ONLINE MEDIA DISCOURSE ANALYSIS RELATED TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RECAPITULATION INFORMATION SYSTEM (SIREKAP) FOR THE 2024 GENERAL ELECTION

Dimas Subekti

Email: dimassubekti05@unja.ac.id

*corresponding author
E-mail: dimassubekti05@unja.ac.id

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explain the discourse in online media related to the implementation of Sirekap in the 2024 elections. This research uses a qualitative method with a case study approach. The findings in this study explain that there are four crucial issues in the news in online media related to the problem of using Sirekap by the KPU in the 2024 elections, namely photo conversion errors of vote counting result documents, KPPS officers have difficulty accessing, application security and alleged election fraud. From the perspective of online media coverage, Tempo.co Kompas.com and Detiknews.com were found to be massively reporting on KPPS officers having difficulty accessing. Meanwhile, CNNIndonesia online media has two dominant issues in its news, namely the problem of KPSS having difficulty accessing the Sirekap application and alleged election fraud. Furthermore, conversations in online media are still very dominant in discussing election results in the context of the vote data entered in Sirekap and the performance of the KPU and KPPS. Then, the network of actors discussed in the online media is the KPU and Bawaslu as election organizers. Then, Anies Baswedan and the head of campaign team 01 as a candidate pair competing in the 2024 election. Furthermore, Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD as candidate pair number 3 who also competed in the 2024 elections. Likewise, actors outside election participants, namely political observers, information technology experts and netizens.

Keywords: Online media, Sirekap, 2024 General election, Indonesia
mengakses, keamanan aplikasi, dan dugaan kecurangan pemilu. Dari sisi pemberitaan media online, Tempo.co Kompas.com dan Detiknews.com ditemukan secara masif memberitakan petugas KPPS kesulitan mengakses. Sementara itu, media online CNNIndonesia memiliki dua isu yang dominan dalam pemberitaannya, yaitu masalah KPSS yang kesulitan mengakses aplikasi Sirekap dan dugaan kecurangan pemilu. Lebih lanjut, perbincangan di media online masih sangat dominan membahas hasil pemilu dalam konteks data suara yang masuk di Sirekap dan kinerja KPU dan KPPS. Kemudian, jaringan aktor yang dibicarakan di media online adalah KPU dan Bawaslu sebagai penyelenggara pemilu. Kemudian, Anies Baswedan dan ketua tim kampanye 01 sebagai pasangan calon yang berlaga di pemilu 2024. Selanjutnya, Ganjar Pranowo dan Mahfud MD sebagai pasangan calon nomor urut 3 yang juga ikut berkompetisi di Pemilu 2024. Begitu juga dengan aktor di luar peserta pemilu, yakni pengamat politik, pakar teknologi informasi dan netizen.

Kata Kunci: Media Online, Sirekap, Pemilu 2024, Indonesia

INTRODUCTION
This research is motivated by the events that occurred at the vote counting stage in the 2024 election which was carried out by the General Election Commission using the Recapitulation Information System (Sirekap). The Sirekap application functions to document the vote count form at the polling station (TPS) and send it to the next level. The KPU website states that Sirekap is an effort to realize the principles of openness in the 2024 elections, as stipulated in the law. The Sirekap system will record the authentic data of the C.Results document at the polling station, thus minimizing data entry errors, facilitating the recapitulation process in sub-districts, districts/cities, provinces and nationally, and presenting information on the results of vote counting at polling stations to the public in less time(Kpu.go.id, 2024).

Those who can enter or log in to the web version of Sirekap are only members of the KPU and the Adhoc Body. Sirekap uses a combined method of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) and Optical Mark Recognition (OMR). Both are based on the development of artificial intelligence (AI) technology. The system can recognize patterns and handwriting on physical paper forms. Then, the system will convert it into numerical data digitally. The data from polling stations recorded by the Sirekap application is then sent to perform vote counting. The Sirekap application can be accessed by the Voting Organizing Group (KPPS) through Android and the website, then the data will be sent directly to the KPU(Savitri, 2024).

However, on the voting day, many KPPS admitted that they had problems accessing Sirekap. "Many complained that Sirekap could not be accessed, and could not even be used on the voting day. Finally,
the KPPS decided to upload the results to Google Drive. The number of valid votes at polling stations is also recorded higher than the number of voters per polling station," explained Nurul Amalia Salabi, Program Officer of the Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem) Foundation (Tasya, 2024).

Every upload of KPPS voting results will go through a verification process before being displayed in the election results diagram on the KPU website. However, due to the accumulation of unverified data, some data is still hampered to be displayed, so KPU closed the temporary election results diagram. This had become a public discussion on platform X regarding Sirekap's technical problems. The data states that 85% of negative sentiments towards Sirekap were conveyed by the public in 90,380 thousand tweets. Sirekap's weaknesses certainly affect public trust in the KPU. Netizens criticized Sirekap for errors in data conversion, causing discrepancies in the data displayed. There were also criticisms about alleged system fraud, application shortcomings, criticism of the KPU, non-transparency, criticism of data integrity, criticism of security, and some personal experiences related to Sirekap. Furthermore, according to CfDS researcher Iradat Wirid, the socialization of Sirekap has not been well communicated to the public. The provisional election results displayed on the KPU website did not explain that the tally was not the final result. Sirekap issues were also not responded well by the KPU. As a result, public uproar arose and led to the emergence of negative sentiments towards the KPU itself (Tasya, 2024).

Based on this explanation, it becomes very important to discuss more deeply the discourse in digital media related to the application of Sirekap by the KPU in the 2024 elections with the accompanying problems. Although Sirekap is not the basis related to the official determination of election results. However, this is one form of transparency offered by the KPU in the election is by using the Sirekap technology. This is because one of the important aspects of assessing election integrity is the principle of transparency (Huda et al., 2023; Widhiasthini, 2022).

Furthermore, with the development of increasingly advanced technology, the dissemination of information to the public no longer only relies on newspapers, radio, or television, but also online or internet-based technology (Argawidyanti & Sari, 2023). According to Romli (2018), online media is defined as media that is accessed online through a website. Online media is also an internet-based journalistic product that is produced and disseminated online. Online media plays an important role in the implementation of democracy in Indonesia,
both as a channel for the government to communicate its policies and programs to the public and as a channel for the public to convey their messages and aspirations to the government and other parties (Sukmayadi, 2019).

Then, there are several previous studies that are relevant to the topic of this research. Research from Fitriyah et al., (2022) explains the challenges and obstacles for the General Election Commission (KPU) to implement recapitulation technology (Sirekap) in the 2024 elections. This study found that the challenges and obstacles in preparing for the use of this technology were not only caused by the lack of laws and regulations and the lack of internet network coverage, but also due to the complexity of the 2024 Election and the use of an open-list proportional representation system in the election of members of the House of Representatives and the Regional House of Representatives.

Furthermore, research from Haryadi et al., (2022) explains the use of information technology in organizing the 2020 Governor, Regent, Mayor Elections in Indonesia which were held in 270 regions. The findings of this study are that the use of Sirekap has benefits in maintaining the principles of transparency and integrity of election organizers. The use of ICT in general elections plays a role in increasing the integrity of election organizers and increasing public confidence in election results. The General Election Commission (KPU) of the Republic of Indonesia innovated through the Sirekap application, a form of transparency in the implementation of vote counting and recapitulation of vote counting results carried out in stages starting from the TPS level to the Regency / City / Provincial KPU. Then, research from Indriyani & Meyer, (2023) also explains the Use of Information Technology in Counting (Situng) and Recapitulating the 2024 Election Votes.

Based on the explanation of the previous studies, the focus of the discussion can be grouped into two, namely the use of Sirekap technology and the challenges and obstacles in the application of Sirekap. However, there is no comprehensive research focusing on the discourse in digital media related to the implementation of Sirekap. Therefore, this research offers novelty on that point. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explain the discourse in online media related to the implementation of Sirekap in the 2024 elections.

METHODS

This research uses qualitative methods Creswell, (2016) with a case study approach (Flyvbjerg, 2011). The case study of this research is the use of the
Recapitulation Information System (Sirekap) by the General Election Commission (KPU) in the 2024 elections. Then, this research uses literature study data collection techniques. Therefore, the main data source of this research comes from credible and reputable online news, namely Kompas.com, liputan6.com, detiknews.com, tempo.co, and cnnindonesia (table 1). The online news used in this study are national mainstream media that are considered the best based on a similar web survey on February 14, 2024 (Similarweb.com, 2024).

Tabel 1. Online News Site Names, News Counts by Keyword, and Site Ranking by Similar Web

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Website berita online</th>
<th>Jml. berita</th>
<th>Peringkat situs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kompas.com</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Detiknews.com</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cnnindonesia</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Liputan6.com</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tempo.co</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then, the data analysis technique in this study used Nvivo 12 plus software (Edhlund & McDougall, 2018). The features used in Nvivo 12 plus are crosstab query, word frequency and project maps. The crosstab query feature is used to analyze and visualize data regarding the comparison of news intensity in online media related to Sirekap. Then, word frequency is more about analyzing and visualizing data about the most frequently mentioned topics. Furthermore, project maps are used to map the actors involved in the conversation about the Sirekap issue in online media. Figure 1 shows the flow of this research.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Comparison of News Coverage and the Dominance of Issue Dissemination in Online Media

Online news media that can access information quickly makes it easier for audiences to receive the latest information and actively participate in responding to the news. Online news in the delivery of information is not limited to space and time, so that the information conveyed can be known by audiences in various places freely (Davis Mersey et al., 2010; Dekker et al., 2016). This is one of the reasons the information about the sirekap problem at that time and became a very massive conversation.
The data in figure 2 shows that there are four crucial issues in the news in online media related to the problem of using Sirekap by the KPU in the 2024 elections, namely photo conversion errors of vote counting result documents, KPPS officers have difficulty accessing, application security and alleged election fraud. These four main issues are indeed being discussed by various parties in the online media.

Then, figure 2 shows a comparison of several online media reporting on these four issues. Tempo.co apparently massively reported about KPPS officers having difficulty accessing from Sirekap, which amounted to 26.26%. Likewise, online media Kompas.com and Detiknews.com dominantly reported the same issue as Tempo.co regarding the problem of KPPS officers who had difficulty accessing the Sirekap application with figures of 40% and 38.89%. Meanwhile, empirically, a problem was found where KPPS officers experienced difficulties in accessing the Sirekap system both before voting and during the data input process after voting into the Sirekap system. The causes are deficiencies in system performance, access systems, registration and training of KPPS officers in using the Sirekap system (Eko, 2024).

Meanwhile, CNNIndonesia has two dominant issues in its news coverage, namely the problem of KPSS having difficulty accessing the Sirekap application and allegations of election fraud with each having a figure of 36.36%. This illustrates that Sirekap is not just a technical problem by election officials, but is also closely related to the decline in public trust. Social
media analyst organization Drone Emprit said that the conversation about Sirekap was the highest topic discussed by netizens on social media on Friday (16/02). The conversation that emerged was related to Sirekap's weaknesses. One of them was the mistake in inputting the number of votes at a polling station in Lampung, which caused a stir and reduced trust in the KPU's Sirekap. "The sentiment of conversations related to Sirekap on X is observed to be very negative, as much as 85% and positive only 7%," said Drone Emprit founder Ismail Fahmi. The negative narrative, he continued, developed into allegations of fraud. "Warganet suspects that there is an element of deliberation in changing the data in Sirekap to favor certain candidate pairs. This raises doubts about the legitimacy of the election organizers"(Muhamad, 2024).

Meanwhile, online media liputan6.com has a higher intensity in reporting the issue of application security, which is 35.71%. This was also dominantly discussed by netizens who were worried about the security of the Sirekap application. There is a potential backdoor or security gap that can be exploited by hackers. The reason is the lack of attention to security aspects in application development. The type of testing that may not be passed properly is Security Testing which checks the vulnerability and security of the application against attacks. Because Sirekap has been and is being used, it is important for the KPU to immediately audit and fix the above problems by making improvements to the program code, increasing server specifications, adding resources, and closing security gaps to ensure that Sirekap functions properly and is reliable in the election process(Eko, 2024).

Each media has its own style in writing the news, given that the media is not a free channel but has constructed the news in such a way. The same event can be treated differently by the media. Some events are reported, some are not reported, some aspects are highlighted and some aspects are omitted. All this leads to a concept called framing. Framing is one way of how events are presented by the media by emphasizing certain parts, accentuating certain aspects, and raising certain ways of telling a reality or event so that it is easily remembered by the audience (Mulyana, 2002).

Meanwhile, Schudson, (2002) asserts that news is the result of the creation of social values, which always involves certain perspectives and elements, so that the understanding of existing reality depends on how the facts are perceived and interpreted. Therefore, news can be understood as the result of information processing by considering certain perspectives. The media also contributes to
the formation of the reality depicted in the news (Muslim, 2013).

**Figure 3.** Word frequency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suara</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kpu</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasil</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemilu</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kpps</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunak</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perangkat</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penghitung</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tps</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pengujian</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aplikasi</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petugas</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sistem</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Testing</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dari</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keamanan</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2024</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salah</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formulir</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memastikan</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masalah</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the data in figure 3 and table 2, it shows that the most frequently mentioned topics related to Sirekap issues in online media are votes, KPU, election results, KPPS and so on. This illustrates that conversations in online media are still very dominant in discussing election results in the context of the vote data included in Sirekap. The Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu) highlighted the difference in vote counting data at polling stations and in the KPU Sirekap application. Bawaslu considers the data input error to be unnatural. Sirekap, which was suspected of being marked up, went viral on X social media. There is different data between the results of the votes at the polling stations and the results in the KPU Sirekap application. Bawaslu RI Chairman Rahmat Bagja opened his voice regarding the viral data input error. Bagja ensures that the valid vote count is still based on manual and tiered vote counting (Muliawati, 2024).

The dominance of topics discussed in online media related to Sirekap is also related to the performance of the KPU and KPPS. Both are indeed very related, the KPU as the election organizer has a policy to implement Sirekap for the 2024 elections. Meanwhile, KPPS who work in the field use Sirekap directly. Therefore, automatically if this technology is problematic, the public will question the performance of the election organizers or even question their neutrality. The General Election Commission (KPU) RI said it would evaluate the Recapitulation and Information System (Sirekap) application.
users, in this case the voting organizer group (KPPS) officers. KPU RI Commissioner Betty Epsilon Idroos, argued that the Sirekap system will depend heavily on its users, namely KPPS. Betty said the emergence of anomalous numbers in Sirekap was because one of the KPPS officers did not adjust the actual numbers. So that Sirekap data will not be compatible in one electoral district (Wijayaatmaja, 2024).

The weakness of the organizing officers at the lower level is recognized by the KPU, but it has become an iceberg phenomenon for the implementation of elections so far. In a number of regions that have always faced problems from year to year, generally the KPPS officers are elders and have carried out the task. So that when faced with the use of information technology and new counting procedures in recapitulation, they have difficulty in using it. Against organizing officers who commit violations in the implementation of the election.

Furthermore, the dominance of discussion topics in online media related to Sirekap illustrates what is conveyed by (Amundsen, 2022; Muir et al., 2021) which explains that Online Media has advantages, namely up to date information, an easier and simpler process of presenting information and news. Then, information is real time, can present information and news as events take place where information can be sent directly to the editorial desk. The information is practical, accessible anywhere and anytime.

**Actor Networks in Online Media Conversations**

The existence of modernity space and time are disconnected, which then space is slowly separated from place (Jalil, 2019). This statement can be said that humans create a new social system, where they can interact without having to be in one place, at the same time (Searle, 2010). Through the internet / new media all these things become very easy to do. In new media, there are many websites that we can browse according to our needs, we can search for our favorite information, interact with anyone, and do various other things. As users in the media, of course, we sometimes act as ourselves, or as an actor, with certain goals (Sundar & Limperos, 2013).

An actor is something that carries out an action. In achieving a goal, the actor certainly does not walk alone, there are supporting actors who also play a role in it. The role is not only from human participation, but also things such as knowledge, and technology that are needed to help. Network, can be interpreted as a series that is connected to one another. Thus, one and the other are interrelated, and
inseparable. In carrying out an action, there are certainly things that also influence it. Figure 4 displays data on the network of actors in online media conversations related to Sirekap.

Figure 4 shows data on the network of actors who talk about Sirekap in online media. Some of these actors are the KPU and Bawaslu as election organizers. Then, Anies Baswedan and the head of campaign team 01 as a candidate pair competing in the 2024 election. Furthermore, Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD as candidate pair number 3 who also competed in the 2024 elections. Likewise, actors outside election participants, namely political observers, information technology experts and netizens.

The network shows that election participants, both candidate pairs number 01 and 03, are also discussing sirekap and are connected to the KPU and Bawaslu. The urge to audit Sirekap came from the Anies Baswedan-Muhammad Iskandar (Amin) National Team (Timnas) and the Ganja Pranowo-Mahfud MD National Winning Team (TPN). Member of the Expert Council of the Amin National Team, Bambang Widjojanto, considers that the
KPU's apology must be shown with concrete actions. One of them is opening the KPU IT system regarding vote counting to the teams of each presidential candidate pair (presidential candidate) and vice presidential candidate (vice presidential candidate). He said that the KPU should really maintain its integrity. If not, the public will doubt the KPU’s counting system. Meanwhile, TPN Media Channel Deputy Karaniya Dharmasaputra urged the KPU to involve independent information technology experts to audit the investigation and reveal the source of data entry errors through the Sirekap application. According to him, an investigation is needed after differences were found in the conversion of vote count results and forms in many polling stations published on Sirekap (Vitorio Mantalean, 2024).

Then, actors who discussed the sirekap problem were political observers and digital technology experts. Executive Director of the Network for Democracy and Electoral Integrity (Netgrit) Hadar Nafis Gumay assessed that Sirekap was not ripe to be used as a tool in the 2024 elections. He said, Sirekap had been used as a tool in the 2020 simultaneous regional head elections (pilkada). Although the scale of the elections is different from the 2024 elections, which incidentally has higher complexity, the KPU should be able to take advantage of this moment as learning material. According to Hadar, the KPU should have time to improve Sirekap during the break between the 2020 simultaneous regional elections and the 2024 elections. However, he suspects that the effort was not carried out optimally, even though the time and budget to make improvements were said to be available (Ramadhan, 2024).

Likewise, Al Azhar University political observer Ujang Komarudin assessed that the Recapitulation Information System (Sirekap) of the General Election Commission (KPU) of the Republic of Indonesia must be thoroughly audited and investigated. Ujang assessed that the Sirekap problem was not the first time this had happened, causing public question marks. This incident is considered to have an impact on the legitimacy of the election results at the end of the calculation later. Previously, the KPU decided to stop displaying graphs or diagrams of vote acquisition from Sirekap's reading of form C. The results of counting at polling stations (TPS). This discontinuation was due to the high level of reading errors by Sirekap, which caused the vote acquisition data to not match the results at the polling stations and caused public misunderstanding (Singgih Wiryono, 2024).

Then, Dattabot CHIEF Technology Officer Imron Zuhri assessed that the Recapitulation Information System
(Sirekap) used by the General Election Commission (KPU) in the 2024 Election is not a rocket science project. Since it was used in the 2020 Pilkada, there have been no new problems with Sirekap. However, in the span of four years, Imron believes that the KPU has made no improvements regarding Sirekap. Because it is not a sophisticated application, Imron questioned the budget disbursed by the KPU in procuring Sirekap, including the constituent software components which should be off-the-shelf or ready-to-use. It is known that one of Sirekap's software components is optical character recognition (OCR), which functions to convert the numbers of vote counting results on Form C. The plano results into digital data. However, because the Sirekap procurement process was in a dark room, Imron admitted that he did not know the OCR algorithm chosen by the KPU or its developer (Subarkah, 2024).

Then, the actors who discussed Sirekap were netizens who were also connected to the election organizers. Sentiment towards the Recapitulation Information System (Sirekap) application owned by the General Election Commission (KPU) on social media was found to be very negative, especially on the day of voting and one day after. Based on the results of Drone Emprit's analysis, the sentiment trend towards the application used to input data on voting results at polling stations was mostly negative, up to 85%. The sentiment trend was seen from analysis in the period February 14-15, 2024, where Sirekap was mentioned in social media X (formerly Twitter) around 105,821 times. In detail, mentions of Sirekap with negative sentiments reached 90,380 times, positive 1,072 times and neutral 9,214 times. Meanwhile, a map of netizens or citizens talking about Sirekap in cyberspace shows a large cluster that is colored red (Saputra, 2024).

On the other hand, Drone Emprit's analysis had mentioned Sirekap's weakness in the accuracy of data input to the central KPU, when the KPU's real count vote for candidate pair (paslon) 01 Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar jumped to around 31% due to an error in entering their vote acquisition data in Lampung, which reached 3.5 million votes. As a result, candidate pair 01's votes rose to 31.9%. However, it suddenly changed to 25.4% within a few minutes. Drone Emprit reported that due to the error, there were accusations and allegations of manipulation in Sirekap. Warganet did not know that the data error from Lampung had been corrected, so the latest acquisition was correct (Saputra, 2024).

CONCLUSION

The conclusions in this research explain that there are four crucial issues in
reporting in online media related to the problem of using Sirekap by the KPU in the 2024 election, namely photo conversion error of vote counting result document, KPPS officers have difficulty accessing, application security and alleged election fraud. From an online media reporting perspective, Tempo.co Kompas.com and Detiknews.com apparently reported massively about KPPS officers having difficulty accessing. Meanwhile, online media CNNIndonesia has two dominant issues in its reporting, namely the KPSS problem which is difficult to access the Sirekap application and allegations of election fraud. Furthermore, discussions in online media are still very dominant discussing the election results in the context of the vote data included in the Sirekap. More than that, the dominance of topics discussed in online media related to civil service is also related to the performance of the KPU and KPPS. Then, the actor network discussed in online media is the KPU and Bawaslu as election organizers. Then, Anies Baswedan and the head of the 01 campaign team are the candidate pair competing in the 2024 election. Furthermore, Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD are the number 3 candidate pair who are also competing in the 2024 election. Likewise, actors outside the election participants, namely political observers, experts information technology and netizens.

Then, the implication of this research is to sharpen the discussion regarding digital technology which apparently is dominating the dissemination of information in public spaces, so that online media has now become mainstream. Therefore, it is very fundamental to pay attention to the dynamics of conversation in online media as a form of social and political reality.

REFERENCES


Muslim, M. (2013). Konstruksi media tentang serangan Israel terhadap Libanon (Analisis framing terhadap...


