THE POST-TRUTH PHENOMENON INFILTRATING THE US POLITICAL SYSTEM, MEDIA, AND POPULACE: THE CRITICAL THINKING ANALYSIS ABOUT DONALD TRUMP'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Evi Aryati Arbay[1*], Ari Santoso Widodo[2]

[1]London School of Public Relations - Jakarta, Indonesia iD https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8130-4940 ✉ 19210320043@lspr.edu
[2]London School of Public Relations - Jakarta, Indonesia iD https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8703-8068 ✉ ari.swp@lspr.edu

Abstract: *Donald J. Trump, one of the 2016 US presidential candidates, is thought to have benefited from political fact-doctoring in his attempt to diminish his adversary's reputation using the post-truth phenomena. This research aimed to identify and analyze post-truth phenomena that infiltrated the political system, media, and the American people during Donald J. Trump's leadership. This study used a qualitative approach with a critical thinking analysis method. The findings found that individual rationality's post-truth disrupted and then directed to online information impulses, in which people tended to seek information that supported their own opinions, particularly on issues connected to Donald J. Trump's leadership in all sectors of policy, including irrelevant facts or reality and the use of language increasingly exploited by hyperbole without a clear basis reference.*

Keywords: *Post-Truth; Post-Trust; US Political System; Political Leadership; Critical Thinking Analysis; Donald Trump*

INTRODUCTION

The election of Donald J. Trump as President of the United States (US) is a sign that society has entered the Post-truth era. In this era, people ignore ethical opinions and prioritize hoaxes and fake news, leading to the truth with the desired taste even though this does not reflect the true truth (Grinberg *et al.* 2019). This case is an example that today's society has entered the post-truth era. Social media played a big role in Donald J. Trump's victory. Public opinion formed through social media is stronger than the facts, and the public believes more in information spread through various social media broadcasts.

The convergence of communication and information technology affects the increasing diversity of communication media, ranging from forms to responsive activities. Cyberspace has entered a new phase where it has shifted various human activities from political, social,

economic, cultural, spiritual, sex and so on in the real world into various forms of artificial substitution so that whatever can be done in the real world can now be done in artificial forms in cyberspace (Iyengar and Massey 2019). Information technology has broken down space, time, place, and distance leading to the digital era. According to Lecheler and Kruikemeier (2016), the massive advancement of information technology extends to all fields. It leaves with a negative effect so that the information flood in the era of the digital revolution carries some social impacts. The community's problem is not how to get news but the lack of ability to digest correct information.

The credibility of the mainstream media, which has constantly undermined the interests of elites and owners, forces the public to seek alternative information (Lewandowsky, Ecker, and Cook 2017). People prefer to use social media like Twitter to convey their news/ information. This shift is also since the mass media, as the mainstream news/information provider, has been considered a political partisan (McStay 2018). The chaos of the virtual media situation has received a surge of energy in the political year. Such a situation is explored by groups or politicians using all means, including creating and spreading hoax or hoax content. The massive hoax phenomenon spreads to the consumption of netizens every day. On the one hand, many people are skeptical of the credibility of mass media, but on the other hand, hoaxes show that people easily trust various social media information (Park and Rim 2019).

Society is conditioned to ignore truth verification where the credibility of news, messages, or opinions is often unquestionable, and lies can creep in through people's confusion while distinguishing between news, opinions, facts, and analysis (Tandoc, Lim, and Ling 2019). Post-truth is a period that tends to ignore facts and truth, while hoaxes can be interpreted as false/false news or information. Furthermore, Tandoc, Lim, and Ling (2018) said that post-truth is associated with nihilism, narcissism, skepticism, and post-modernism, which reject universal truth. The above phenomena construct and provide a brief but comprehensive description of the important substance of how the United States deals with hoaxes, social media, and post-truth, which are portrayed by scientific studies and credible information from mainstream media. According to Allcott and Gentzkow (2017), people in the current post-truth era are not looking for the truth but rather for affirmation, confirmation, and support for their beliefs. Post-truth is a big lie that shakes a world where big lies cannot be controlled. Big lies have great potential for many people to believe.

One example of a shocking lie was when Donald Trump's followers fabricated lies about Hillary Clinton. Hillary is said to have built a prison in Alaska that could accommodate around 3 million American prisoners. The information spread very quickly. In two hours, the information was read 230,000 times. Lies can be fabricated very easily and quickly, but refuting a lie takes a very long time. In 2017, the people of the United States were shocked by the arrest of the Saracen syndicate. The syndicate produced and distributed fake news, hate speeches, racial and religion issues. The contents produced by this syndicate were merely for economic purposes. According to Alimi (2019), post-truth marks an era filled with denial of facts and common sense where fake news, hoaxes, and even conspiracy theories can go viral easily and be trusted by the public. Increased access and technological sophistication in accessing and producing news cause the post-truth reality of being something unavoidable to anyone active on the internet

(Kurniawan 2018). Allcott and Gentzkow (2017) argued that fake news is fake news, fake news that is not based on facts, and a hoax is false information based on fabricated facts.

This research aims to identify and analyze post-truth phenomena that infiltrate the political system, media, and the US population in critical thinking analysis under Donald J. Trump's leadership.

METHODS

Research Approach and Design

This study employs a qualitative approach with a modified method from Adele Clarke's situational analysis as the main method. Adele Clarke (2003) stated that situational analysis might provide a method by which the researcher can have an in-depth interactive process of understanding the data. Based on the tradition of Grounded Theory, the situational analysis offers a much deeper process of analysis that is deemed suitable for understanding the data of this research. Clarke, Friese, and Washburn (2016) argued that situational analysis also allows for a much deeper critical analysis by analyzing the data elements through a critical thinking process concerning the various contexts.

The qualitative research approach is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in written or spoken words from people and observed behavior (Creswell 2017). According to Berger (2011), critical thinking is the process of finding, obtaining, evaluating, analyzing, synthesizing, and conceptualizing information as a guide for developing one's thinking with self-awareness; and the ability to use this information to increase creativity and take risks. Analysis of critical thinking is a unique and purposeful way of thinking where thinkers systematically establish intellectual criteria and standards in reasoning, constructing thoughts, directing thinking constructs according to certain standards, and assessing the effectiveness of thinking according to the goals, criteria, and standards of thinking (Al-Dahdouh, Osório and Caires 2015).

Back to situational analysis, Clarke, Friese, and Washburn (2015) described the three levels of mapping usually conducted: situational map, social world/arenas map, and positional map. In this research, this process is conducted as layers, where each mapping process was conducted as research process layers where each layer was done after the previous process finished.

Setting

According to Paul and Elder (2016), critical thinking is a directed and measured assessment that produces interpretations, analyses, evaluations, conclusions, and explanations of factual, conceptual, methodological, critical, or contextual considerations on which the assessment is based. Frederick (2013) stated that critical thinking skills have two dimensions, namely the cognitive dimension and the affective disposition dimension. Critical thinking analysis begins with understanding critical thinking into goals and self-regulatory assessments that produce interpretations, analyses, evaluations, conclusions, explanations of evidence, conceptual, methodology, and criteria as contextual considerations (Adair and Jaeger 2016).

This study offers a unique setting with analytical characteristics that reveal facts about the post-truth phenomenon in the US during President Donald J. Trump's administration with various government system policies he controlled.

Collecting Technique and Data Analysis

The researchers tried to collect information data from a variety of literature. Therefore the data collection methods used were literature study, observation, and documentation techniques by tracing various written reference sources containing information about Donald J. Trump, post-truth, and the United States Government under his auspices to be investigated. The stages of data collection techniques also benefitted from journals or articles that have been previously done and analyzed by current other researchers. The steps in data analysis include 1) Identifying the problem; 2) Collecting and compiling the necessary information; 3) Evaluating data, facts, and statements; 4) Recognizing assumptions; 5) Observing the logical relationship between the problem and the answer; 6) Use of appropriate, clear, and distinctive language; 7) Finding ways to deal with problems; 8) Finding creative ways to deal with problems; 9) Conclusion/opinions from the issues or issues being discussed (Trisliatanto 2020).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Post-Truth: The US Information Dillema about Firehose of Falsehood

For some time, political and social panoramas will be marked by this post-truth climate, where objectivity and rationality give way to emotions or the willingness to uphold beliefs even though the facts show otherwise (Barton 2019). Post-truth is a term or climate that relates to or represents situations where personal beliefs and feelings are more influential in forming public opinion than objective facts. They choose to make social media a source of news. In 2016 it was released that 62 percent of the American population will use social media to stay up to date (Fransen and Levin 2017). Not everything on the platform is the truth. The internet has changed the way people communicate, not only in terms of speed but also by allowing individuals to find and integrate around other groups with biases similar to their own, thereby strengthening their beliefs. During this period, people influence the public by prioritizing sensationalism and driving emotionality (Guess, Nyhan, and Reifler 2020).

The public is more interested in the excitement of news, so they are more affected by news and things that touch feelings, such as making people feel happy, giving birth to sadness, disappointment, anger, etc. The public is more sensitive when touched a little emotionally, so all the pillars of the post-truth phenomenon have in common where personal beliefs, which for many people have undeniably gained strength in the face of logic and facts and have become established as assumptions shared by society confusing public opinion (Herbert, McCrisken and Wroe 2019). In this climate, new ways of relating to public opinion emerged, and alternative media became firmly established. Besides, Jacques, Islar, and Lord (2019) explained that the ease of access to information technology encourages individuals to create and broadcast their media

to emphasize the point of virtual logical dystopia through the relationship between ideology and reality.

Events can be invented from all thoughts, which are framed in such a way as to fit the ethos of the subject using the phenomenon. In other words, nothing happens except events that are perpetuated on social media networks bearing the idea of authority (Strömbäck *et al.* 2020). Traditional journalism methods are outdone by the emergence of new communication channels such as personal blogs, YouTube, instant messaging channels such as WhatsApp, Telegram, and Facebook Chat, or social media networks such as Snapchat or Twitter (Godler and Reich 2017). A simple Tweet can now mobilize the masses and have an unimaginable effect compared to a few years ago. The spread of fake news causes lying to become commonplace and, hence, the truth's relativization. The value or credibility of the media fades somewhat compared to personal opinion (Waisbord 2018).

The facts come second, while the 'how' a story is told takes precedence over the 'what' or content. Therefore, it is not about what happened but about listening, seeing, and reading a version of the facts closer to everyone's ideology. Corner (2017) stated that five novelties mark the post-truth era: 1) The wide range of access to information content thanks to the digitization of communication; 2) Thanks to the democratization of media and citizen journalism, the public can produce their information through social media thanks to the democratization of media and citizen journalism; 3) The public is more prone to receiving wrong information because of the development of communities of the same ideology; 4) Technology has confused the truth because virality is considered more important than information quality and ethics; 5) Truth no longer needs to be falsified or refuted, but the truth becomes secondary. The five novelties allow power-hungry politicians to manipulate social groups' negative prejudices by manipulating their emotions.

Post-truth attracts emotion and is more than just facts and evidence where fake news and conspiracy theories can go viral in a matter of hours, creating alternative realities and serving the purpose of propaganda that provides easy access to political communication and the influence on people's lives through post-truth discourse seems to have an impact positive towards political interests (Egelhofer and Lecheler 2019). In recent years, the increasing frequency of political leaders and the spread of alternative facts in online media have led to political movements that rely on emotional appeal or data-less opinion rather than fact-based policy discussions. Online social media reshapes controversial communication and mobilizes individuals to participate in social movement activities (Leeder 2019).

Rianto (2020) mentioned the main characteristics of post-truth politics, including 1) Stirring up society with emotional things; 2) Ignoring data and facts; 3) Prioritizing and neutralizing news that is not necessarily true or false; 4) Combining populist movements with conspiracy theories that still need to be tested again; 5) Mobilization of fictional narratives about certain figures or events; 6) Polishing dishonesty in building opinions strengthen the social position of certain figures, groups, or interests in society who are increasingly accustomed to civilization on television, online, android, and social media. In this case, the closeness and connection of certain identities are still a mainstay strategy for gaining votes and support. Presentation of valid and verified data is no longer a mature and main consideration by the community in making choices and decisions.

Tsfati *et al.* (2020) defined a moral panic as a situation when certain groups or conditions are presented as threats or deviations from the values adopted in society in the form of completely new threats or outdated threats that exist in developed forms. An action is categorized as a deviation or a threat that is not seen from the quality or consequences of that action. On the other hand, an action is already categorized as a deviation based on societal values. Politics that divide and weaken people's reasoning have been considered deviant behavior since colonial times. Even after the 2016 presidential election in the United States, a propaganda technique was revealed that was very effective in winning Donald Trump to become president of the United States (Utami 2019).

This propaganda technique is called the Firehose of Falsehood (FoF) technique (Nguyen 2017). This FoF technique can be interpreted literally, namely the tactic of bursts of lies allegedly used by the then-presidential candidate Donald Trump to win the US election in 2016 (Michaels, 2017). This Firehose of Falsehood (FoF) technique uses the spread of obvious and obvious lies as massive propaganda. According to Kowalski (2019), there are four main characteristics of the FoF technique, including the following:

1. High Volume and Multi-Channel, which means that it contains as many lies as possible, has a wide reach and touches many people at one time.
2. Rapid, Continuous, and Repetitive narratives of lies are repeated, non-stop, and massive. The more people who spread it, the more effective it will be. This character is reinforced by the presence of new digital media in addition to mainstream media and adopting the logic of advertising marketing.
3. No Commitment to Objective Reality, a lying narrative has no intention of being difficult to prove or reveal with an objective presentation of facts. The easier it is to dismantle, the more effective it is, then proceeds with another narrative of lies.
4. No Commitment to Consistency, the narrative of lies does not need to be compiled consistently and regularly. So there is no commitment to clarify or replace the narrative with the truth that was done afterward.

If put in the context of a democratic country, the FoF technique hurts the principles and values of democracy. Support for those using these techniques is formed through misinformation, defects in understanding, does not contain the truth or is intentionally misrepresented. The worst thing is to perpetuate power and maintain support. We will use the same method as gaining power: spread more, more massive, instantaneous, and sustainable information lies. This technique is a practice deviating from the democratic state system and made the United States feel a dilemma during the leadership of President Donald J. Trump.

Donald Trump's Political Leadership: Globalization, Relation, and Regulation?

The 2016 presidential election presented a fierce debate between pluralists and solidarity, especially on the leadership patterns of Donald J. Trump. The theory put forward by Barry Buzan, Hedley Bull, and Martin Wight has two pillars, namely pluralism and solidarity (Lamb and Neiheisel 2020). In addition, Rozell and Whitney (2018) state that pluralists emphasize the international order, non-intervention, and state sovereignty, while solidarity

emphasizes the struggle and transformation of the international system towards achieving ideals such as justice and human rights. Pluralism in US foreign policy means the United States is not actively seeking an enemy to crush. Sovereignty and non-intervention are the keywords in pluralism. Pluralists do not want the United States to be involved in the struggle for human values such as human rights and democracy.

Donald Trump was trying to draw the pendulum of US foreign policy toward pluralism with anti-immigration policies, building a giant wall on the Mexico-United States border, and withdrawing US and NATO resources (Vargo, Guo, and Amazeen 2017). Donald Trump was more focused on elaborating pluralism, such as opposition to alliance policies, opposition to humanitarian intervention, and strengthening cooperation with Russia. Surprisingly, Donald Trump's victory as president of the United States did not just create tension for political groups or currents that supported the discourse of globalization where hyper-globalists experience shocks that previously felt that the US would be a catalyst for driving globalization (Humprecht 2018).

However, discourse on de-globalization has emerged to decorate Obama's leadership transfer to Trump. Goodman (2017) defines that nativism as a term that describes Trump's leadership model, which positions the interests of the United States of America, which colors America First's discourse and is seen as a narrow and risky transaction politics. The America First discourse was a declaration and a message to the world community that globalization must struggle with the economic protection model designed by Trump's policies. On the other hand, China felt the presence of this discourse could slow down the pace of globalization. Obama's previous leadership through the Washington administration with an important power agenda and strategy in Asia. Obama's leadership in the second-period positions globalization was an important arena for increasing the complexity of global interdependence.

Information regarding the Pivot to Asia or Asia First was Obama's affirmation that the United States was too concentrated on activities as an actor providing world security through a counter-terrorism agenda but had missed the spectacular economic developments occurring in Asia, particularly in East Asia (including Southeast Asia). The United States had agreed to form mega-regional cooperation called TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership). A trade cooperation scheme that not only involved various countries but was an ambitious step to implement a more binding multilateral trade. One by one, Obama's policies deemed detrimental after 2007/2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC) began to be revised by Trump. The economic growth of the US experienced degradation in the GFC decade, while China experienced spectacular growth (see Figure 1).
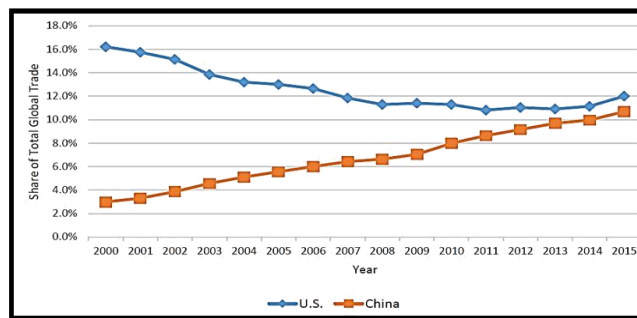

Figure 1: Global Trade Distribution Diagram: the US and China (Source: Walter and Tukachinsky 2019)

Amid globalization, Donald Trump's foreign policy took a protectionist political economy approach, a form of de-globalization. It also explored several international economic and political considerations as the main instrument to see the competition between the United States and China. The idea of globalization sparked various interpretive contestations that are ultimately banal. The popularity of this concept occurred along with several fundamental changes in the structure and behavior of society (Walter and Tukachinsky 2019). According to Schindler (2020), globalization is often understood simply as a reference to several significant changes that have occurred in the last four decades of the XX century, and this has influenced the use of the concept of globalization to be value-free and easily accepted by several scientific disciplines, especially international relations between countries.

Hanitzsch, Van Dalen, and Steindl (2018) said that globalization practically affects the relationship between territorial boundaries, the relationship of regional openness, and the relationship between regional change. Meanwhile, Gibson (2018) stated that globalization conceptually forms a network of interactions (socio-spatial) into five channels: subnational networks, national networks, international networks, transnational networks, and global networks. The basic concept of the definition of globalization is the compression of space and time so that globalization becomes a necessity and the periodization of the times where there is an intensification through the process of integration of people in various countries into world societies (Alder, Lagakos, and Ohanian 2014). The spectrum of globalization is viewed from two different frames. Proponents of globalization feel that the state's role has worn out and consider globalization the most important and relevant historical fact (Fluck 2017).

Barrera *et al.* (2020) argued that an interconnected global economy creates a boundless world characterized by a perfectly integrated international market. The nation-state becomes obsolete and dysfunctional in carrying out economic activities. It is seen that the state sometimes does not realize that its existence is undergoing a transformation, which was merely protecting the population and natural resources from external threats, becoming broader, namely protecting the environment, educating the workforce, and building comfortable and safe social infrastructure. On the other hand, skeptics believe that claims about globalization are overstated. This conversation does not have a standard of analysis or merely an ideological statement, so it is seen as jargon, myth, and empty rhetoric (Schwarz, Newman, and Leach 2016). Skeptics argue that while the state-centered Westphalian model still prevails, the government retains authority in economic and business activities through companies as extensions of the state.

In contrast, the term 'de-globalization' refers to reducing dependence and integration between interacting units in certain aspects such as technology, socio-culture, economy, trade, and even the political sphere on a global scale (Pickard 2016). These circles consider that globalization does not provide significant benefits. In the practice of globalization, a country's international status depends on its resources. The international community that speaks out in full support of globalization is experiencing concerns amid Trump's protectionist system. Trump's election, which requires a reevaluation of the future of globalization, should be the main debate in this paper. Rowe and Alexander (2017) emphasized that globalization which is seen as a continuation of the second wave of globalization is on the verge of regressing.

Unfortunately, the sustainability of globalization faces formidable obstacles, especially in the global economic sector (see Figure 2).
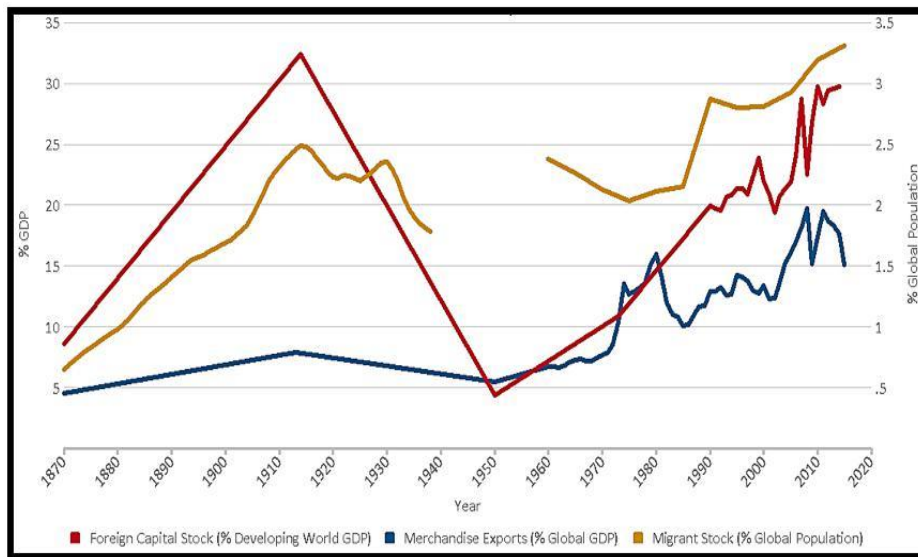

Figure 2: Globalization Trend 1870-2020 (Source: Rowe and Alexander 2017)

A country with a strong economy automatically becomes a superpower. This is related to the economic intervention carried out by strong economies against countries with weaker economies. The intervention was carried out through a funding assistance scheme for developing countries that had just embraced democracy. These countries are given access to the free market. However, what happens is that vulnerable countries will find it difficult to achieve their goals because the domination of the capitalist country controls the system. The skeptical approach refutes the assumptions of globalist supporters who call global economic conditions a state of interdependence (Walter *et al.* 2019). Walter *et al.* (2019) further argued that the power of internationalization depends on the state's power to ensure continued economic liberalization or vice versa, which means that the state is not a passive actor. However, the state is the architect of today's world model.

However, according to Shin and Thorson (2017), globalization does not damage or position the state. Nevertheless, instead, the state is transforming into available forms. The contradiction between countries and globalization is more due to the limitations of state theorization. A fairly similar view states that the exclusion of the state in globalization is naïve. Globalization, which is seen as nullifying the state, accepts that the interaction between countries increases in current conditions (Nelson and Taneja 2018). It is different from those who assess that the existence of a country in the globalization arena allows state entities to experience the evolution of governance forms and the location or locus of sovereignty, starting from tribal or tribal societies, then becoming city-states, nation-states, regional states to the final stage being global states (Lee 2018).

Trump's proclamation regarding revising a more protectionist economic cooperation framework caused turmoil and anxiety for economic actors and observers, especially for economists in the United States and outside the country. At present, globalization has

experienced a setback with introducing a new protectionism attitude. The phenomenon that takes place gives a big conclusion that the trend of globalization established by the United States is inseparable from the 2008 global financial crisis (Goodman 2017). This phenomenon then brings a new map for US policy in globalization. Trump's leadership seems to describe a 'saturation point' for globalization, even though Trump is known as a big businessman in the United States.

This view of globalization held by the United States public was in line with how the Trump administration's decision-making viewed globalization. In his inaugural address, Trump mentioned that he would put America First, in which the United States would prioritize its national interests above anything else. At this time, the idea of America First was realized in both economic and non-economic policies. From an economic point of view, globalization is not considered an optimal choice for the interests of the United States. The multilateral free trade paradigm is considered detrimental to the economic interests of the United States. According to Trump, the United States can no longer tolerate this chronic trade abuse and will not tolerate it (Kowalski 2019). This America First strategy was embodied by Trump's preference for bilateral trade deals over multilateral trade and protectionism policies over free trade.

This shift in the United States' attitude towards globalization was also evident on the non-economic front. From a political point of view, globalization is considered detrimental to the interests of the United States. Under the America First idea, the United States has taken actions such as withdrawing from the Paris climate accord. According to Trump, the Paris climate agreement was unfair to the United States and undermined the United States economy (Nguyen 2017). The United States also demanded a smaller role as a state entity in international affairs. The obligations and responsibilities that the 'global community' expects from the United States in a globalizing world are incompatible with compatible interests. They are seen as unwanted burdens incompatible with the 'America First' values.

One of the consequences of pessimism in addressing the phenomenon of globalization, especially related to the declining role of the state, is the discourse of de-globalization. According to Humprecht (2018), the discourse of globalization is necessary because it has happened before, namely in the era before World War I. At that time, especially around 1870 until World War I, the world changed similar to the conditions we experience today. With the mobility of trade, capital, and labor and labor, fast-growing communications via telegram across the Atlantic Ocean, exports of goods and capital flows reached their highest volume and could not be matched until the 1980s. However, all these advances seemed to stop when World War I broke out. Today, the United States can be an empire that has passed its peak. The budget deficit increases as the number of older people increases, so social security spending also increases. The ability to send troops abroad has also declined, with only 500,000 personnel, a very small number to win wars or small-scale conflicts involving the United States worldwide.

Trump would indeed make a foreign policy change referring to the consecutive nationalistic paradigm, or whether Trump was pursuing a pragmatic policy, by seeing the dependence of the United States on a very high axis of globalization and at the same time as hegemonic power (Herbert, McCrisken, and Wroe 2019). Trump proclaimed the discourse of America First or Make America Great Again. This discourse could be interpreted as an effort to bring the United States back to its former glory when framing post-World War globalization and

winning the Cold War. During his victory speech, Trump pointed out that he would use creative, talented, and intelligent people to build the United States for the good and benefit of all Americans (Lamb and Neiheiel 2020). According to Kowalski's (2019) view, Trump was trying to make the United States like three decades ago, when the United States was very influential globally, with Trump's policies being protectionist and in a unilateral direction. Today, Trump views the United States as the United States experiencing an economic setback caused by other countries taking advantage of the United States.

Likewise, Higgins (2016) argued that there would be a kind of rationalization of foreign policy adjusted to internal policies not to be too expansive from an economic point of view. US policies will tend to be more closed or introverted. The United States, under the leadership of Donald Trump, was scheduled to build a wall that divides the southern region of the United States, which becomes the barrier between the United States and Mexico. The wall to be built is 3,200 kilometers long. There are various constraints in this development especially related to the funding of this project. Even so, Trump insisted that he would continue to build the United States-Mexico barrier. The construction of this national border wall was due to the large number of immigrants from Mexico who entered the territory of the United States. Trump considered immigrants from Mexico, especially illegal immigrants, only to cause problems that could threaten national stability and security, especially in the southern region of the United States.

Immigrants were considered to be the masterminds of various detrimental crimes. Of course, this left an impact on higher competitiveness for American workers. Through his policies, Trump sought to prioritize the people of the United States during global competition and competition, especially with Mexican immigrants. For Trump, the issue of climate change was not a top priority for the USA. The issue of climate change was considered only to hinder the progress of the United States in the economic aspect (Fransen and Levin 2017). Some of the controversial decisions that Trump made by signing the withdrawal of the United States from the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Clean Power Plan (CPP) in 2017 and leaving the Paris Agreement or agreement (Fransen and Levin 2017). In the Obama era, some of these policies were one of the US strategic policies to show their position on the international stage on environmental issues, especially climate change. Even in the 2015 Paris Agreement, the United States, through President Obama, became the pioneer of the agreement. However, for Trump, this was not important; the USA had to be able to maximize its energy potential for the advancement of the country.

Important policies are also applied to the immigration sector. Trump prohibited several countries with a majority Muslim population from entering the territory of the United States, including Syrian refugees who spread to various countries to seek refuge (travel ban). This policy was closely related to the fight against terrorism. It can be understood that Trump was taking a more direct position to protect his country without any connection with any party or country in suppressing acts of terrorism occurring in the USA through immigration policies. Unlike the previous presidents of the USA, Bush and Barack Obama, they carried out more general military cooperation with various countries to combat terrorist acts (War on Terror). Trump was considered more concerned with the United States than countries outside the United States. One of Trump's most prominent policy concerns was the economic model that tended to be protectionist. Trump signed an executive order appealing to the United States in the Trans-

Pacific Partnership (TPP) partnership, which had been Obama's concern with the discourse on economic balancing in the Asia-Pacific.

On the second day, Trump confirmed his intention to renegotiate the North America Free Trade Area (NAFTA) with Canada and Mexico. This phenomenon then affirms the skeptics that Trump is merely rhetorical. Unfortunately, Trump pursued a foreign economic policy that tends to distort the facts about the position of the United States in the arena of globalization. Historically, the United States has been a driver and connoisseur of economic globalization, which has benefited from its economy's acceleration for more than 70 years. The US financial crisis wreaked havoc on domestic and global economic growth. However, the US must remember that the per capita income of everyone in the United States has grown, which was in the range of $15,000 to more than $50,000 between 1950 and 2015 (Goodman 2017). Matthew Goodman collects global economic phenomena in the form of major shortcomings over the past seven decades, namely that they no longer provide so broad a range of benefits.

Unfortunately, Trump was here and exacerbated the risk if he took protectionist policies. The policies pursued by Trump were the main characteristics of political economy realism, with political security and economic security as the main consideration. Wealth to power logic is the right path to explain the political dynamics so far. Several analyzes are quite prominent in paying attention to this approach, one of which is Trump's approach as a state development effort (statecraft) through an inseparable economic-political dimension. First, the United States is too big a burden on the world, especially international security, while other countries enjoy it. Second, the US is currently experiencing economic degradation where global trade based on multilateralism is considered detrimental.

The US Political System, Media, and Populace during President Donald Trump's Administration

Public participation becomes important when the democratic system in the USA implements direct elections with electoral voters (Grinberg *et al.* 2019). It aims to enable the realization of an orderly and peaceful transfer of government leadership. Community political ethics has a goal and consensus for the common good, namely members of society within the scope of the state. Political and ethical values contain respect for human dignity, striving for the common good for all groups, and the principle of solidarity (Bennett and Livingston 2018). Critical literature regarding the democratic party seems ideal for leading to a government that upholds state ethics where this polarized public situation is swiftly used to gain the greatest sympathy and support from the public (Barton 2019).

During the Trump campaign, fake news was allegedly being used, including accusing Obama and Hillary of being the founders of ISIS, the existence of around 30 million illegal immigrants and mass deportations, the American unemployment rate of 42%, and the presidential debate moderators were not neutral because they were supporters of the Democratic Party, and many more (Herbert, McCrisken, and Wroe 2019). After the lies were confirmed with facts, according to Grinberg *et al.* (2019), the Trump camp quickly called it not a lie but alternative facts. A study from PolitiFact found that 70% of Trump's statements were categorized as mostly false and untruth. For this 'achievement', Trump was awarded the Lie of the Year in 2015 and 2017 (Aldwairi and Alwahedi 2018).

To put the national interests above all else, the US rejected and ignored the demands of globalization. According to Guess, Nyhan, and Reifler (2020), the protectionism discourse often conveyed through Trump's leadership has taken place in Barack Obama's leadership, especially after the 2008 financial crisis. The United States' economic turbulence moved to disturb global economic growth. The crisis chain was gradually responded to by restoring the state's role as a total institution in solving the problems. The United States made efforts to save the domestic trade and financial sector with the involvement of a more active state before. The discourse on neoliberalism, which had often been the breath of globalization, became less enthusiastic because the state has begun to break through economic activities that previously left the market as the main actor (Iyengar and Massey 2019).

In economic and political integration conditions that are starting to grow among countries, the discourse of nationalism remains a luxury in itself for certain countries (McStay 2018). The momentum of the global crisis provided the fact that the state is needed again; this phenomenon becomes a new chapter for state entities that are transforming into available forms so that the globalization narrative must also be interpreted as driving the strengthening of countries that were not seen as important forces but present as new forces such as the spectacular rise of China (Lewandowsky, Ecker, and Cook 2017). The state is the most phenomenal political unit that tries to maintain its authority (state sovereignty), even though it is overshadowed by the power of actors other than the state.

The presence of the global financial crisis phenomenon and the strengthening of the state's role are two main challenges to globalization. In general, Trump's statecraft policy concerns that efforts to deepen the state's role (deep state) in responding to the economic-political competition must be considered in economic and political security (Michaels 2017). Trump's economic policies could affect the US status as an increasingly eroded superior nation. With a new set of protectionist agendas, business groups in the United States or major partners in the United States will feel that they are losing their protective power in the future because they have been guaranteed (carrot) from forms of economic cooperation before Trump's leadership.

The mass media need a sensational news theme to captivate viewers' attention. It will attract advertisers who have capital (Walter and Murphy 2018; Schindler 2020). Information that can generate polemics is interesting and can bring benefits (Reich and Barnoy 2019). Deviations can be present from novelty so that people feel they need moral boundaries to maintain the old order (*status quo*). In other cases, deviations can be present from values known for a long time and are recorded in society's collective memory but raised on the surface to become a scapegoat for certain situations. The media is the main intermediary in shaping people's attitudes and behavior. The media can actively compile and construct events or facts with a series of good and bad values, what is common and what is deviant.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study conclude that the post-truth of individual rationality is interrupted and led to online information instincts and tends not to seek information in support of their opinions but rather seek the truth of opinions that supports their own beliefs, especially in matters related to the leadership of US President Donald J. Trump and all sectors of the policies it implements including the irrelevance of facts, reality, and truth so that language is increasingly exploited by rhetoric without a clear foundation or reference. Nonsense is relatively simple in pre-post-truth, but now that it has evolved, post-truth has become a complex series of rhetorical strategies, including fake news that aims to blaspheme one another, attacks on fake news, and even the paradox of reality occurs. Dramatized and sensational versions of fake news of interest have flocked to trending topics in the media and public ratios because statements of political discourse are carefully counted to get public attention.

Political discourse in the post-truth era takes a central role in accommodating deliberate common sense blindness and drawing emotionally based arguments. Exploiting fear through hoaxes and fake news creates hatred towards different groups or minority groups. At this point, polarization occurs, and the public (audience) splits instantly. In this post-truth era, support is often based solely on personal emotional preference, not on factual truth in studying a phenomenon. The gap between conservative and progressive groups is widening. Each group is suspicious of the other. Prejudice has taken hold of both sides. The progressives see conservatives as stupid and stubborn, always afraid of new ideas. On the other hand, conservatives see progressives as cunning and like to use their intelligence to manipulate and do not appreciate traditional values. In fact, as a society, there is no clear separation between conservative and progressive.

The two groups unite to enrich each other's thoughts and insights. To create an open-minded community environment but still maintains order in dealing with one another. A democratic party is a joy and excitement that prioritizes the community's interests, entirely not a part of a particular group. The presidential election should be positioned as a contestation of ideas and ideals, not the spread of fear through lies, panic and noise, and pessimism. Although not always ideal, the polarization that leads to mutual hatred between groups will hinder the nation's progress. Actions that ultimately destroy the social order are considered deviant behavior. Even though it needs to be admitted, 'democracy' still has weaknesses, especially in the post-truth era, where the flood of information can influence the minds and awareness of the audience to make choices not based on empirical truth but rather on emotional preferences alone.

The findings of this study are to critically analyze news and information using a theory of truth in the form of correspondence truth, namely the truth that is achieved if statements are always accompanied by relevant facts (Riady 2018). A positivistic nature of science supports the truth of correspondence. Every truth must have facts that accompany and can be accessed by the five senses. Significant information is already available on social media and can be accessed anytime, anywhere, and by anybody. The information provided contains the truth; some are not verified. It becomes incorrect because the information is not based on data taken from facts in the field. Information is only based on personal feelings and beliefs. For example, there is

information on social media about the economic downturn due to the infrastructure improvement program.

There is no complete mention of the data that support the intent of the title it raises, which is then transmitted through mass media and social media. It is exacerbated by the public's behavior that accepts the information and uses it without fact-checking, correction, and skepticism. Hoax is claimed to be the basis of truth and is used as a basis for arguing with other parties. Hoax turns into facts that serve as the basis for attacking the arguments of his opponents. This is often used by campaign teams, spokespeople, and debate contestants in the presidential election contestation arena. There is a fact of the use of bursts of lies in the winning strategy for the presidential election. A person can be confident enough and find justification for an action that uses fear and hatred to power.

Recommendations and Limitation

Something has changed from the days before the advent of new digital media, especially post-industrial journalism. If previously news sources were centered on the mainstream media, now news sources, news producers, and news consumers are the public itself (Nasrullah 2012). The development of new media (digital and internet-based) and the birth of the citizen journalism movement are one of the bases to see new relations between the press and audiences. So far, the discourse on media and audiences, especially towards traditional media, has placed audiences in a passive position. The public only receives information from the press and does not have the freedom to produce knowledge. Public audiences are divided into passive audiences and active audiences. However, what is meant by an active audience is an audience that remains a consumer and not a producer of media content or news.

In this digital era, the real change is the ability of the media to become an interactive platform. Initially, panic moral amplification. It only seen as a public reaction to information in the mass media. Now that it has shifted, moral panic occurs when the public responds and interacts through digital mass media and social media from their devices. Regarding the logic of the information society, the public has various sources of information besides the mainstream mass media and social media or forums based on ideological closeness. The public should not constantly refer to the mass media for information. However, the public already considers the mass media a reliable source of information. From this attitude of society, the moral panic amplification is getting bigger.

People are already relying on information about facts through the media they consume. In this case, the media does not only act as a provider of information. An editorial and editorial frames made by the mass media are another form of mass media's function as a reference for interpreting values in society which becomes the basis for the public to act on social reality. As the fourth pillar of a democratic country, the media (especially the mainstream mass media) have a role in realizing a civilized and ethical society. The media have long served as agents of moral judgment according to their rights. Reports about certain 'reality' and 'truth' can inevitably generate attention, anxiety, anger, or panic (Cohen 1972).

The moral panic that occurs in the community due to the transmission of messages by the mass media can get over with solutions for peaceful journalism. With the central role of the

media in this democratic country, the public wants the mass media to have a big share in the issue of tolerance to anticipate the division of the nation. Previously, journalists only reported sensations without essence, unbalanced news, minimal verification, and looking safe from press abuse and bias against certain parties, so the concept of peaceful journalism expected the opposite. The alignment issue is important because it will encourage the media to present content amplifying moral panic, propaganda, disinformation, and misinformation.

The press's responsibility to the public comes first. Instead of applying market logic, the mass media played an active role in the vortex of the conflict. This is because the parties involved in the media have the same political, cultural, or ideological understanding as to the parties in conflict. This logic leads to distorted news production. Media independence is fading. The mass media will process and manipulate facts to lead the public to the opinion that the media hopes about the political uproar. The media will launch a way for the public to be lulled by and assume that the real truth about the conflict is what is presented in the media. The media will take down opponents they think are untrue.

COMPLIANCE WITH ETHICAL STANDARDS

Statement of human rights:
This article does not contain any studies with human participants performed by any authors.

Statement on the welfare of animals:
This article does not contain any studies with animals performed by any authors.

Informed consent:
Not applicable.

REFERENCES

1. Adair, D. & Jaeger, M. 2016. "Incorporating Critical Thinking into an Engineering Undergraduate Learning". *Environment, 5*(2), 23-39. DOI: http://doi.org/10.5430/ijhe.v5n2p23.

2. Alder, S., Lagakos, D. & Ohanian, L. 2014. "The Decline of the USA Rust Belt: A Macroeconomic Analysis". *Center for Quantitative Economic Research: Working Paper Series,14*(5), 1-40.

3. Al-Dahdouh, A. A., Osório, A. J. & Caires, S. 2015. "Understanding Knowledge Network, Learning, and Connectivism". *International Journal of Instructional Technology and Distance Learning, 12*(10), 3-21.

4. Aldwairi, M. & Alwahedi, A. 2018. "Detecting Fake News in Social Media Networks" *Procedia: Computer Science, 141*, 215-222. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.procs.2018.10.171

5. Alimi, M. Y. 2019. "Theorizing Internet, Religion and Post Truth: An Article Review". *Komunitas: International Journal of Indonesian Society and Culture, 11*(2), 207-222. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.15294/komunitas. v11i2.21860

6. Allcott, H. & Gentzkow, M. 2017. "Social Media And Fake News In The 2016 Election". *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 31*(2), 211-236.

7. Barrera, O., Guriev, S., Henry, E. & Zhuravskaya, E. 2020. "Facts, Alternatives Facts, Alternative   Facts Checking In Times of Post-Truth Politics". *Journal of Public Economics, 182*, 1-7. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2019.104123

8. Barton, C. C. 2019. "Critical Literacy In The Post-Truth Media Landscape". *Policy Futures in Education, 17*(8), 1024-1036. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1478210319831569

9. Bennett, W. L. & Livingston, S. 2018. "The Disinformation Order: Disruptive Communication and Decline Of Democratic Institutions". *European Journal of Communication, 33*(2), 122-139. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0267323118760317

10. Berger, A. A. 2011. "Media And Communication Research Methods: An Introduction To Qualitative Approaches (2nd Ed.)". Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

11. Carlson, M. 2015. "Metajournalistic Discourse and the Meanings Of Journalism: Definitional Control, Boundary Work, And Legitimation". *Communication Theory, 26*(4), 349-368. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/comt.12088

12. Clarke, A. E. 2003. "Situational Analyses: Grounded Theory Mapping After The Postmodern Turn". *Symbolic interaction, 26*(4), 553-576.

13. Clarke, A. E., Friese, C., & Washburn, R. 2016. "Situational Analysis in Practice: Mapping Research with Grounded Theory". Routledge.

14. Corner, J. 2017. "Fake News, Post-Truth and Media-Political Change. Media, Culture & Society". *1*(8), 1-2.

15. Creswell, J. W. (2017). "Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches". London: Sage Publications.

16. Egelhofer, J. L. & Lecheler, S. 2019. "Fake News As A Two Dimensional Phenomenon:

17. A Framework and Research Agenda". *Annals of the International Communication Association, 43*(2),97-116. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2019.1602782

18. Fluck, M. 2017. "The Concept Of Truth In International Relations Theory: Critical Thought Beyond Post-Positivism". United Kingdom: Springer Nature, Palgrave Macmillan. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55033-0

19. Fransen, T. & Levin, K. 2017. "The Climate Effect of The Trump's Administration". New York: InterPress Service News Agency.

20. Frederick, R. 2013. "Encouraging Critical Thinking in Distance Learning: Ensuring Challenging Intellectual Programs". *Information Age Publishing, 10*(2), 131-145.

21. Gibson, T. A. 2018. "The Post-Truth Double-Helix: Reflexivity and Mistrust In Local Politics". *International Journal of Communication, 12*(0), 19-28.

22. Godler, Y. & Reich, Z. 2017. "Journalistic Evidence: Cross-Verification As A Constituent Of Mediated Knowledge". Journalistic Evidence: Cross-Verification as a Constituent of Mediated Knowledge. *Journalism, 18*(5), 558-574. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1464884915620268

23. Goodman, M. P. 2017. "Troubling Start For Trump's Economic Statecraft". *CSIS: Global Economics Monthly, 6*(1), 34-44.

24. Grinberg, N., Joseph, K., Friedland, L., Swire-Thompson, B. & Lazer, D. 2019. "Fake News On Twitter During The 2016 Us Presidential Election". *Science, 363*(6425), 374-378. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1126/science.aau2706

25. Guess, A. M., Nyhan, B. & Reifler, J. 2020. "Exposure to Untrustworthy Websites in The 2016 Us Election". *Nature Human Behaviour*, 1-9. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-0833-x

26. Hanitzsch, T., Van Dalen, A. & Steindl, N. 2018. "Caught In The Nexus: A Comparative And Longitudinal Analysis Of Public Trust In The Press". *The International Journal of Press/Politics,23*(1), 3-23. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1940161217740695

27. Herbert, J., McCrisken, T. & Wroe, A. 2019. "The Ordinary Presidency of Donald J. Trump". Switzerland: Springer Nature, Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-03004943-0

28. Higgins, K. 2016. "Post-Truth: A Guide for the Perplexed". *Nature News, 540*(7631), 9-15. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1038/540009a

29. Humprecht, E. 2018. "Where Fakenews Flourishes: A Comparison Across Four Western Democracies". *Information, Communication & Society*, 1-16. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2018.147424

30. Iyengar, S. & Massey, D. S. 2019. "Scientific Communication in a Post-Truth Society". *PNAS: Social Science, 116*(16), 7656-7661.

31. Jacques, C., Islar, M. & Lord, G. 2019. "Post-Truth: Hegemony on Social Media and Implications for Sustainability Communication". *Sustainability, 11*, 1-16. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.3390/su11072120

32. Kowalski, J. 2019. "Reading Donald Trump: A Parallax View of the Campaign and Early Presidency". Switzerland: Springer Nature, Palgrave Macmillan. DOIhttps://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978.3.319.93179.1

33. Lamb, C. M. & Neiheisel, J. C. 2020. "Presidential Leadership and the Trump Presidency Executive Power and Democratic Government". Switzerland: Springer Nature, Palgrave Macmillan.DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3.030.18979.2

34. Lecheler, S. & Kruikemeier, S. 2016. "Re-Evaluating Journalistic Routines in A Digital Age: A Review Of Research On The Use Of Online Sources". *New Media & Society, 18*(1), 156-171. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1461444815600412

35. Lee, S. C. 2018. "Boundary-Breaking Disposition against Post-Truth: Five Big Questions for Religious Education". *Religions, 9*(10). DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.3390/rel9100316

36. Leeder, C. 2019. "How College Students Evaluate And Share 'Fake News' Stories". *Library and Information Science Research, 41*(3), 10-16. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.lisr.2019.100967

37. Lewandowsky, S., Ecker, U. K. H., & Cook, J. 2017. "Beyond Misinformation: Understanding and Coping With the Post-Truth". *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition, 6*(4),353-369. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jarmac.2017.07.008

38. McStay, A. 2018. "Fake News and the Economy of Emotions: Problems, Causes, Solutions". *Digital Journalism, 6*(2), 154-175. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1345645

39. Michaels, J. D. 2017. "Trump and the "Deep State": The Government Strikes Back". *Foreign Affairs,96*(5), 52-56.

40. Nelson, J. L. & Taneja, H. 2018. "The Small, Disloyal Fake News Audience: The Role of Audience Availability in Fake News Consumption". *New Media & Society, 20*(10), 3720–3737. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1461444818758715

41. Nguyen, H. 2017. "Donald J. Trump And Asia: From Campaign to Government". *Asian Affairs: An American Review, 44*(4), 125-141.

42. Park, K. & Rim, H. 2019. "Social Media Hoaxes, Political Ideology, and the Role of Issue Confidence". *Telematics and Informatics, 36*, 1-11. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tele.2018.11.001

43. Paul, R. & Elder, L. 2016. "Critical Thinking Concepts & Tools". California: The Foundation for Critical Thinking.

44. Pickard, V. 2016. "Media Failures in the Age of Trump". *The Political Economy of Communication,4*(2), 74-80. Retrieved from: http://polecom.org/index.php/polecom/article/viewFile/74/264

45. Reich, Z. & Barnoy, A. 2019. "Disagreements As a Form of Knowledge: How Journalists Address Day To Day Conflicts Between Sources". *Journalism, 7*(1). 84-91. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1464884918825007

46. Rianto, P. 2020. "When Lying Becomes On Ordinary Thing: Communication Ethics In The Post Truth Era". *Indonesia Communication Journal, 9*(1), 57-63.

47. Rowe, S. & Alexander, N. 2017. "On Post-Truth, Fake News, And Trust". *NutritionCommunications, 52*(4), 179-182.

48. Rozell, M. J. & Whitney, G. 2018. "Religion and the American Presidency (3ʳᵈ Ed.)". Switzerland: Springer Nature, Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978.3.319.62175.3

49. Schindler, S. 2020. "The Task of Critique in Times of Post-Truth Politics". *Review of InternationalStudies, 46*(3), 376-394. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0260210520000091

50. Schwarz, N., Newman, E. & Leach, W. 2016. "Making the Truth Stick & Myths Fade: Lessons from Cognitive Psychology". *Behavioral Science & Policy, 2*(1), 85-95. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/bsp.2016.0009

51. Shin, J. & Thorson, K. 2017. "Partisan Selective Sharing: The Biased Diffusion of Fact-Checking Messages On Social Media". *Journal of Communication, 67*(2), 233-255. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/jcom.2017.67.issue-2

52. Strömbäck, J., Tsfati, Y., Boomgaarden, H., Damstra, A., Lindgren, E., Vliegenthart, R. & Lindholm,T. 2020. "News Media Trust and Its Impact On Media Use: Toward a Framework For Future Research". *Annals of the International Communication Association, 44*(2), 1-18.https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2020.1755338

53. Tandoc, E. C., Lim, D. & Ling, R. 2019. "Diffusion Of Disinformation: How Social Media Users Respond To Fake News And Why". *Journalism, 21*(3), 381-398. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1464884919868325

54. Tandoc, E. C. J., Lim, Z. W. & Ling, R. 2018. "Defining 'Fake News': A Typology of Scholarly Definitions". *Digital Journalism, 6*(2), 137-153. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1360143

55. Trisliatanto, D. A. 2020. "Research Methodology: A Complete Guide to Research with Ease". Yogyakarta: ANDI Publisher.

56. Tsfati, Y., Boomgaarden, H. G., StrömbäcK, J., Vliegenthart, R., Damstra, A. & Kindgren, 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. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2020.1759443

57. Utami, P. 2019. "Hoax in Modern Politics". *Journal of Social Science and Political Science, 22*(2),85-93. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.22146/jsp.34614

58. Vargo, C. J., Guo, L. & Amazeen, M. A. 2017. "The Agenda-Setting Power of Fake News: A Big Data Analysis of the Online Media Landscape from 2014 To 2016". *New Media & Society, 20*(5),2028-2049. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1461444817712086

59. Waisbord, S. 2018. "Truth Is What Happens To News: On Journalism, Fake News, and Post-Truth". *Journalism Studies, 19*(13), 1866-1878. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2018.1492881

60. Walter, N., Cohen, J., Holbert, R. L. & Morag, Y. 2019. "Fact-Checking: A Meta-Analysis of What Works and For Whom". *Political Communication*, 1-26. DOI:https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2019.1668894

61. Walter, N. & Murphy, S. T. 2018. "How to Unring the Bell: A Meta-Analytic Approach to Correction of Misinformation". *Communication Monographs, 85*(3), 423-441. DOI:https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2018.1467564

62. Walter, N. & Tukachinsky, R. 2019. "A Meta-Analytic Examination of The Continued Influence of Misinformation In The Face Of Correction: How Powerful Is It, Why Does It Happen, And How To Stop It?".*Communication Research*, 36-50. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093650219854600