COMMENTATE
Journal of Communication Management

Challenges and Strategies in Addressing Fake News in the Digital Age

Budi Nugraha[1] dan Ira Purwitasari[2]
[1] Prof. Dr. Hamka Muhammadiyah University, Jakarta, Indonesia
[2] Mercu Buana University, Jakarta, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Fake news is a major challenge in modern journalism in this digital era. Although mainstream media have strict journalistic standards, they can inadvertently popularize fake news. Mainstream media can also increase public exposure to fake news through moral efforts to correct incorrect reporting. This article aims to identify the information filtering (gatekeeping) mechanisms applied by major online media in Indonesia in handling hoax news, through a literature review approach of previous research and content analysis on eight online news media: DetikNews.com, kompas.com, merdeka6.com, Okezone.com, Republika.co.id, Sindonews.com, tempo.co, and tribunnews.com. The results of the study show that online media is aware of the importance of maintaining credibility amidst the rapid flow of digital information, the balance between meeting readers' information needs instantly and maintaining news credibility, media awareness of the importance of digital literacy among the public, and the importance of maintaining morality amidst online media competition. Several suggestions are given so that mainstream media are better able to improve their quality by reporting high-quality news and preventing fake news from spreading in the community.

Keywords: *fake, media, disinformation, misinformation, journalism*

ABSTRAK

Berita palsu merupakan tantangan besar dalam jurnalisme modern di era digital ini. Meskipun media arus utama memiliki standar jurnalistik yang ketat, mereka dapat secara tidak sengaja mempopulerkan berita palsu. Media arus utama juga dapat meningkatkan paparan publik terhadap berita palsu melalui upaya moral untuk mengoreksi pelaporan yang salah. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi mekanisme penyaringan informasi (*gatekeeping*) yang diterapkan oleh media daring besar di Indonesia dalam menangani berita bohong. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan tinjauan pustaka dari penelitian sebelumnya dan analisis konten pada delapan media berita daring: DetikNews.com, Kompas.com, Merdeka.com, Okezone.com, Republika.co.id, Sindonews.com, Tempo.co, dan Tribunnews.com. Hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa media daring menyadari pentingnya menjaga kredibilitas di tengah derasnya arus informasi digital, pentingnya keseimbangan antara memenuhi kebutuhan informasi pembaca secara instan dan menjaga kredibilitas berita, kesadaran media akan pentingnya literasi digital di kalangan masyarakat, serta pentingnya menjaga moralitas di tengah persaingan media daring.

Beberapa saran diberikan agar media arus utama lebih mampu meningkatkan kualitasnya dengan melaporkan berita berkualitas tinggi dan mencegah penyebaran berita palsu di masyarakat.

Kata kunci: *berita palsu, media utama, disinformasi, misinformasi, jurnalisme*

INTRODUCTION

Data shows that as many as 30-40% of people in Indonesia are exposed to hoaxes while doing activities in cyberspace (Fajri, 2023). Over the past five years, there have been 12,547 hoax content found, with health issues being the most numerous, namely 2,357, followed by government hoaxes (2,210), fraud (2,210), and politics (1,628) (Muhamad, 2024). At the same time, as many as 11.9% of members of the public admitted to having spread hoax news in 2021 (Fajri, 2023).

Hoax news can be found in any media. Throughout 2020-2022, hoaxes were most often found on social media and online messaging applications such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, and Twitter (Table 1). A national survey of 10,000 respondents, one of which asked "which media do you often find presenting hoax issues/false information?" revealed that Facebook was the media that presented the most hoaxes. The situation in Indonesia is not much different. In 2022, as many as 55.9% of respondents said that they found Facebook as a media that presented hoax issues. Meanwhile, traditional media such as newspapers/magazines have a low reputation as spreaders of hoaxes with a contribution of only 1.4%. Even so, mass media sites (online news) which should be professional make a large contribution. Online news media became the second largest media after Facebook that presented hoax news in 2022, at 16.0%. This value increased from 2020 which was only 10.7% and lower than WhatsApp and YouTube in that year (Ministry of Communication and Information & Katadata Insight Center, 2023).

Table 1. Sources of False News in Indonesia, 2020-2022 (n = 10,000)

Media	2020	2021	2022
Facebook	71.9%	62.6%	55.9%
Online news media	10.7%	14.9%	16.0%
WhatsApp	31.5%	20.5%	13.9%
YouTube	14.9%	16.4%	13.1%
Television	7.7%	16.3%	10.9%
Instagram	8.1%	9.7%	7.4%
Twitter (now X)	1.9%	2.7%	2.0%
Newspaper/magazine	2.4%	1.3%	1.4%
Line	0.4%	0.7%	0.5%
Radio	0.5%	1.5%	0.3%
None at all	2.9%	1.1%	10.9%

Source: Ministry of Communication and Information and KataData (2023)

The increasing public exposure to hoax news originating from online news media shows that online news media are increasingly showing hoax news, whether intentionally or unintentionally. This finding further implies that online news media are still weak in carrying out their role as gatekeepers against fake news.

Gatekeeping theory by Shoemaker and Vos (2009) views the media as gatekeepers who shape public access to information. In the past, the media had great power over this access so that people, groups, and organizations needed to introduce themselves to gatekeepers to disseminate information, gain attention, and voice concerns (Jungherr & Schroeder, 2021). News editors then filter large amounts of information to arrive at a number of reports that are considered to have news value (Park & Kaye, 2023). In this case, the media also run their own agenda. Agenda adjustment theory states that individuals who read, listen to, and watch the same news media show agreement on their issues, beliefs, and values (Yousaf et al., 2023). This means that the results of editing and selection carried out by the media which are then disseminated to the public will encourage polarization in public beliefs according to the media's

wishes in conveying the news. News that gets wide coverage will influence public judgment (Zhang, 2024). The public will judge information as false or a lie based on the scope and consistency of the information about the falsehood.

The emergence of social media reconfigured this role because everyone has the opportunity to publish, access, and search for information without going through gatekeepers (Jungherr & Schoeder, 2021). The ability of social media to cut information, shifts people's attention from mass media to public awareness (M. Zhang et al., 2024). This openness, in addition to having positive effects, also has negative effects in the form of more intense spread of fake news. The spread of fake news on social media provides an opportunity for the mass media to raise their value as a trusted news source and carry out their important role as gatekeepers by mitigating the spread of hoaxes.

Theoretically, online news media can play an important role in mitigating the spread of hoaxes in two ways. The first is by not being a spreader of fake news. This method has become a standard method and indeed the media are ethically required to uphold the truth in conveying their news. Therefore, every news delivery must go through a fact-checking process. In addition, journalists are required to have literacy to avoid giving voice to false narratives (Caled & Silva, 2022). Although this approach is considered less able to reach a large audience segment and readers have cognitive biases that strengthen belief in fake news, this step is able to maintain the reputation of the media and allow the public to trust it more and therefore support the business income targeted by the media commercially.

The second way is to make the public aware of fake news by conducting journalistic investigations into the truth of the news. There are four factors that motivate online media to investigate and report fake news to the public (Tsfati et al., 2020). First, the perception of the role of journalists where journalists feel that fake news is closely related to the basic principles of their profession. The obligation to report the truth and verify information has been the main principle of the journalistic profession since this profession emerged in the world. So, they also feel obliged to correct the wrong information presented by fake news.

Second, the correction of false information itself has news value. The false information, although false, can meet the criteria of news (other than truth). As a result, the verification of the false information also has newsworthiness and meets the criteria of honest news which increases its overall news value. Because information with news value is a source of income for the media, online media are encouraged to investigate fake news.

Third, the psychology of news reporting. Every journalist has two psychological factors to report news: social validation and attitude towards information. Social validation means that the journalist feels that fake news is an important social problem and must be addressed by making corrections. Attitude towards information is related to the tendency of journalists, as ordinary humans, to experience bias so that they seek information that is in accordance with their judgments or prejudices rather than seeking information that contradicts it. This tendency can lead to the analysis of fake news when journalists see that the fake news contradicts the prejudices they already have based on the values they hold or their experience as a journalist.

The fourth factor that drives the analysis and reporting of fake news by the media is the availability of fake news search infrastructure owned by the media. Online media networks have various instruments to detect fake news circulating on the Internet. They have a special section that searches for viral news on the Internet and conducts fact-checks on the phenomenon. If the viral news is valid, then it can become part of the media's daily news. If it is not valid, the news still has value, namely as fake news that can be reported as part of the news in the anti-hoax column. This means that there is no wasted work obtained by the media when scouring the internet for viral news.

In line with these motivations, the international online media network has established the International Fact-Checking Network (IFCN). IFCN is a non-profit organization that

focuses on fact-checking claims circulating in various places. IFCN was founded in 2016 with a staff of only three people at that time. This institution was nominated as a recipient of the 2021 Nobel Peace Prize. In 2022, IFCN received $12 million in funding from Google and YouTube to support fact-checking worldwide (Lauer & Graves, 2024).

As of 2024, IFCN has 417 fact-checking organizations globally with more than 100 countries. In Indonesia, the institutions that have received IFCN certification as institutions with fact-checking according to this organization's standards are Kompas.com, Tirto.id, Liputan6.com, Tempo.co, Suara.com, and Mafindo (turnbackhoax.id) (Kasman et al., 2024). Tirto.id was the first online media to receive IFCN certification in January 2018. The last online media to receive IFCN certification was Suara.com which received it on October 28, 2019. After 2019, online media from Indonesia that registered and received IFCN certification no longer exist (Rahmawan et al., 2022). This contributes to the increasing risk of online news media becoming spreaders of hoax news.

In addition to the disappearance of the trend of online media to register and try to be IFCN certified, another risk that can encourage online news media to become hoax spreaders is the tendency of online media to use clickbait to attract readers' attention. Clickbait is a deviant news content title and thumbnail that tends to falsify stories with attractive titles with the aim of encouraging readers to click on a link (Collins et al., 2020). Whether clickbait is fake news or not is still controversial. Some consider that clickbait is not fake news because if a reader reads the entire contents of the news, the reader will immediately know that the title or thumbnail is wrong (Aïmeur et al., 2023). This means that the news corrects itself. This can happen because the main purpose of clickbait is for readers to open the news page, regardless of whether the reader evaluates the news presented positively or negatively.

Aïmeur et al. (2023) argue that clickbait is a form of fake news. They divide fake news into two groups: news with the intention of lying and news with false content. What is considered fake news by online media is news with false content, while news with the intention of lying is not considered fake news. Clickbait is a form of news with the intention of lying. In addition to clickbait, news with the intention of lying is rumor, propaganda, conspiracy theory, factoid (half-truth), satire, and framing.

An evaluation of news headlines in major online media in Indonesia revealed that all major online media have implemented clickbait in some portion (Table 2). The media with the least clickbait are DetikNews.com and Republika.co.id, which are 11.0% and 15.5%, while the media with the most clickbait are Liputan6.com at 59.1% and Tribunnews.com at 69.9% of the total news (William & Sari, 2020).

Table 2. Clickbait Frequency on Mainstream online media

Media	Clickbait	Non-clickbait	Total sample	% Clickbait
detiknews.com	110	890	1,000	11.0%
Kompas.com	343	1,157	1,500	22.9%
Liputan6.com	887	613	1,500	59.1%
Okezone.com	759	741	1,500	50.6%
Republika.co.id	233	1,267	1,500	15.5%
Sindonews.com	285	1,215	1,500	19.0%
Tempo.co	382	1,118	1,500	25.5%
Tribunnews.com	1,049	451	1,500	69.9%

Source: William and Sari (2020)

The important role of online news media in preventing the spread of fake news by themselves and others and the risk that online news media will become active spreaders of fake news by implementing low fact-checking standards and a tendency to use *clickbait* are problems that need to be resolved. This requires research that surveys the mitigation practices of the spread of fake news in Indonesia by mainstream online news media. This knowledge will help us see more comprehensively and consider whether online news media in Indonesia can be relied on as the front line in preventing the spread of fake news. In line with this, this study aims to answer the following research questions: What is the information filtering mechanism (*gatekeeping*) applied by mainstream online media in Indonesia in handling hoax news? The novelty of this study is rooted in its position as part of the first effort to understand how mainstream media in Indonesia handle fake news and use this discourse to promote its legitimacy.

METHOD

This study was conducted using a literature review method. We searched journal articles, conferences, and books as data sources to extract relevant articles. We used Google Scholar as the main digital library in the search. Google Scholar was chosen because it is the largest scientific database in the world (Alotaibi & Johnson, 2020). In addition, Google Scholar searches are conducted on the entire text content, unlike other scientific databases that only search for keywords in the title and abstract. The quality of articles available on Google Scholar is comparable to and even better than other scientific databases (Luftig & Plungis, 2020).

We focused our search within a five-year period. In addition, we used two important keywords " hoax " and " false news ". In Indonesia, the word " hoax " is more popular than " false news " which is actually more popular internationally. As evidence, when the word " false news " juxtaposed with Indonesia, 3,690 results were obtained, while when the word " hoax " was juxtaposed, 17,700 results were obtained. In Indonesian, the word "hoax" and Indonesia are 12,200 while "berita liar" and Indonesia are only 9,650. In this study, all four variations of the word were used, which means there are keywords " hoax ", "hoaks", "berita liar", and " false news ". Each keyword is juxtaposed with one mainstream media. The mainstream media searched were DetikNews.com (https://news.detik.com/), Kompas.com (https://www.kompas.com/), Liputan6.com (https://www.liputan6.com/), Okezone.com (https://Okezone.com.com/), Republika.co.id https://www.republika.co.id/), Sindonews.com (https://www.sindonews.com/), Tempo.co (https://www.tempo.co/), and Tribunnews.com (https://www.tribunnews.com/). These media are the mainstream online media in Indonesia (Syarief, 2024).

After finding the list of articles, the articles were selected based on the exclusion and inclusion criteria. Since the articles obtained are most likely local articles, we did not limit them to being in English or published in a Scopus-indexed journal. However, the articles must clearly describe the problem of fake news and how the major media companies deal with fake news.

After reading the abstracts, we removed articles that did not meet the criteria. We reviewed the remaining articles and studied the research findings on how the media outlets handled fake news. In addition to studying how mainstream media outlets handle fake news, we also used the articles obtained to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the problem, uncover challenges, review strategies, and discuss future directions.

In addition to using data from research articles, we conducted a content analysis that involved examining mainstream media pages to reveal the role of the second media, namely as a news clarifyer. Content analysis involves systematically and objectively coding the content of text-based data to identify patterns and themes (Kassier, 2024). We examined each header to find topics that characterized coverage of fake news. The pages were then opened and

described. The analysis was conducted to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the strategy as well as its broader implications.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
detiknews.com

News that is prone to containing hoaxes is news taken by mainstream media from social media. The main parameter for raising this news is when the issue becomes a trending topic or goes viral among social media users. In addition, a study in the media DetikNews.com shows that news is not only obtained from journalists but also from readers (Susilawati & Radjagukguk, 2020). Readers who have information send messages to the media's Twitter account. The media will check whether this news is informative or not. If it is informative, the media through the Community Development Officer will inform the editorial team who will assess the suitability of the news for broadcast. If it is feasible, the team will ask the news provider's contact to follow up on the news. The media then verifies the data journalistically so as not to spread hoaxes before publishing the news.

At the projection meeting, the gatekeepers who play a role at DetikNews.com are the editorial team or decision makers. Current topics have been compiled and the selection of news angles is compiled by the managing director, deputy managing director, chief editor, and deputy chief editor. The number of news stories is determined very carefully and varies in each situation, depending on the context of the phenomenon. Considerations of how information will be adjusted to the rhythm, flow, and overall content are also measurable. The decision-making process includes identifying problems, determining solutions, and reviewing relevant information. The gatekeepers in the newsroom include scriptwriters, script editors, video editors, deputy managing directors, managing directors, deputy chief editors, and chief editors. Meanwhile, gatekeepers who work in the field include reporters, photographers, video journalists, and coverage coordinators (Febrianita & Wulandari, 2020).

On its news page, DetikNews.com has a Hoax or Not header (hoaxornot.detik.com). Hoax or Not contains news that clarifies events that occur in society. This news is then concluded as fake news or not. Therefore, there are two categories of news on this page: Hoax News and Fact News. The calculations made by the author show that there are seven Fact News and seven Hoax news for 2024. News that falls into the Hoax News category has clear characteristics because the news title states that the news discusses hoaxes. For example, three Hoax News titles are "Hoax Circulating Death, Mahathir Attends Campus Inauguration with Sultan of Perak", "9 Anoa Armored Vehicles Go Viral 'Approaching the Capital', This is the Indonesian Army's Explanation", and "Viral WA Chat 'Peter' Asks Bareskrim During Demonstration, Police Confirm Hoax".

Figure 1. Screenshot of Hoax or Not DetikNews.com Page December 23, 2024
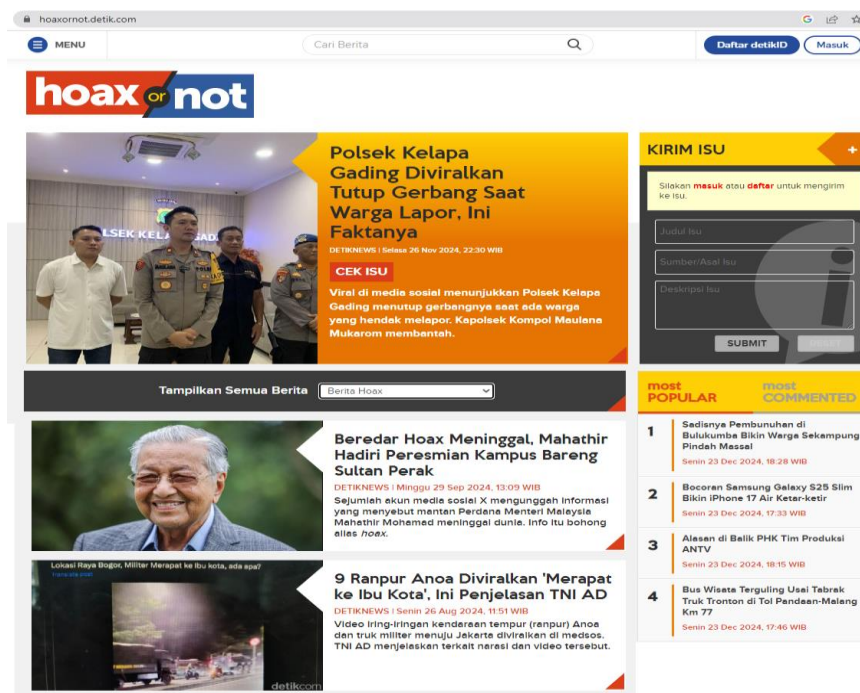
Source: hoaxornot.detik.com

The Fact News category has an unclear theme. This ambiguity is natural because all news should ideally be Fact News and this can confuse editors. The news selected for this section seems to be chosen randomly and more just to balance the number of Hoax News and Fact News. Examples of news titles in the Fact News category are "Anies Prays in Congregation with Family Before Voting", "Gibran Attends Gus Iqdam's Taklim Assembly on the Second Day of the Quiet Period", and "Cass of Tamara Tyasmara's Child's Death Goes to Investigation". In addition to news, the Hoax or Not column also provides space for readers to submit issues. Registered readers can submit issues that contain three pieces of information: issue title, source/origin of the issue, and description of the issue. One news item as *a headline* is not given a category. This news does not have a category to attract readers to click or check the issue whether this news is a hoax or not. In Figure 1, the headline is "Kelapa Gading Police Close Gate Sat Residents Report, Here are the Facts". The news format presented has the same format as regular news.

Kompas.com

A study of the quality control mechanism at Kompas revealed that this media has two layers of quality control (Nasrullah et al., 2024). The first layer occurs when the news is being input, namely when the reporter submits an article to the desk editor. The desk editor filters and checks the accuracy and completeness of the news, enriches the content, provides context, adds photos, infographics, or videos, and sends the content to the Language Editing and Coordination Department before publication. The task of this department is to provide technical linguistic support, including making revisions, withholding publication, and even removing content that is considered inappropriate or unsuitable for Kompas. The corrections provided can be substantive or technical. Technical corrections include aspects of language such as word choice, sentence structure, and emphasis; alignment of images/photos with content, and suitability of content for various devices. Substantive corrections include aspects of news

completeness, balance of sources, accuracy of frames and context, and suitability in accordance with journalistic ethical standards and values held by the media.

The second stage layer is when the news has been released or has become output. After becoming news circulating in the community, the Language Editor and Coordinator Department re-checks the published article. This post-publication review is carried out as a precaution against errors that may occur due to rapid publication (Nasrullah et al., 2024). Kompas.com itself has received *fact-checkers certification* from IFCN.

Kompas media involvement in covering fake news is shown by the existence of the Cek Fakta column. This column is not directly on the Kompas *header but is a sub- header* of News. This page opens with a large *banner* explaining the identity (*debunker)*, methodology, and funding of this page. This *banner* also provides space for readers to report hoaxes. In the *debunker section,* the fact-checking work process, verification methodology, correction and right of reply, and the work team consisting of four editors and nine fact-checkers are explained.

Cek Fakta has three news categories, namely Hoax or Fact, Data and Fact, and History and Fact. The Hoax or Fact category has the largest portion with 12 news on the main page. These news have the categories Infographic, Hoax, Weekly Fact Check, Video, and Clarification. Clarification news is information or news that is not completely wrong so it needs to be clarified (Rahmawan et al., 2022). Each news gets an assessment result in the form of manipulation, hoax, and wrong context. Examples of news in the Hoax or Fact category are "[Hoax] Prabowo Appoints Jokowi as Party Chairman", "[Clarification] There is No Evidence Yet that Bashar al-Assad Announces Making a Podcast", and "[Video] This Photo Does Not Show the Conditions of Prisoners in Sednaya Prison".

Figure 2. Screenshot of Kompas.com's Cek Fata Page, December 23, 2024

Source: kompas.com/cekfakta

The news structure in the Hoax or Fact category has a different structure from other news on Kompas.com. This news article basically has three parts: the circulating Narrative section, the Kompas.com Search section, and the Conclusion. At the end of the first page of each news item, there is a space for readers to report any hoaxes they find elsewhere. Interestingly, Kompas.com also provides a space for readers to report themselves (Kompas.com) if they are found to have violated the journalistic code of ethics. Even so,

Kompas.com also emphasized that it is one of 40 institutions that have received IFCN certification.

Figure 3. Report Section on the Individual Hoax News Page

Source: kompas.com/cekfakta

Meanwhile, news in the Data and Facts category only has three news items and news in the History and Facts category also only has three news items. Examples of news in the Data and Facts category are "Why Are Syrians Celebrating the Fall of Bashar al-Assad?", "Facts of the Declaration of Martial Law in South Korea", and "Beware of Fraud Under the Guise of Recruiting High-Speed Train Employees". Examples of History and Facts article titles are "When Twenty One Pilots Broke the Record for the Longest Music Video", "Mohammad Ahsan Retires, Closing the Story of The Daddies in Badminton", and "Hendra Setiawan, Legend and Role Model of Indonesian Badminton". News in both categories has the same structure as regular news.

Liputan6.com

In the projection meeting, the *gatekeepers* who play a role in Liputan6 are anyone in the newsroom, including the reporting team on duty. The current topic has not been determined and the selection of news angles is arranged by *the chief editor* and head of multimedia. Phenomena that attract the audience are considered to have news value. Information can be consumed by the public or certain segments of society. Adjusting the work rhythm between the newsroom and the reporting team on duty has high value. The decision-making process includes identifying problems, determining solutions, reviewing relevant information, and peer review. The *gatekeepers* in the newsroom include news editors, visual editors, *managing directors,* multimedia managers, special topic news managers, and peer review. Meanwhile, gatekeepers who work in the field include video journalists, reporters, videographers (anyone at any level can be a videographer if needed), and coverage coordinators (Febrianita and Wulandari, 2020).

Liputan6 has their own Cek Fakta channel. This channel is located directly under the website *banner.* The purpose of Cek Fakta Liputan6 is to check the truth of the latest viral news circulating in the public. Cek Fakta is carried out through a monitoring and research team whose job is to provide input on the facts submitted to the editors. The content raised is viral news that has a low level of diversity (Iskandar, 2022).

The news speed on the Cek Fakta Liputan 6 channel is quite high with several news items provided every day. There is no categorization of news on Cek Fakta. However, it can

be seen that the news on this channel consists of two types: summary news and fact-check news. Summary news makes a list like a week's hoaxes with a news structure in the form of a list, while fact-check news consists of an introduction, fact-finding, and conclusion. Examples of news titles on Cek Fakta Liputan6 are "6 Hoaxes of the Week, from Government Programs to Politics", "Cek Fakta: Hoax Photo of Ridwan Kamil Becomes the First Patient of Mobil Curhat After", and "Collection of Hoax Photos of the Week: Jokowi Becomes Golkar General Chair to Taylor Swift Eating Ice Cream in Front of Hungry Children". On the right side of the page there is a list of the 10 most popular news on the Cek Fakta Liputan6 channel.

Figure 4. Screenshot of Liputan6.com's Cek Fata Page, December 24, 2024

Source: liputan6.com/cek-fakta

Okezone.com

Okezone.com prevents hoaxes by setting criteria for news created by journalists. The news must meet six main points that serve as guidelines for journalists to produce quality and informative news (Rayputri & Rusli, 2023). First, each news item must include the 5W + 1H elements, namely *Who, What, When, Where, Why,* and *How.* These elements ensure that the information presented is complete, clear, and understandable to readers. Second, journalists are required to prioritize the interests of the public or readers. In compiling coverage, they must ensure that the news is balanced by interviewing relevant parties. Each news item must be supported by at least two sources, and if needed, additional interviews with neutral parties are conducted to provide a more objective perspective. Third, accuracy is a priority in writing. Every name, term, and data presented must be correct and free from typos. This is important to maintain the credibility of the news and the trust of readers. Fourth, journalists must avoid writing news that contains SARA (Ethnicity, Religion, Race, and Inter-Group) issues or that attack other parties without being supported by valid data and facts and competent sources. This aims to maintain professionalism and avoid potential unnecessary conflicts or controversies. Fifth, before writing news, additional research is highly recommended. Journalists are expected to dig deeper into the information needed so that the news produced is accurate and of high quality. Sixth, the language style used in the news must be simple, straightforward, and not long-winded. Journalists are also expected to avoid using irrelevant slogans or cliché phrases so that the message in the news is easier for readers to understand.

After the news is finished being written, the journalist sends it via email to the Editor or Assistant Editor. The news format can be supplemented with voice messages, photos, or videos. If the news is taken from social media or foreign sources, the news source must be listed in the form of a link to the related website or social media. When the news is received, the Editor will check and edit it. The first process is to verify the authenticity of the news to

ensure that the news is not a hoax that can harm the public or the company (Rayputri and Rusdi, 2023).

Republika.co.id

Republika.co.id is the mainstream media that uses the prophetic journalism approach. Prophetic journalism is a journalistic concept rooted in prophetic traits, especially the prophetic characteristics of the Prophet Muhammad, who is known for four main traits: ṣiddīq, which prioritizes the accuracy of information; amanah, which shows trustworthiness as a source of information; tablīgh, which emphasizes the delivery of complete information; and fathanah, which demands the intelligence of journalists in conveying the truth of the news (Emeraldien et al., 2021).

Prophetic journalism is applied in Republika.co.id by implementing the values of humanization, liberation, and transcendence (Risdayandini et al., 2024). News content is produced by prioritizing public interests and highlighting humanitarian actions. This is done by paying attention to the humanist side, fostering sympathy and empathy, respecting human dignity and rights, treating all humans equally, and adhering to the principles of journalistic ethics. The application of the value of liberation is shown by news that is presented fairly and aims to free humans from various forms of limitations. The information provided is educational, intelligent, and provides solutions without causing anxiety for readers. The application of the value of transcendence is shown by news or content designed to highlight the values of goodness, provide useful information, inspire, and be able to enlighten its readers.

Sindonews.com

Sindonews.com uses the No Hoax campaign as their media marketing strategy. This campaign aims to emphasize that Sindonews.com is a reliable and anti-hoax news media. The main moment of this campaign was carried out right after the Ministry of Communication and Information (Kominfo) revealed an increase in fake news or hoaxes related to politics throughout April. Sindonews.com.com held an anti-hoax campaign convoy in various areas of Jakarta. The convoy involved a number of vehicles that traveled around the capital for three days. At the peak of its anniversary on the third day, Sindonews.com received an invitation to meet with Vice President Jusuf Kalla as a form of support for efforts to combat the spread of hoax news in Indonesia. Based on the results of the study from Halifatussaada and Putri (2020), it is known that the marketing communication strategy implemented by Sindonews.com.com through the *No Hoax campaign* places source credibility as one of the key factors in delivering messages.

Research on the editorial management process of Sindonews.com by Wilti and Harmonis (2024) concluded that this process goes through four stages to ensure quality, including avoiding hoax reporting. First, news search planning is carried out through discussions of current issues and ideas in editorial meetings. Second, news coverage by reporters focuses on gathering facts in the field to avoid hoaxes and comply with the principles of journalistic ethics, including the use of 5W+1H elements and the inverted pyramid format. Third, the organizational coordination process has been carried out through WhatsApp groups since the pandemic, which connects stages from planning to publication. Fourth, each news item is re-checked by the verification team before being published, with quality control based on daily recaps and work evaluations. This evaluation also plays a role in awarding individual performance awards within the team.
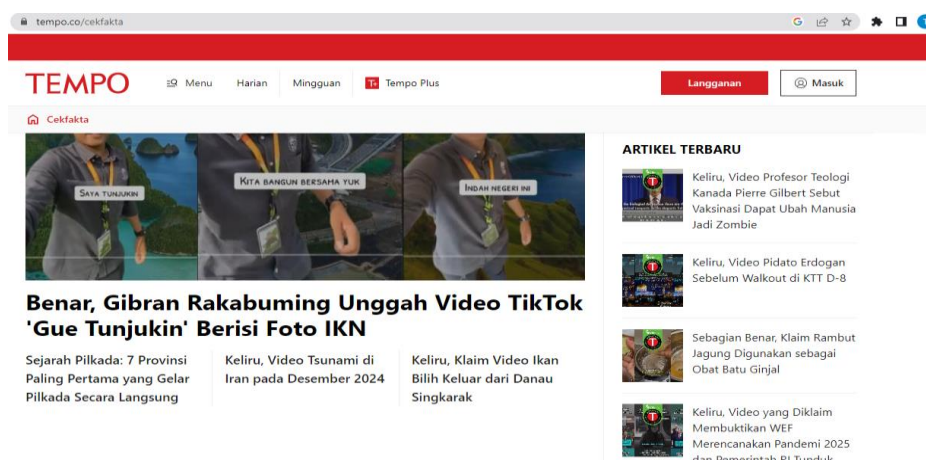
Tempo.co

Tempo.co uses an integrated monitoring principle to prevent hoax news. Input from readers (netizens) is an important evaluation material for the editorial team. Every feedback

will be received by the editor and discussed with the editor-in-chief via the WhatsApp group. The decision to change or maintain an article that has been published is made based on the results of discussions between the editor-in-chief, editors, and reporters. The editorial team is open to reader criticism, ensuring that any writing that is inaccurate, false, or a hoax will be followed up through an investigation process and trial of the reporter who wrote the article (Gazella & Trijayanto, 2023).

The supervision carried out by Tempo.co includes monitoring of published news articles, which are always supervised by many parties, from the editor-in-chief to netizens. The news evaluation process is carried out every week to ensure there are no errors or incorrect information, and to avoid the spread of hoax news. In addition, Tempo.co's editorial management strategy to increase the trust of the Indonesian people involves confirming and verifying data related to the information found, conducting research, and ensuring that news articles are in accordance with the facts. The articles are also compiled with high objectivity and are not biased towards any party (Gazella & Trijayanto, 2023).

Tempo.co has its own Cek Fakta channel directly under the website *banner*. There are no news categories in Cek Fakta. Each news has an initial title regarding the results of the fact check by the Tempo team. These results can be false, partly true, and true. Examples of these news titles are "Wrong, Video of Canadian Theology Professor Pierre Gilbert Says Vaccination Can Turn Humans Into Zombies", "Partially True, Claims Corn Silk is Used as Kidney Stone Medicine", and "True, Gibran Rakabuming Uploads TikTok Video 'Gue Tunjukin' Containing Photo of IKN".

Figure 5. Screenshot of Temp.co's Cek Fata Page, December 24, 2024

Source: tempo.co/cekfakta

Like Kompas.com, the news structure of the Cek Fakta channel consists of an introduction, explanation, and conclusion. The first step is to find a popular topic that attracts public attention. After that, the topic is claimed as a fact by a group of people or individuals. The next step is to ensure that the topic becomes a topic of public discussion or discussion, which Tempo calls "viral" information. If these three components have been met, the next step is to ensure that the source of the report has been verified. Journalists who conduct fact-checking then continue by conducting research to trace all public sources related to the claims or statements made. All available sources will be checked and, if necessary, included in the article so that readers can immediately check their truth (Indo & Sujoko, 2023).

Under certain conditions, Tempo.co's fact-checking editorial will contact and interview credible and competent experts to verify the editorial conclusions regarding the claim. In

addition, the fact-checking team also collaborates with MAFINDO. Tempo.co editors are also open to input from the public to provide reports, suggestions, and even criticism regarding the results of their fact-checking (Rahmawan et al., 2022).

Tribunnews.com

Tribunnews Media keeps from spreading fake news by implementing strict gatekeeping stages in producing viral news. This process includes three main stages: *input stage* (incoming information process), *throughput stage* (information selection process), and *output stage* (publication process) (Pahlevi, 2024). In the first stage, the Tribun editorial team held a meeting to select news topics that were relevant and of public interest. Each topic submitted will be selected by the editor-in-chief and then further investigated by reporters by collecting information from various sources, including eyewitnesses and related parties such as the police. This process aims to ensure that the news selected is a worthy topic and based on facts.

In the second stage, Tribun maximizes all the information collected and processes it into a complete news story. Reporters verify the information by tracing its truth, including rechecking through trusted sources to ensure that no disinformation is spread. This fact-checking process is also carried out in editorial meetings to ensure that all information collected is correct and not misleading.

In the final stage, the news that has been edited by the editor will be published on the Tribun website after ensuring that the information conveyed is in accordance with applicable journalistic rules. The editing process involves selecting words and sentences with the aim of making the news easy to understand and trustworthy for readers. Although Tribun tries to optimize publication using SEO, they also utilize tags and keywords to make it easier for readers to find relevant news.

Tribunnews does not have a special channel that discusses fake news. This characteristic is the same as the other three major news media, Republika.co.id, Sindonews.com, and Okezone.com which also do not have a special channel that discusses hoax news.

In summary, the major news media studied have both general and specific characteristics that they use to address the risk of spreading hoax news themselves and encourage the public to be better able to distinguish fake news from factual news, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Comparison of Mainstream Online Media False News Mitigation Strategies

Media	Newsroom Strategy	Anti-False News Channel Strategy
Detik news	News is obtained from social media or readers who send issues. The editorial team assesses the newsworthiness, journalistically verifies it before publishing.	"Hoax or Not" page to clarify hoaxes and facts. Readers can submit issues for verification. News category: Hoax and Facts. News is presented as usual.
Kompas.com	The quality control process goes through two layers: accuracy checks at input and post-publication review. Certification as *a fact-checker* by IFCN.	"Cek Fakta" channel as a sub-*header* of News. News categories: Hoax or Fact, Data and Facts, History and Facts. Hoax or Fact is composed of narrative, research, and conclusions. Readers can report hoaxes.
Liputan6	High speed news, filtered by monitoring and research team.	The "Cek Fakta" channel features fact-checked viral news.

Media	Newsroom Strategy	Anti-False News Channel Strategy
	Viral news becomes the focus for fact checking. Certification as *a fact-checker* by IFCN.	There is no specific category. News consists of an introduction, fact-finding, and conclusion.
Okezone.com	News must meet the 5W+1H criteria and be checked for accuracy before publication. Focus on reporting that supports the public interest. News is checked by the editorial team Verification is done with trusted sources	There is no special channel for hoaxes
Republika.co.id	The prophetic journalism approach emphasizes the accuracy of information and trust as a source of information. Focus on accuracy and journalistic ethics in every news story.	There is no special channel for hoaxes
Sindonews.com	"No Hoax" campaign as anti-hoax media branding. The editorial process involves verification before publication.	There is no special channel for hoaxes
Tempo.co	Integrated oversight with input from readers and internal discussions between editors and reporters. Regular evaluation to ensure information is accurate. Certification as *a fact-checker* by IFCN.	The "Cek Fakta" channel presents news that is the result of fact checking. Each news item is labeled as a fact-check with a clear structure. Hoax or Fact consists of introduction, explanation, and conclusion
Tribunnews	Implement a strict selection strategy for news originating from social media. The editorial team ensures verification before news is published.	There is no special channel for hoaxes

Source: data analysis

Discussion

The analysis results show that basically, the strategies of major online media newsrooms do not differ much from each other in preventing themselves from reporting hoax news. They carry out strict selection from the time the news is inputted to post-publishing. This is done to prevent the media from reporting false news or information. This step is in accordance with applicable journalism standards.

Half of the online media studied have a special channel to report hoax news circulating in the community. Three of these media have been certified as fact-checkers by the IFCN. The channel names of these three media (Kompas.com, Liputan6.com, and tempo.co) are the same,

namely Cek Fakta. Detik News, although not IFCN certified, has a channel that clarifies hoax news. The news produced by this channel is similar to regular news and the hoax clarification is carried out by external parties such as the police. So, they only forward the results of the examination carried out by other parties, not looking for news suspected of being hoaxes themselves and checking its truth. The mainstream media certified by IFCN have the same structure, namely introduction (claim), analysis (fact-finding), and conclusion. However, Liputan6 also has compilation news that makes hoax news more interesting because it summarizes interesting aspects of existing hoaxes.

Adding credibility labels to articles, such as 'Verified', 'Partially Verified', or 'Not Verified', or "hoax", "clarification", "manipulation", and "false content" as used by Kompas.com is a useful indicator for readers so that they are directly literate about whether the news is a hoax or not, according to the purpose of research to increase literacy. The media can help the public recognize hoax news by presenting indicators that are easily recognized by readers as has been done by Kompas.com.

So far, critics have argued that involving the media to be fact-checkers of a hoax will actually expose the public to the hoax and people with certain tendencies will actually believe the hoax that is reported even though the news itself provides evidence that refutes the hoax (Tsfati et al., 2020). This argument is based on the fact that online news media that spread hoax news have very low readership rates. When their news is picked up to be refuted by larger media, it indirectly becomes a means of spreading the hoaxes they create and successfully targets vulnerable individuals.

However, much of the news that was countered by the mainstream media studied came from social media and chat apps. As is known, social media is an echo chamber for hoax news (Sasahara et al., 2021). Meanwhile, chat apps, even those protected with end-to-end encryption, have become a channel for the spread of disinformation (Caled & Silva, 2022). So, this hoax had already spread widely before it was finally reported by the mainstream media. Readers of the Cek Fakta channel who were exposed to the hoax news that was reported were likely to have known about it first through social media.

Studies show that most people who are exposed to fact-checking sites like Cek Fakta are able to reconsider their misperceptions and adjust their attitudes (Hameleers & Van Der Meer, 2020). This means that steps such as those taken by Cek Fakta channels are on the right track. Moreover, the existence of these channels is important for increasing public media literacy. Studies show that individuals with higher information literacy are better able to recognize disinformation and identify errors more accurately ((Jones-Jang et al., 2021). However, there is a side effect of this literacy because high literacy also increases skepticism even towards high-quality news (Guess et al., 2020).

The provision of fact-checking channels by mainstream media to counter fake news that has its main source from social media shows that online media is indeed facing competition with social media which is increasingly shifting the publication of information from the hands of news media to individuals in society (Jungherr & Schroeder, 2021). News media with fact-checking certification such as Kompas.com, Tempo.co, and Liputan6.com have an important role in determining the narrative of truth for their audiences through fact-checking channels that are more clearly constructed with a transparent agenda (Yousaf et al., 2023). An indicator that clearly makes it easier for the public to identify news as fake news needs to be emphasized considering that these media, although they are gatekeepers, can also increase public exposure to fake news unintentionally, especially if the audience already has their own biases and the breadth of coverage can strengthen this bias (S. Zhang, 2024).

This study provides academic contributions to the literature in the field of communication science. Broda and Strömbäck (2024) emphasize the importance of fake news research conducted on mainstream media because the focus of fake news research is currently

too heavy on social media. There is an assumption that mainstream media act professionally by reporting news accurately and avoiding the spread of fake news (Shu et al., 2020). The current study confirms this assumption for the Indonesian context by examining eight major online media in Indonesia.

Meanwhile, a number of practical implications can be drawn from this study. First, online media can collaborate in forming a joint consortium to share data and help each other in clarifying news to collectively combat hoaxes, such as platforms certified by IFCN. Second, features that allow readers to report issues such as on DetikNews.com and Kompas.com can be expanded. Other media can utilize the collective power of readers to report hoaxes or provide additional data for news investigations. On the other hand, online media can conduct media literacy education by providing simple guidelines for recognizing hoaxes.

Third, online media need to strengthen news verification mechanisms, as done by Kompas.com with two layers of quality control and IFCN certification. This effort can be an example of a standard in digital journalism to avoid the spread of hoaxes. In addition, ongoing training is needed for journalists, especially in using 5W+1H-based journalistic methodology and a prophetic journalistic approach that emphasizes ethics and humanism.

Finally, the media needs to help the public recognize hoax news by providing indicators that are easily recognized by readers. So far, the media has only helped the public by adding credibility labels to articles, and this has only been done consistently by one media outlet. In addition to these credibility labels, readers can be provided with a search field that allows them to quickly verify viral claims. Comments from verified experts can be specifically marked, so readers can immediately find credible views.

CONCLUSION

Based on the description and discussion of the research results, this study concludes that major online media make news verification the core of efforts to combat hoaxes. This shows that online media realizes the importance of maintaining credibility amidst the rapid flow of digital information. There is a tendency for major online media to present news quickly without neglecting the aspect of accuracy. This shows a balance between meeting readers' information needs instantly and maintaining news credibility.

Moreover, there are efforts such as anti-hoax campaigns and the establishment of educational platforms for readers, reflecting media awareness of the importance of digital literacy among the public. In addition, media were also found to implement alternative journalism based on morals. Republika.co.id uses an ethics-based approach, by integrating prophetic values into journalism. This distinguishes it from other media and reflects the importance of maintaining morality amidst online media competition.

So, in essence, this study reveals that the mainstream online media in Indonesia counteract hoaxes by maintaining credibility amidst the rapid flow of digital information, meeting readers' information needs instantly, encouraging increased digital literacy among the public, and maintaining morality amidst online media competition.

Further research can examine the role of online media's hoax prevention strategies in influencing the development of hoax news on social media. Further research is also needed to examine readers' perspectives on these strategies. Furthermore, further research can also quantitatively examine the types of strategies that have a significant influence on the spread of hoax news that can be applied to improve people's digital literacy.

REFERENCES

Aïmeur, E., Amri, S., & Brassard, G. (2023). Fake news, disinformation and misinformation in social media: A review. *Social Network Analysis and Mining*, *13*(1), 30. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13278-023-01028-5

Alotaibi, F., & Johnson, F. (2020). Why we like Google Scholar: Postgraduate students' perceptions of factors influencing their intention to use. *Aslib Journal of Information Management*, *72*(4), 587–603. https://doi.org/10.1108/AJIM-10-2019-0304

Broda, E., & Strömbäck, J. (2024). Misinformation, disinformation, and fake news: Lessons from an interdisciplinary, systematic literature review. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, *48*(2), 139–166. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2024.2323736

Caled, D., & Silva, M. J. (2022). Digital media and misinformation: An outlook on multidisciplinary strategies against manipulation. *Journal of Computational Social Science*, *5*(1), 123–159. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42001-021-00118-8

Collins, B., Hoang, D. T., Nguyen, N. T., & Hwang, D. (2020). Fake News Types and Detection Models on Social Media A State-of-the-Art Survey. In P. Sitek, M. Pietranik, M. Krótkiewicz, & C. Srinilta (Eds.), *Intelligent Information and Database Systems* (Vol. 1178, pp. 562–573). Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-3380-8_49

Emeraldien, F. Z., Sugihartati, R., Iqbal, D., Annisa, Q., & Ardelia, P. (2021). The Implementation of Prophetic Values to Maintain Journalist Professionalism. *Proceedings of International Conference on Da'wa and Communication*, *3*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.15642/icondac.v3i1.482

Fajri, N. (2023). Hoaxes Are Rampant? Don't Let Yourself Become a Victim! Director General of State Assets,. *Ministry of Finance*. https://www.djkn.kemenkeu.go.id/artikel/baca/15915/Hoaks-Merajalela-Jangan-Sampai-Kamu-Jadi-Korbannya

Febrianita, R., & Wulandari, A. (2020). Information Disorder and Online Gatekeeping Mechanism Struggle in the Post Truth Era. *JCommsci - Journal Of Media and Communication Science*, *3*(3), 134–148. https://doi.org/10.29303/jcommsci.v3i3.78

Gazella, J., & Trijayanto, D. (2023). Lifestyle Desk Editorial Management at Tempo.co. *Innovative: Journal of Social Science Research*, *3*(2), 13788–13800.

Guess, A. M., Lerner, M., Lyons, B., Montgomery, J. M., Nyhan, B., Reifler, J., & Sircar, N. (2020). A digital media literacy intervention increases discernment between mainstream and false news in the United States and India. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *117*(27), 15536–15545. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1920498117

Halifatussaada, A., & Putri, Y. R. (2020). Sindonews.com.com Marketing Communication Strategy Through No Hoax Campaign. *EProceedings of Management*, *7*(3), 7711–7723.

Hameleers, M., & Van Der Meer, T. G. L. A. (2020). Misinformation and Polarization in a High-Choice Media Environment: How Effective Are Political Fact-Checkers? *Communication Research*, *47*(2), 227–250. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650218819671

Indo, B., & Sujoko, A. (2023). News Production Management of CekFakta in Dealing with Hoax Outbreak Information on the Social Media. *Jurnal ASPIKOM*, *8*(1), 67. https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v8i1.1204

Iskandar, H. M. (2022). Commodification of Liputan6.Com Fact Check Channel Through Media Political Economy Perspective. *Jurnal Dinamika Ilmu Komunikasi*, *8*(1), 37–46.

Jones-Jang, S. M., Mortensen, T., & Liu, J. (2021). Does Media Literacy Help Identification of Fake News? Information Literacy Helps, but Other Literacies Don't. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *65*(2), 371–388. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764219869406

Jungherr, A., & Schroeder, R. (2021). Disinformation and the Structural Transformations of the Public Arena: Addressing the Actual Challenges to Democracy. *Social Media + Society*, *7*(1), 2056305121988928. https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305121988928

Kasman, S., Nuryani, & Sholeha, M. (2024). Islamic Journalistic Ethics To Reduce Hoax News During The Covid-19 Pandemic. *Profetik: Jurnal Komunikasi*, *17*(1). https://doi.org/10.14421/pjk.v17i1.2983

Kassier, L. (2024). Identifying transitions in corporate sustainability reporting: A content analysis of JSE/FTSE multinational sustainability reports from 2016 to 2021. *International Journal of Corporate Social Responsibility*, *9*(1), 12. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40991-024-00099-7

Lauer, L., & Graves, L. (2024). How to grow a transnational field: A network analysis of the global fact-checking movement. *New Media & Society*, 14614448241227856. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448241227856

Luftig, D., & Plungis, J. (2020). OhioLINK librarians and Google Scholar over time: A longitudinal analysis of attitudes and uses. *Reference Services Review*, *48*(4), 683–698. https://doi.org/10.1108/RSR-04-2020-0031

Ministry of Communication and Information, & Katadata Insight Center. (2023). *Status of Digital Literacy in Indonesia 2022*. Ministry of Communication and Information.

Muhamad, N. (2024). There are 12,547 Hoax Contents Over the Past 5 Years, Mostly Health Issues. *KataData*. https://databoks.katadata.co.id/datapublish/2024/01/05/ada-12547-konten-hoaks-selama-5-tahun-terakhir-terbanyak-isu-kesehatan

Nasrullah, Veronika, & Asmarantika, R. A. (2024). Quality Control In Kompas/Kompas.Id Daily News Production. *Ultimacomm*, *16*(1), 105–122.

Pahlevi, M. M. (2024). Gatekeeper Analysis in the Selection of Viral Social Media Information in Tribun Sumsel. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi dan Sosial Politik*, *02*(02), 308–319.

Park, C. S., & Kaye, B. K. (2023). Applying news values theory to liking, commenting and sharing mainstream news articles on Facebook. *Journalism*, *24*(3), 633–653. https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849211019895

Rahmawan, D., Hartanto, R., & Garnesia, I. (2022). Multi Case Analysis on The Development of Fact-Checking Organizations in Indonesia. *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi*, *10*(1), 14. https://doi.org/10.24198/jkk.v10i1.38752

Rayputri, V. A., & Rusli, F. (2023). The Editorial Management of Okezone.com in Presenting Worthy and Likable News. *International Journal of Application on Social Science and Humanities*, *1*(1), 824–833. https://doi.org/10.24912/ijassh.v1i1.25949

Risdayandini, C., Suryana, C., & Fakhruroji, M. (2024). Content Analysis of Prophetic Journalism Practices in News Reporting in the Khazanah Rubric of Republika.co.id.co.id. *ANNABA: Jurnal Ilmu Jurnalistik*, *9*(1), 1–22.

Sasahara, K., Chen, W., Peng, H., Ciampaglia, G. L., Flammini, A., & Menczer, F. (2021). Social influence and unfollowing accelerate the emergence of echo chambers. *Journal of Computational Social Science*, *4*(1), 381–402. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42001-020-00084-7

Shoemaker, P. J., & Vos, T. (2009). *Gatekeeping Theory* (0 ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203931653

Shu, K., Bhattacharjee, A., Alatawi, F., Nazer, T. H., Ding, K., Karami, M., & Liu, H. (2020). Combating disinformation in a social media age. *WIREs Data Mining and Knowledge Discovery*, *10*(6), e1385. https://doi.org/10.1002/widm.1385

Susilawati, F., & Radjagukguk, D. L. (2020). Detik Com's News Strategy in Spreading Viral News on the Website www.Detik.com. *Jurnal Ilmu dan Budaya*, *41*(68), 8027–8044.

Syarief, S. (2024). Indonesian Mainstream Media in the Digital Age: Corporate Convergence, Low-quality News and Staff Exploitation. *ISEAS Perspective*, *29*, 1–9.

Tsfati, Y., Boomgaarden, H. G., Strömbäck, J., Vliegenthart, R., Damstra, A., & Lindgren, E. (2020). Causes and consequences of mainstream media dissemination of fake news: Literature review and synthesis. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, *44*(2), 157–173. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2020.1759443

William, A., & Sari, Y. (2020). CLICK-ID: A novel dataset for Indonesian clickbait headlines. *Data in Brief*, *32*, 106231. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dib.2020.106231

Wilti, B. K., & Harmonis, H. (2024). Editorial Management Sindonews.com in Determining News Worth Publishing. *Journal Transnational Universal Studies*, *2*(11), 598–616. https://doi.org/10.58631/jtus.v2i11.118

Yousaf, M., Hu, Z., & Raza, S. H. (2023). News Media Exposure and Community Consensus on Terrorism in a Developing Country: First and Second Level Agenda-Setting Effects. *Media Watch*, *14*(1), 33–57. https://doi.org/10.1177/09760911221130818

Zhang, M., Chen, Z., Liu, X., & Liu, J. (2024). Theory and practice of agenda setting: Understanding media, bot, and public agendas in the South Korean presidential election. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *34*(1), 24–56. https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2023.2261112

Zhang, S. (2024). Media Network and Citizen Journalism: The Transition from Agenda Setting to Agenda Loop. *Communication Studies*, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2024.2383342