central topic in the study of communications, especially from the perspective of critical media theory genre. The discussion of media power is around the structured social relations which are controlled by the authority, in which the will of one party is imposed on the other party, whether legitimate or not, or by using the influence, so that the intention of one party is met by the other party (McQuail 2010:7). But the question is whether this is valid for the characteristics and determination of the phenomenon of power in the new media which in general is a mode, an environment, and a new habitus in communications.

New media are in many ways a form of communication media that involve many actors. Nevertheless the basic character of new media is, no hierarchy of ownership and intervention like that in conventional media, which depict as a pyramid with the ruler at the top and its influence extends deep into the bottom of dominated entity.

New media as an internet-based environment, present an important feature that will excess in the form of power dispersion (spread). According to Marshall, internet provides a two-way related freedom of information (Hold and Perren, ed, 2009: 83), namely: (1) Freedom of use. Internet comes as a low cost medium to consume and produce. In the information society, computers have become a basic need, and the internet becomes a common vehicle for practical and economical communications. (2) In terms of freedom, hierarchical power and media control in general are not binding. There is no direct influence and repressive, distortive and intervention from media corporation owners like that on the conventional media.

The model of power that can be used to look at this matter is a model that considers authority is not centralized and not centered on the binary opposition of resource rulers and those who are ruled, but a relationship that spread in social networks. Related to this assumption, the power is dispersive and should be described in the specific form in which there is no institutional power, but rather on relational power. Foucault explains the phenomenon of power in the context of power relations in several prepositions. Foucault's power preposition (Taylor, ed , 2011: 22) namely: (1) since authority appears in relation and

interaction (social); power is not achieved or seized, but derived from the practice of power itself; (2) the relationship of power is not the exterior of another relationship, where the relationship of power remains and unchanged. It does not become a form of relationship that represents another relationship or as the exterior of other relationship; (3) the authority comes from below, there is no general rule about the rulers and those who are ruled at the root of power relations.

When these prepositions are constructed in the context of the new media authority, it becomes a fundamental explanation in the following things, namely: *firstly*, the characteristic of new media that is established on interactivity leads the actors in the new media space capable to exchange resources, therefore as if authority seems easy and moves in the network. For example, in the case of the conflict between Palestina and Israel that is supported by the United States. The power of the United States to stop the conflict is limited only by giving sanctions on the website, or closing it. But the interactivity of new media creates different powers of virtually anonymous entities from anti-Israel community to keep pressing and giving domination of the stigmatization to Israel. This is different from conventional media, for example, Time magazine held by Jewish financiers, can control the content of the magazine related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

However, in cyberspace, new media have certain social networks that can control the message and encourage political movement beyond previous calculations, as demonstrated by anti-Egyptian regime community when subverting Egyptian rule in 2011. In this case, the power of social network on the internet was very contributive to the political movement at the time. Social relations in public interactivity are able to encourage the mobilization of the masses, and this is a form of counter-domination or *habitus of struggle and power*. Social relations within these networks have power to subvert the hierarchical authority.

Secondly, the anonymity of communications in the new media space is a factor that makes every political actor can easily be and cannot be, so that an institution is not a vector control or dominant point of the vector. An institution or an apparatus is simply a point in relations that is a function and resources of social relations themselves.

Thirdly, the issue of ownership: who own the message, the media owner, the message owner or hardware and, network owner. The ownership of new media is in a different constellation with that of conventional mass media whose power pattern is seen in the pyramidal corporate. In new media, the network owner is not necessarily the ruler messages, and the owner or authorized message also does not lie in the form of ownership of the message itself, but depends on the network that receives or on an integrated network on a particular interest and pleasure. The media users can be a group or individual that controls the interaction of the message so that authority as implied by Foucault in his prepositions depends on social relations, rather than on a particular institutional form.

In the absence of form of power and the alternation of authority into a good social relations, it is difficult to determine the discourse game. In this context, social relations in such messages as in the e-mail, blogs, social networking and debate will create a different new discourse. A language then becomes a power tool that is no longer centralized, but power language has different discourses, and generates awareness instead of repression pyramidal form, but an authority that is built from the social relations within the community network. This is evident in Jakarta's Governor that was won by Joko Widodo, Public opinions through images and networking messages popped up in internet, while Joko Widodo himself is not the owner of the system to edit and control the content. He was only a figure discussed in social relations in social networks. And management of actors or political voices can no longer be held based on who owns it. Groups and social networks master those messages, either as a political tool or underground political movement.

Fourthly, virtuality, reality and hyper reality. Political virtuality is a political act in the virtual space, where political activities are transferred into the virtual space and substitute into various shapes of artificial spaces. Here, power cannot strongly stand because imaging power plays a dominant role in political discourse. Physical repression becomes unimportant, hyper reality power can bring an easy condition of power. A ruler is actually a limit of indeterminacy of the image itself. Anyone, as long as the image is able to play, could be a ruler and defeats powers.

Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono are two figures who play a lot in the virtual politics. They form their imaging spaces in such a way to develop the images. Struggle of power in the political virtuality is how power relations create or arouse from the imaging power of its own. Jokowi could have a certain power structure to win Governor of Jakarta elections, for example, by giving the imaging spot of virtual identities, which builds his image in such pop culture as songs and fragments on You Tube, with no one else knows if the advertisement is a representation of factual reality.

Fifthly, anonymous and unknown measurement survey of virtual respondents' identity, only a thorough reading of the mention level, make a public speech directed to the polling result or social media share, which is not the result of a survey so that the opportunity of those giving virtual "crown" are able to encourage a certain power. The power of this work is based on the level of trust and social relations to the results and public discourse that become discourses in society and political space. In merdeka.com records, based on Google's scanning, the word of Jokowi was very much up in the conversation space across the internet networks throughout 2013-2014. This creates a virtual crown on every political actor. In this matter, Jokowi serves as a political identity, and a virtual political power in it.

Sixthly, related to the linguistic discussion in new media, language of power does not present such as the one in mainstream media in the form of news framing. It seems that the authorities are trying to construct themselves through the language itself, forming an ideological structure in the language. However Foucault specifically says basically language is just a tool of discourse, while power works in a discourse by creating meaning through the process of discoursing (Wetherell et al, 2004: 73). If this is connected with the theory of power and the premises then, basically the discourses and relation powers are more important than language and conventional powers. Discourses can grow and encourage social relations. Idioms and language codes are not generated by media owners, whether the owners of internet network or software and certain portal, though conversations in social networking communities potentially construct a new code, so such ideological ruler as terminologist Althusser cannot be clearly determined as different portal could be different language, different network could be different language and even new idioms can be generated by anonymous and virtual identities.

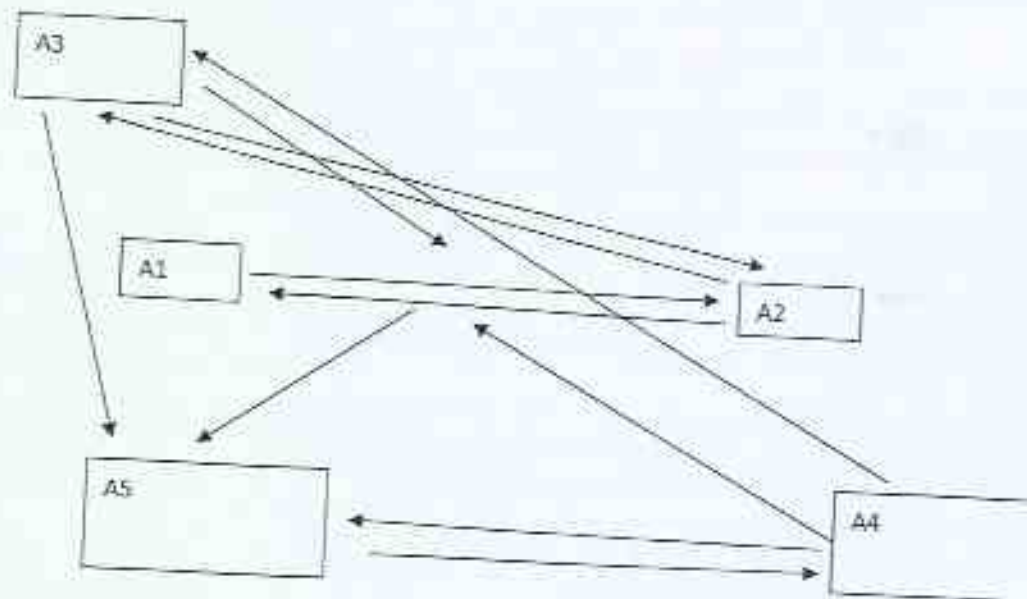
The forms of code are no longer generated by ideological semiotic rules of a particular institution, but rather the discourse that is constructed by social relations themselves. The discussion in media networks on an issue likely to be the result of conversation and interest coming out of relationships and social relationships. In the mailing list like *Kaskus* for instance, exclusive groups form their own discourses about various things as hobbies, business, pornography, and politics. They consist of different anonymous identities, speaking and producing a particular discourse. Each one has interest and grows into a united pressure in the same ideas having dialects with alternating domination in the structuration of powers that are so easy in the wider network.

Seventhly, hyper textual, that information idea is built from a variety of sources. Information about Obama for example, is the information built from different elements of the scattered ideas of thousands of points that exist in the network. The birth of a political figure is a hyper textual or from thousands of conversations, elements, and pieces of images that are

pinned by social relations to become a political image in the pages or certain realities in the new media.

Hyper textual in basic linguistics by Bakhtin is described as a form of idea of human language. Human language is essentially not born with a rigid markers of relationships, but derives from the social relations of a dynamic social use, a form of language in context, sometimes with conflicting purposes (Wetherrel, 2004: 65).

The power is in the language and signs therefore the derivation of power in new media meets the nature of power that is not derived from the hierarchy, but that in the texts formed as active social dynamics. In new media, a text does not present by an author or is constructed by the portal management, but a combination of all social reality conversations within networks through dynamic power relations as an interior form that continues to exist in the social life of the cyber spaces which generate a political action, political power, political actors, domination, and all the idioms of power. Foucault's model term delivers a space-shaped power that analogous to Bakhtin as human language created by the upheaval of the social dynamics of a variety of voices and anonymous sources and fuse into an idea, information and power. Based on the explanation above, a model perspective can be constructed from power in new media with the Foucauldian-based assumption. This model can be described in the following chart:



A1 and A2 are political actors who are in the power map in the new media space, while A3 is a physical ruler of internet networks (cable, satellite, etc.). A4 is a media authority who creates the pages and vehicles in cyber space, software, portal owner, manager or social media admin or chat rooms, and A5 is legal and governmental authorities.

In the constellation of use and direction of the messages, hierarchy is almost nothing. In this habitus, power switches gradually or promptly. All are based on overlapping relationships, while political actors who directly play in the political space are committing struggle of power in the network with little intervention from the "physical owner" of A1 and A2 that have conflicting interests without other factors, only the factors of interactively political messages.

It seems the authorities and capitalists of this model have no hierarchical authorities to intervene. Logically, in order to authorize, a force must build its own social relationships.

When a minor point is able to be dynamic in certain social relations and power relations it may turn into a certain power center which is good and temporary in nature. Cases of Nokia or BlackBerry, for example, the two manufacturers of mobile phones are actors in the new media dynamics. Both are political nodes in hierarchical logic as service and technology providers. However, because the thousands of political actors in the network do not respond then, basically Nokia and BlackBerry lose their powers to intervene or being a ruler in a communication network relationship.

In the Egyptian revolution, for example, networks or social and power relations that stand on the political conversation dynamics from actors to actors are able to overthrow the regime of Mubarak, who had a hierarchical point in the pyramid of the Egyptian ruler. Power relations in the public conversation turned into people power due to one thing: Mubarak was not able to decipher his power model or authority vector, where the people power raised due to the dynamics of information in intricate and complex networks that featured as an authority for determination of the state structure and policies.

2. New Media and Public Sphere

Since the use of internet expanded in the 1990s, the public discussion space entered into the substitution space in the form of a room that does not exist in physical form, but in a room which is used more privately, and the messages are massively disseminated. Castells Manuelli says, information is a thing that forms a new morphology in the world today. Networks of social organizations have been in another time and space, where the new information technology paradigm provides the material base for the expansion of the social structure. This leads to networking that causes social determination into higher levels. It makes social interest expressed in a network (Castell, 2010: 500).

The public sphere of Castells that is related to new media and information society, at least illustrates that community or public sphere presents or is given a dimension of a determination in relations of among genes in social networks. A public sphere contains information and communication resources in the context of new media that is defined by Castells as a networked society that generates public opinion and cultural expression in the new media (Castells, 2010: 501).

Meanwhile the concept of the public sphere in Habermas linked few things. *Firstly*, the public sphere is ideally an open forum to all citizens equally, where the general interest and politics are discussed and ideas exchanged (Hassan and Thomas, ed, 2006: 93).

Secondly, a basic understanding of the public sphere according to Habermas is an arena that is free from government intervention, and has free autonomy from economic partisan groups, which are dedicated to rational debate (not in favor of special interests, not vague, and not manipulated) and can be accessed by the citizens (Webster, ed, 1997: 101). The state only functions for sustaining the public sphere and the discourse between economics and politics, not giving or as an interest instrument.

Thirdly, information is the core of public sphere (Webster, 1997: 102). Habermas means generally a public sphere is a communication space, a space which is formed by information which is substituted and dialectal, then this information is freely distributed to the public without of government's repressive intervention. The characteristic of new media as a public sphere is a virtual space that is gray and not clearly demarcated. In cloud storage technology, data can be stored in a public sphere, such the service providers as Google as a virtual storage area. It means the public sphere is no longer a space around discussion and communication on issues, but a data container that could not give shape to the whole space without facilitators. The facilitators only provide and save while to intervene, they should commit complicated hacking.

Public areas of new media does not recognize citizenship, because basically everyone from all countries who are in their operation network of internet-based new media, can present at the talks as long as the network can be accessed, with or without identity. Virtual citizenship allows for power manipulation in the public sphere. Public discourse is no longer "public" in the sense of significant public identity and physical existence, but a public which only speak, even the public who are not responsible for any political movements and actions. This is probably going to be a critique of Habermas' perspective, where the representation of individuals over the messages may not all be in the conversation rooms.

Ethical issues in public spheres are being significant because without the ethical rules the conversations will be far from useful discussions. But in the new media, there is no ethical institution. Ethics as if it comes from the communication network so being without ethics can be an ethical, and then it creates problems. Then the conversation concerns talks about public interests or just vandals. But in this context, new media democratic space is a public sphere considered as democratic as long as the room is still voicing public rights. Meanwhile, when new media as a surveillance tool used by the rulers, an image game tool for certain elites, new media become an entity of power, a space full of struggles of power.

Spaces resulted by new media is basically like power movement a la Foucault over the temporary spaces along with their existence that is not based on certain institutions and ethics. New media public sphere could present at any time, in the cyber spaces, and can be a part of any networks. Public sphere can be lost when the flow of information networks disappears.

The next question is how public sphere can guarantee that the public conversation turns into a political force? This question is an indication of public sphere that Habermas has pointed out that public sphere should be able to talk about the public interest. The fundamental issue of new media is that they generate a public sphere with no sort of public or private areas. The talks can be anything in there, and each occurrence of a message and depiction of certain parties will be followed by simulation construction which is basically nothing more than an empty identity with empty markers and trivial interests.

For an instance is Prita case in internet which was propagated by conventional mass media and new media. Prita was believed right by the public. The public does not want to know the actual circumstances and explanations. The explanation is supposed to exist in the public sphere a la Habermas: clear, scientific, polite and dignified. Public sphere has formed another opinion, and Prita seemed to be a celebrity within humanism or her human interest charm, while academic and litigant explanations are not revealed.

Talks in the internet become a claim for specific groups or even specific media as a public image and truth. And it encourages trial by the internet which is utilized to attack and obscure the responsible or irresponsible parties. The true public sphere is the one where competent people present with their dimension of ability to discuss public issues. In the new media space, anyone who is integrated with an interactive network can talk in equal position. Sometimes this is a big problem: something that is supposed to be a smart political force that turns out to be an emotional solution that could potentially be used by parties or certain elite power to pose their power of image and play their images in semiotics.

3. New media: Between Electronic Democracy and Electronic Domination

Democracy-based politics wants an equality among all the political actors, which in the end a public interest-based political space (public interest) eliminates the domination of various groups in the area of political communications. Therefore, the public sphere is seen as a "convenient" place for the talks to achieve fairly and interactive general consensuses. But

on the other side new media become a space for the minor groups' struggles against the domination of dominant group that have no room to move in the world of reality.

E-democracy is a democracy in which public participation is focused more on the internet use, and the public are in the room which can directly create conversations that cannot be done in a regular democratic system (Balnaves, 2009: 202). Building an internet-based government basically has opened public participation, but in the other extreme side, e-democracy also opens space of violations and power struggles that play as a form of supervision. An internet-based paperless administration is and can be analogized as an attached monitoring system to the actor's movements and life of one's personal identity, in which an authoritative ruler is able to suppress or identify a target to a person/group related to their massive privacy.

But on the other hand, the condition opens a new battle where the anti-authoritarian group can easily make people disobedience in the social life. Resistance in the form of criticism launched by them could be a dislike to the government performance or even an effort to make opinion for setting up people power. However, the domination was built at the point where the rulers who play their images become part of the flow of information and continue to change their figures to win the semiotic fight by telling lies and making false images through virtual politics.

All can be very open and even when one party wants to take the other party down by exposing his or her privacy without censorship and with cruelty by imagination.

For example, the impeachment of public officials by political opponents by opening their disgraces in public. The question is, is this the freedom wanted, or is it a form of power space that begins to grow, and create new rulers that are more manipulative, cruel, not visible, and virtual.

Conclusion

The new pattern of communications in the new media leads us to a room of information society, where people are connected to each other in an interactive network in which a dialectic situation occurs, and therefore the forms of existing domination in the conventional media has changed.

Based on the theoretical assumptions of Foucault, the deployment of power in the form of communications in the new media space, is not visible as who rules and who is ruled. The power of authority stands in the power relations itself as an interior in social life, so that in the new media the positions of ownership or user have the same power to be at the point of authority.

As a form of public sphere, the new media present a public sphere that has two sides: one, as a democratic public sphere, and two as a public sphere that is full of rooms with potentials of power struggles, image building, and impermanent public spheres. New media on the one side are supporters of the electronic democracy, but on the other hand, the network information in them is a form of supervision, and the content is something that is susceptible to the formation of false consciousness under the basis of simulation and hyper realities.

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