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E-democracy and the Parrhesia Language of Netizen towards COVID-19 Pandemic

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Abstract---The world has entered the era of digital democracy. Netizens (citizens of the internet) can deliver the facts or truths of an event through online media. On the other hand, the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic has changed world order in different terms. The netizens can use parrhesia to deliver views to the world through internet. This paper studies the parrhesia democracy by netizens about COVID-19. The used questions were answered by the discourse semiotics approach. Data collection was done through distributing questionnaires online. The results revealed that the netizens' freedom to use parrhesia concerning COVID-19 on the internet media raises ambiguous facts or information. Various myths or hoaxes that spread on social media have confused people in dealing with COVID-19. Social media with e-democracy provides free and uncontrolled opportunities in distributing opinions. However, the freedom to provide information without based on facts also results in myths or hoaxes which, later, have a universal meaning in society.

Keywords---coronavirus pandemic, COVID-19, e-democracy, netizens, the language of parrhesia.

Introduction

The history of Indonesian democracy shows that social media (e.g., WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram) is a significant online public space phenomenon and has a role as a medium for political participation and democracy for the public in uttering their thoughts (Hasyim & Kuswarini, 2020). Internet users (netizen) can freely do parrhesia, convey the actual, reveal the

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truth about phenomena and events in the world, and particularly related to the State (government) policies. Now democracy has entered online public space which can be called digital democracy, and how internet technology increases the complex interactions between the citizens (as netizens) and the government (Evans, 2019; Arafah & Kaharuddin, 2019).

With internet users reaching more than 64% (171 users) of Indonesia's total population of 267 million by 2019, social media as an online public space is a power for netizens to express opinions and information. According to data from APJII (Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers), the number of internet users in Indonesia is 143.7 people since 2017, and reaching 171 people in 2019. This means that more than 50% of Indonesia's population are smartphone-based internet users, and the majority of internet users in Indonesia accessing cyberspace are from aged 15 to 19 years old. The most widely used social media are such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, and Instagram. Thus, one of the most social media users is Facebook, reaching 130 million people in 2018 (Arafat & Hasyim, 2019). According to the research by We Are Social, a British media company that works with Hootsuite, the average Indonesian spends three hours 23 minutes a day to access social media. From a report entitled "Essential Insights into the Internet, Social Media, Mobile, and E-Commerce Use around the World" published on January 30, 2018, of 265.4 million of Indonesia's total population, the active users of social media reached 130 million with 49% penetration (Pertiwi, 2018).

Netizens is a combination of the words internet and citizens, therefore means the citizens of the internet.

Digital democracy is an activity that uses social media as a form of netizens' participation in delivering facts and thoughts, both in the form of criticism or even support (Jha & Kodila-Tedika, 2020). In their capacity as scientists, professors, workers, civilians, and the general public, netizens have the courage to speak the truth or say the actual things without hiding anything. Foucault (2018), gave the term parrhesia which means to tell the truth or say what it is, and people who use parrhesia are called parrhesiasites. Parrhesia contains a moral obligation for someone to convey a truth for the public interest (Schmidt, 2011).

One event afflicting the world today, including Indonesia, is the Coronavirus pandemic or COVID-19. The rapid spread of the COVID-19 pandemic throughout the world, which began in Wuhan, China, in December 2019, frightens the world community with various information broadcasted on the media (television, internet and social media) about the infected and dead victims. The transmission of this virus causes a crisis in China, and a number of cases emerging throughout the world is prompting global action and reaction against Coronavirus (Jamal & Budke, 2020). After announcing the emergence of COVID-19 at the end of December 2019, the Chinese government took swift action to reduce the spread of the virus. These actions are restrictions on meeting activities, restrictions on domestic and overseas travel, and closing the source area of the Coronavirus pandemic. Various countries take precautionary measures by limiting flights to China (Bloomberg News, 2020).

Cybersecurity is considered the biggest threat in the internet world, however, the dissemination of Coronavirus pandemic information is a significant external risk source that can change the economic, political, and socio-cultural world order (de Sousa Jabbour et al., 2020). Information about COVID-19 is spreading rapidly throughout the world, not apart from the smartphone-based internet media and the availability of social media through Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, etc. Through smartphone media, people in the world easily and quickly receive and broadcast information, and even give comments, facts or truths, which can be called parrhesia.

Research on digital democracy parrhesia through social media in the context of Indonesian government policy in handling Coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic is very interesting to study. Netizens can do parrhesia through social media (for example, Facebook, WhatsApp, and Twitter) and comment or readers menu on online press media, such as CNN, to express about COVID-19 just the way it is, which can be in the form of criticism and input for the government. The rapid information about COVID-19 issues spread on the internet, especially through social media, makes it difficult for netizens to distinguish the real or factual information from hoaxes. Questions that can be asked from this paper are what kinds of COVID-19 parrhesia raised by netizens in the internet world are, and how the attitude and views of netizens towards pandemic coronavirus are (Halim, 2013; Hogan & Strasburger, 2018).

This study provides the main contribution for science development, especially for the government and society. Firstly, it distinguishes the true and the hoax netizens' parrhesia; secondly, it described the attitudes and views of netizens as the citizens who used parrhesia; third, it presented the hoaxes distribution on the internet related to COVID-19, which was later considered as a truth by netizens; and fourth, it explained how much the netizens involved as the digital rights of democracy in addressing various events, including COVID-19.

Literature Review

Parrhesia

Etymologically, parrhesia comes from the word parrhesiazesthai which means to say everything. People who use parrhesia are called the parrhesiasistes, and they are those who state anything they think; they do not hide anything, instead, they open their hearts and minds completely to others through their discourses (Foucault, 2018). Parrhesia is commonly defined as speaking freely, speaking as it is, what is in mind. In parrhesia, the speakers are expected to deliver a complete and precise description of what they think, so that the listeners are able to fully understand what the speakers are thinking. Parrhesia refers to the type of relationship between the speakers and what they are talking about. In parrhesia, the speakers strives for their discourses to be really clear and understandable, that what they are talking about is the effort of their own opinions. The speakers do this by avoiding any form of rhetoric that will cover anything they think. On the contrary, as parrhesiastes, the speakers try to use the most straightforward words and forms of disclosure.

The term parrhesia was first used in Greek literature in the works of Erupides (480 to 407 BC). Then this term developed widely in the world of antique Greek literature since the end of the fifth AD. This term was also found in patristic manuscripts written at the end of the fourth century and throughout the fifth century AD, for example, in Ioannes Khysostomosm, 345 to 407 AD (Foucault, 2018).

Foucault gives an example of parrhesia in the story of Bakkhai (around 407 to 406 BC). One of the Pantheos' servants (a shepherd who also doubled as the king's messenger) came to report on the panic and chaos that had engulfed the community, due to the madness of the girls of Dionysus and their unreasonable deeds. However, as it was well known, it had long been a tradition to reward the messenger when they brought good news, and to punish them when they brought bad news. Thus, this king's servant felt a great reluctance to deliver this painful news to Pantheos. Still, he asked the king if he could use parrhesia and told him everything he knew, because he was afraid the king would be angry. Thus, Pentheos promised that he would not make it a problem as long as he spoke the truth (Foucault, 2018).

Sauter & Kendall (2011), conclude the parrhesia theory stated by Foucault that parrhesia is an ancient political practice that has been used in the Greek era, and freedom is an important condition for parrhesiaste as well as a way to defend freedom, self-form, and control others. Although this study could delineate the parrhesia theory, it did not deal with the practical implications of the study. In other words, the authors could have mentioned a set of suggestions by which different groups of people including internet users and learners broaden their horizon regarding the theory and its varying dimensions.

Given the afore-mentioned points, it may be contended that the use of parrhesia is a necessity and feasibility, and should not be left as long as a truth has to be conveyed since it has elements, for example, the urgency and importance of parrhesia is used even if it hurts, yet the truth conveyed is for the benefit of the state (king or general). However, there are rules that have been set for the consequences received by those who are sent to submit a report. However, as long as it is very urgent, parrhesia must be used even if the information or report is painful (Kim & Su, 2020; Yu et al., 2010).

E-Democracy

The definition of democracy stated by Abrahan Lincoln, that "Democracy is the government of the people, by the people, and for the people" (Rhue & Sundararajan, 2014). However, Hashmi (2018), asserts that the imposition of democracy is more than what Lincoln put forward. Hasmi further explained that democracy is a set of doctrines and ideas about freedom. Comprehensively, democracy is a systematic means to legalize and institutionalize freedom. What can be understood from these two definitions is that in both of them, the issue of liberty and centrality of people are foregrounded. That is, democracy without people and freedom is meaningless. Thus, it can also be conceived as a situation in which terms such as dictatorship, cruelty, inequality, and discrimination have no place.

E-democracy comes from the words electronic and democracy. This term is known as digital democracy and internet democracy, which means the use of information and communication technology in political and governance processes (Macintosh, 2004; Sunberg, 2019). E-democracy is the implementation of democracy that is not limited by space, time, or other physical limitations. E-democracy combines the concepts of representative democracy and participatory democracy so that it is able to quickly explore the interaction between cyberspace and social (Andriadi, 2016). The role of digital democracy is to utilize internet-based information technology through browser applications (google), social media, for example, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc., in fulfilling and articulating interests and strengthening the middle class. Internet users are free to say anything from their minds, without time and space limitation, anytime and anywhere, as long as internet access is functioning. The presence of social media applications can be a pillar of democracy and can be decisive in decision making or policy.

Digital democracy connects two relations, namely the real world and the virtual world (Kardan & Sadeghiani, 2011; De Gregorio, 2019). The real world can be a source of information and events that occur, and cyberspace is a medium for sharing various inspirations and thoughts. Both are interconnected and mutually reinforcing in the process of democracy and politics, both at the state, media, and community level. Therefore, at the same time that these two levels are different from each other, they are complicatedly interdependent as well. Knowing about digital democracy in both virtual and real space can significantly contribute to better and more efficient of people in society.

The existence of a touch of technology has accelerated democracy so that it is closer, more real, and has an important contribution in creating demos critically. The majority of netizens are filled by middle class who appear as the demos in the current situation through the activities of clicks, posts, and shares on their each social media account. That is what creates the second value of digital democracy, namely connective democracy which is the democracy that is networked, than the previous democratic values which are more collective, that is, more organic. The Indonesian middle class nowadays generally see the politics more in an informal, communal, multilateral, and populist perspective. Today's political world has led to a period of the end of theory and also the post-truth that is gradually reducing the political processes which are elitist, normative, and ceremonial. Thanks to a variety of information, society is now able to play a role as the interest group or the pressure group, directly or indirectly. The two main values of digital democracy, namely seductive and connective democracy, are what are currently and will continue to develop in the Indonesian politics in the future (Alwajih, 2014).

Mythology

Mythology is an interdisciplinary approach to study media texts by viewing language as a form of social practice. Social and linguistic (non-linguistic) practices focus on how the power relations in society are formed and strengthened through the use of language (Arafah & Jamulia, 2020). Barthes

(1957), sees that myth is parole (speech), that is, a communication system used universally and proven through speech in society.

By referring to the theory of Barthes myth, myth is a communication system, a way of conveying a message: "le mythe est un system communication, c'est un message" (myth is a communication system, a message, (1957)). Myth is not a concept or idea, but is a way to interpret something or to tell a message (Hasyim, 2019; Saputra et al., 2020). As a semiological system, myth is formed through signification processes of signifier, signified, and sign (Maknun et al., 2020). The signification process occurs at two levels; the first level is called the linguistic system (language), and the second level is called myth (Hasyim & Kuswarini, 2020).

As a second level semiology system, myth takes the first level semiology system as its foundation in creating new meanings. Discourse is a special system that is built from a chain of pre-existing semiology systems (first level). The sign as a total combination of concepts and forms at the first level, becomes the signifier at the second level (Barthes, 1957). Myth is a dual system consisting of a linguistic system and a semiological system.

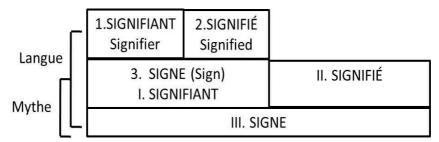


Figure 1. The sign map of Roland Barthes (Barthes, 1957).

In applying the myth system, Barthes (1957), gives an example of a photo of a black soldier among white soldiers who were saluting the French flag on the front cover of the Paris-Match magazine. At the first level, the signifier is a photo of a young soldier, wearing a French uniform, saluting the French flag. The signified or concept that emerged from the signifier was a black soldier saluting the French flag. The signified on the first level becomes the signifier on the second level as a system of discourse, namely a black soldier saluting the French flag, and the signified is the concept of Frenchness and military, the great empire of France, without any discrimination, saluting the French flag'.

Barthes (1957), explains that the function of myth is to distort, deform, and naturalize the meaning from the first level. The meaning (the sign as a relation between signifier and signified) on the first level is distorted to create new meaning to the second level. Thus, the sign on the second level means something else which no longer refers to the actual reality as the reference system. The function of distortion is to change the shape with a concept and a concept that is constructed in the myth at the second level is grounded by the ideology (interests) or sign users or the myth makers. The main function of discourse is the naturalization of a concept (the idea system) into a community of sign users (e.g.,

mass media) as something normal or natural. La naturalization du concept, que je viens de donner pour la fonction essentielle du mythe, est ici exemplaire: dans une systeme premier (exlusivement linguistique), la causalité serait, à la lettre, naturelle: fruit et légumes baissent parce que c'est la saison. Dans le système second (mythique), la cusalité est artificielle, fausse (Naturalization of the concept as the main function of the myth has some examples as follows: at the first level (linguistic), the cause is literally natural, that is the falling-prices of fruits and vegetables because of the season. At the second level (myth), the cause is artificial (justification) and false.) (Barthes, 1957). Thus, myth is basically the opinion or concept that is constructed by the users of the sign (e.g., media) that is believed to be a natural or something that is considered reasonable that becomes a dominant force. So, the concept is a élément constituent du mythe (elements that create the myth; Barthes, 1957), for example the concept of kindness, entirety, humanity, etc.

In his writings, Barthes focuses more on a semiological analysis (myth) about the way ideology exists in a society and the media, as well as how ideology is produced and consumed. This has been confirmed by Barthes in the preface of the book Mythologies (1957), which states that myth is a semiological system used to critique mass culture ideologies and semiotically analyze the workings of the language of media culture. Barthes semiotically analyzes dominant ideology, both in French daily life and even in various media.

By choosing social media as the object of study, semiotics examines the forms of language practices and social practices found in social media and the ideological content within them (Kaharuddin, 2020). This means that the analysis of myths with the semiotics approach is a method of dissecting a critique of the ideology of media culture by using semiology as its approach. With a semiological approach, the myth examines various shapes of linguistic and social practices, used to present ideology in the media.

Methodology

Participants

The purpose of this research study was netizens' parrhesia related to COVID-19 on social media and online news media (CNN and Kompas). The participants of the study were 128 Indonesian people who surf the net and social media. To put it more clearly, both male and female Indonesian internet and social media users were included in the study as participants. They were also from different social classes, age groups, and occupations, and education levels. Table 1 provides a more vivid description of the participants.

Table 1 Characteristics of respondents

						Residence	
Age	%	Education	%	Occupation	%	(Province)	%
		High		Civil Servant			
15-25	35	School	15.6	(Government	20.6	Sulawesi	69

				Employee)			
26-35	21.9	Diploma	3.9	Lecturer College	17	Jakarta	4.30
36-45	15.6	Bachelor	33.6	Student	28	Java Bali, Maluku,	15
46-55	20.33	Master	32.8	Student	30.5	Nusa Tenggara	5
> 55	7	Doctorate	14.1	Entrepreneur	3.9	Sumatra	6.7

Research instruments

Two instruments were utilized to gather data. The first instrument included observation and recording checklist. To be more specific, the authors started to observe different types of information related to COVID-19 on the internet and social media, and then examined and analyzed the netizens' comments on this pandemic. The other tool used to glean data was a set of online questionnaires. These questionnaires, which included items on different issues related COVID-19, virtual space, etc., were distributed via social media, and specifically on WhatsApp to the participants of the study described above. To check the appropriacy of the questionnaires and its items, two experts were asked to double check the items to be in line with the study purpose (Nicola et al., 2020; Liu et al., 2020). They made some constructive comments on the items and after making the revisions, the questionnaire was confirmed by them to be suitable for the study purpose.

Data collection procedure

To be more specific on data collection, during the observation stage, we watched COVID-19 news on online media, for example, CNN Indonesia, the popular news and television site, Kompas.com (one of the national web portals, contained online news and articles in Indonesia) and covid19.go.id, the official site for COVID-19 pandemic information from the Indonesian government. The data collection through observation was information on the number of infected, cured, dead, and government activities in the fight against COVID-19 (lockdown, rapid test, and reporting on humanitarian assistance affected by COVID-19). Based on the official website of the Rim government covid19.go.id as of July 11, 2020, the total number of confirmed were 8,762; under medical treatment were 4,124 (47.5% of the confirmed); recovered were 4,086 (46.8% of the confirmed); and died were 498 (5.7% of the confirmed).

Further, the authors used the Barthes' mythology semiotic approach which is oriented towards the development of Barthes theory. The grand theory in mythological semiotics can produce a discovery or novelty (Cortez & Johnston, 2020; Spina et al., 2016). We collected the data by distributing questionnaires online via social media. We distributed questionnaires randomly throughout Indonesia through the WhatsApp groups due to the global Coronavirus pandemic. In addition to social media, we observed the COVID-19's news on online media, e.g., CNN and Kompas, and investigated readers' comments. The distribution of COVID-19 information on social media could be in the form of netizens' comments, and also the news shared by netizens to other social media.

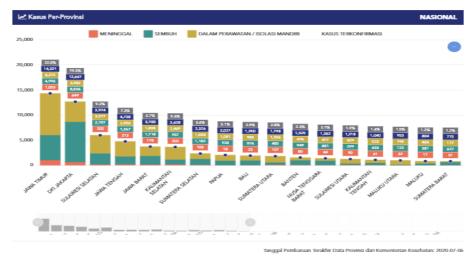


Figure 2. Total distribution of COVID-19 cases in Indonesia

(Translation: Kasus Per-Provinsi = Case per Province; Nasional = National; Meninggal = Died; Sembuh = Recovered; Dalam Perawatan / Isolasi Mandiri = Being in Treatment / Self-Isolation; Kasus Terkonfirmasi = Confirmed Cases)

Aside from substituting the questionnaires to social media, we also visited several cafés that have implemented health protocols by maintaining physical distancing and masks wearing. We met the café visitors and send (the questionnaires) to their WhatsApp so they could answer directly on the spot (i.e., café).

Data analysis procedure

Finally, having gathered the intended data through the above-mentioned instruments and procedures, the authors analyzed them through statistical procedures and soft wares. To be more detailed on these statistical procedures, the authors ran different statistical packages including SPSS and R programs and presented the obtained results in different graphs and tables. What follows is a description of the obtained results as well as their discussion (Vinkers et al., 2020; Zenker & Kock, 2020).

Result and Discussion

Of all the collected questionnaire data, we divided the respondents' answers into two parts: first, the dissemination of COVID-19 information on the internet media; second, the respondents' comments as the parresit. The questions regarding the COVID-19 information dissemination are:

- Where do you find information about Coronavirus (COVID-19)?
- What media do you most often find information about COVID-19?
- How often do you read/get COVID-19 information?
- Did you read/get COVID-19 information?
- What information is often obtained about COVID-19?

Furthermore, the questions regarding the attitudes and views of netizens on the COVID-19 reporting are:

- What is your attitude towards the various reports about COVID-19? Do you often comment on social media when you receive information/news about COVID-19?
- How often do you share information about COVID-19 on social media?
- Do you trust the uploaded information related to COVID-19 on social media?
- Is it true that various untrue myths circulating in the community are spread through the internet media?
- What uploads (information) have you received that you think are hoaxes?
- What is your suggestion regarding the COVID-19 handling?

Social media: The main gateway of information

Based on the data analysis results, social media and the internet have become a gateway to information besides television media. Information (reporting) dissemination on the internet through online news media, e.g., CNN, Kompas, etc., also presents a comment columns where readers can give suggestions and criticisms. However, social media is the most communicative and interactive media. Netizens can easily accept, disseminate the information, and share the received information. Social media becomes a gateway for information since information from online media can be shared or broadcasted using the media links (Brivot et al., 2015; Sundberg, 2019).

This research results indicate that netizens obtained information about the Coronavirus pandemic mostly through internet media, namely 49.2% from social media, 28.9% from internet, and 21.9% from television. The types of internet media used in obtaining information are 40.6% from online news (CNN, Kompas, etc.), 26% form WhatsApp, 10.2% from Facebook, and 4.7% from Twitter.

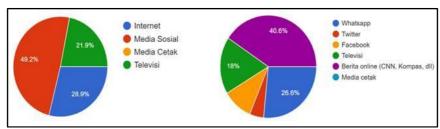


Figure 3. Types of reception media about COVID-19 information

(Translation: Media Sosial = Social Media; Media Cetak = Printed Media; Televisi = Television; Berita Online = Online News)

Based on Figure 3, the public prefer to obtain information on the internet media, especially social media which are considered more effective and interactive. Internet users can interact directly, modify the message contents in real time, and share them to the internet. In addition, social media has wider network that can interact and communicate with internet users in various countries. With the two-

way information stream which is more open (Saputra et al., 2020), netizens can quickly get information about various events in the world, and share them to social media groups.

This research results also show that netizens obtain the information about Coronavirus on the internet every day, with a percentage of 73.4, and the most dominant information received is the number of people infected with Covid-19, as much as 75%. The frequency of daily information received by netizens, anytime and anywhere, shows that the internet media has taken control of the online public space, and that public cannot avoid information stream from the internet media. According to Hogan and Strasburger (2018), social media has changed the way people communicate, where people can meet face to face when talking, and sending videos and pictures more smoothly. They set examples on social media communication among teenagers.

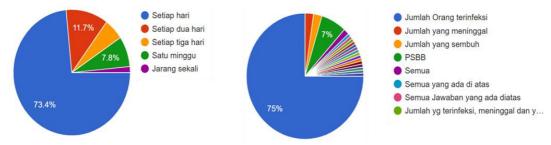


Figure 4. Frequency and type of information about COVID-19 received by netizens

(Translation: Setiap hari = everyday; setiap dua hari = every two days; setiap tiga hari = every three days; satu minggu = a week; jarang sekali = very rare; jumlah orang terinfeksi = total infected; jumlah yang meninggal = total death; jumlah yang sembuh = total recovered; PSBB = Large-Scale Social Restrictions; semua = all; semua yang ada di atas = all of above; semua jawaban yang ada di atas = all answers above; jumlah yg terinfeksi, meninggal, dan yang sembuh = total infected, death, and recovered)

E-democracy and the Pharresia language on social media

The COVID-19 pandemic has caused a global health crisis that has changed the way humans view the world and everyday life. Life of security is increasingly threatened due to the harmful level and patterns of the transmission. The security steps (i.e., lockdown) implemented to prevent the spread of viruses, social distancing, and masks wearing, do not guarantee to avoid us from the danger of Coronavirus. The arising life of insecurity (worry, anxiety, and distrust) is inseparable from the information stream on mass media, especially social media which makes internet users receive information very freely, as well as make them create some news (information) related to Coronavirus, and share them (Ritonga et al., 2021; Altam, 2020).

Netizens are increasingly open in using the Pharresia language to express their views, both in the form of suggestions and criticisms. Netizens can freely express their views as a form of language or speech on social media and the internet.

Macluhan argues that information technology (internet) has formed a global village with the availability of instant information anywhere and anytime, and netizens can interact directly and determine their attitudes. The Pharresia language by netizens can be described through their attitudes and views. The results show their attitudes and views toward the COVID-19 outbreak, and the attitude of the Indonesian government policy in dealing with the Coronavirus pandemic.

Our research results show that public is very worried about the news regarding COVID-19 on social media. The percentage of netizens' concern over the COVID-19 coverage that they receive everyday reaches 61.7%, 20.3% of them are very worried, and 18% are mediocre. Public concern arises since as much as 75% of the news, everyday, are the total infected each day. The news about the total infected comes from television media, and the internet, and then shared to social media.

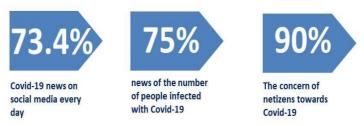


Figure 5. The effects of the COVID-19 news media

The language of pharresia used by internet users is a form of freedom using democratic rights digitally in receiving and spreading news on social media without searching in detail about the truth. Pharresia netizens can be in the form of various views and facts delivery related to COVID-19 issues which sometimes controversy to each other, causing doubts for internet users, and also making they react in doubt as well. This is proven by the results of our research, stating that various uploaded news distributed on social media causing doubt by 65.6%, believe by 28.9%, and do not believe by 5.5% (Figure 6). Pharresia by netizens in the form of news against COVID-19 is considered hoax or myth which is untrue. This research results indicate that as many as 35.9% are agree that lots of hoax news are spread on social media, 9.4% are strongly agree, 25.8% are doubtful, 13.3% are disagree, and 15.6% are strongly disagree (Figure 7).

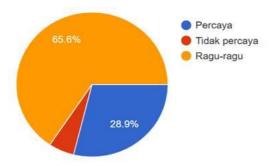


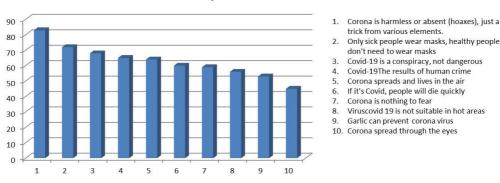
Figure 6. Posting information on Covid-19 and spread of hoaxes on social media



Figure 7.Posting Information on Covid-19 and Spread of Hoaxes on Social Media

(Translation: Percaya = believe; Tidak percaya = do not believe; Ragu-ragu = doubt; Sangat tidak setuju = strongly disagree; Tidak setuju = disagree; Ragu-ragu = doubt; Setuju = agree; Sangat setuju = strongly agree)

The language of pharresia expressed by netizens on social media regarding the COVID-19 pandemic issue contains moral messages which provide advice and suggestion to internet users. However, there are parrhesia that is in line with the facts (true), and there are those that contain hoaxes or untrue myths. In Figure 8, the most dominant hoaxes pharresia or untrue myths, spread on social media.



The distribution rate of Covid-19 parrhesia

Figure 8. The distribution rate of COVID-19 Parrhesia

There are ten COVID-19 Pharresia containing Hoax which is then considered as common knowledge in public. First is the view that Coronavirus does not exist, and is only a political conspiracy of certain groups. This view raises attitudes and behaviors of people who are not worried about Coronavirus. Second, there is a moral message stating that only unhealthy people who wear masks, and healthy people do not need to wear masks. This parrhesia has an impact on the people for not obediently wearing masks when they're outside home. Third, COVID-19 is a conspiracy, it is not dangerous. This message circulating on the media makes people unafraid of COVID-19. They are not very concerned about the dangers posed by the virus. Fourth, Covid-19 is the result of human crime. Society has

assumed COVID-19 is a man-made, one that does not need to be feared. Fifth, COVID-19 spreads in the air. This message has a negative impact on society for not doing activities outside home (working). Sixth, if someone has been exposed to COVID-19, they will quickly die. This message causes panic in the community if there are family members, neighbors, and close relatives passed away. This pharresia caused many residents for not willing to do a rapid test. Seventh, Coronavirus is something which does not need to be feared. This message makes the public do not care about following the health protocol to always wear masks, keep their distances, and always wash hands with soaps. Eighth, COVID-19 is not suitable in hot areas, just like in Indonesia. This message is believed that Coronavirus will automatically vanish in the air due to high heat. Ninth, garlics can prevent and cure Coronavirus. People believe this by buying and consuming garlics every day. And tenth, Coronavirus spread through eye contact. This message makes the public do not want to have direct meetings (Kardan & Sadeghiani, 2011; Bindu et al., 2019).

Parrhesia language that spreads on social media contains moral messages which are considered as knowledge (truth) that should be carried out. The COVID-19 parrhesia language which contains untrue myths (hoaxes) makes people confused and cannot distinguish the truth and the myth. Debates about COVID-19 mostly occur on social media since the distribution of incorrect COVID-19 information considered to be the truth. Referring to Barthes' semiotic theory, media message (parrhesia) is the sign containing multilevel meanings. The first level is called the first language, which contains rules and systems, and the second level is myth (discourse) which is the speech that exists in society collectively which are then considered as a truth. So, an irrational (untrue) sign (message) can be true in society, a truth that is natural and universal.

Conclusion

The pharresia language by netizens has responded the current COVID-19 pandemic crisis by using digital technology (social media) which is considered as the gateway to solve many problems due to the Coronavirus crisis. At the same time, social media can arise challenges related to some of the rights of digital human democracy in expressing pharresia (facts and views). Utilizing information technology (social media) as a medium for disseminating information (facts, attitudes, and views) very freely can actually create ambiguous reality, which is difficult to distinguish between facts and hoaxes. Parrhesia used freely by netizens in the form of uploaded information related to COVID-19 (prevention and treatment of Coronavirus) makes people doubtful and distrustful, which in turn creates unserious attitudes fighting against COVID-19. The myths or hoaxes about COVID-19 spread on social media have become a knowledge (novelty). In a semiotic perspective, when a myth or hoax has become a sign system, then that sign becomes a natural and universal meaning in society. The parrhesia naturalization process about COVID-19 containing moral messages, which are hoaxes, can be a common view in society.

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