

Horror Journalism Practices in Jurnalrisa

Nur Amala Saputri

Universitas Widya Mataram

Email: amalasaputri@gmail.com

*corresponding author

ABSTRACT

The presence of Youtube as a new media has opened up opportunities for alternative journalism practices. Basically, horror journalism is a form of alternative journalism that has emerged as an effort to fight against mainstream journalism in the mass media. This research focuses on how the representation of horror journalism practices in the Jurnalrisa Youtube channel. Researchers chose 3 video titles for Jurnalrisa in 2020 as research objects, namely *Jurnalrisa #81 – Jurit Malam*, *#tanyarisa – #TANYAPETERCS*, and *Jurnal Cerita Misteri #6 – Peter CS Pernah Datang Ke Rumah Reza di Belanda!* The three of them were chosen based on the number of levels of audience popularity that was obtained. The method used is textual analysis using the genetic structuralism theory of Pierre Bourdieu. This research shows that there are 3 new forms of horror journalism practice carried out by Jurnalrisa, namely interviews, mediumizing ghosts, and conducting virtual search investigations to discuss mystical and creepy events in a video sent by netizens to Jurnalrisa. The practice of investigations in the Mystery Story Journal is a novelty presented by Jurnalrisa by involving netizens as reporters or reporters of events. Through these efforts, Jurnalrisa presents a discourse that ghosts are not completely bad, evil, and negative, which is represented by the ghost of Karuhun, where he is presented as an active “subject” and becomes a form of historical evidence for events that occurred in the past.

Keywords:

Horror Journalism, Jurnalrisa, Youtube, Bourdieu, Gosht

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INTRODUCTION

Based on historical records, journalism has experienced many developments. The main trigger is the creation of sustainable technology that has been started since the emergence of printing machine technology in the 17th century. This was followed by the discovery of television and radio technology which increasingly provides a variety of journalism products. In 1987, Soewardi Idris clearly stated that the differences in medium or platform had implications for shaping the characteristics of journalism practice. Technically, it is this change in the medium or platform that triggers the adjustment of journalism practice rules. As with regards to the text format, which initially took the form of writing on a newspaper medium, then it was transformed into audio and visual text on the television medium. Resmadi noted that the emergence of new forms of journalism actually emphasizes new ways of presenting and consuming journalism products. The style of presenting the information usually tends to be subjective, but still uses journalistic reporting methods and ethics as the basis for the production process.

Several journalism reviewers such as Soewardi (Resmadi, 2018), Hikmat & Purnama Kusumaningrat stated that the emergence of new mediums provides new alternatives in the delivery of journalistic products (Kusumaningrat, 2006). Resmadi said this phenomenon arose due to the influence of the sparring culture as a movement against the dominant culture. In the 1960s, the mainstream culture of the United States (US) was dominated by a culture of consumerism formed by Western capitalism. Civilization of society is directed at the interests of welfare and the achievement of high social status, thus creating individualism and materialism (Armando, 2014). New forms of journalism such as literary journalism and gonzo journalism emerged in the US. Both were born as the results of experiments by journalists who wanted to present a new style of journalism practice. In literary journalism, journalists mix many elements of fiction and put forward a novel style of writing. This effort was carried out as a form of rebellion against the rigidity and limitations of television's

reporting style. Meanwhile, Gonzo journalism uses more extreme reporting techniques than literary journalism. There is no longer any distance that separates the reporter and the source, usually the reporter is directly involved in the reporting process (Resmadi, 2018). One interesting example is the "Palestine" comic by Joe Sacco. "Palestine" took a long time to report, Sacco came down directly, and lived together with his sources while digging up the information he needed. The process of presenting its journalism is very unique because it is embodied in a journalistic comic.

In Indonesia, this kind of phenomenon has become popular since the emergence of the internet or new media. During the history of journalism in Indonesia, many of the political activities of the rulers have been dominated. During the Reformation period, the capitalism dominated by private profit-oriented media companies (Armando, 2014). Thus, the growth of journalism in Indonesia appears to be directed at journalism based on criticism and resistance to the dominant class. This is what triggers the emergence of new journalism works that are unique and different. For example, the project "*Ekspedisi Biru*" created by Dandhy Laksono which has been published on the Youtube Watchdoc Documentary channel since 2009. Almost all of Watchdoc's works present domestic issues and social, political, economic and cultural realities. One of the videos, "*Jakarta Unfair*" (2016) was phenomenal because it presented a hegemonic sensation and criticism of the Jakarta government over its policy of evicting people's homes. The city of Jakarta is portrayed beautifully as a miniature of Indonesia, in which there is a center for the economy, development growth and diversity which turns out to be shrouded by a polemic of justice. In the production process, Dandhy is seen using the gonzo journalism reporting technique which emphasizes direct and investigative reporting processes, even blending personal experiences and emotions into Watchdoc videos. In the last process, Watchdoc uses Youtube as its publication medium.

The presence of the internet medium has changed the purpose of journalism and changed people's perceptions about the messages conveyed (Pavlik, 2004). New media provide new strength, where the flow of power in society has changed from the old norm which relies on a top-down approach to a new norm that relies on the power to move sideways or from the bottom up (Heimans & Timms, n.d.). By this nature, the internet also triggers the birth of various collective actions. In 2017, the "horror journalism" appeared on Jurnalrisa. Jurnalrisa is a Youtube channel that specifically presents horror content. At first, the Jurnalrisa Youtube channel was only managed by Risa Saraswati. Then Risa invited her siblings to participate in the production process. Risa is a writer who writes books and songwriters who are inspired by mystical experiences during her life. Her works became famous since one of his books was filmed in 2017, entitled "*Danur*". In the following years, her book was again filmed with the title "*Danur 2: Maddah*" (2018), and "*Danur 3: Sunyaruri*" (2019). All the films are horror. Judging by the large number of followers, which is almost 5 million, Risa's popularity is increasing with the Youtube channel Jurnalrisa.

Jurnalrisa is deliberately produced and presented by adopting a gonzo and investigative journalism style, unlike Risa's previous works. Risa goes directly to scary places and does a reportage with supernatural beings or ghosts as the source. The communication process uses a "mediation" technique, where the supernatural beings will be inserted into Risa's physical body or her siblings. When their physical bodies have been possessed by spirits or spirits, they can be talked to and interviewed. Uniquely, through this unusual horror content reporting technique, Risa Saraswati packaged Jurnalrisa with a pleasant atmosphere. The choice of Youtube medium also seems to be an alternative for Risa to present unique, distinctive, and different horror content. The author assumes that Jurnalrisa was born as a form of resistance to the mainstream of journalism and the dominance of the presentation of horror content presented in conventional media. This article basically wants to see how the practice of horror journalism carried out by Jurnalrisa Youtube channel using the genetic structuralism theory of Pierre Bourdieu. This effort is made on the basis of fulfilling the need to understand the social reality of horror journalism, through the genesis of social structures and the genesis of the disposition of the agents involved in Journalism. To simplify the analysis process, the author will explain the definition of Youtube media. Then the writer will explain the concept of horror journalism practice. Then the author explains Pierre Bourdieu's theory of genetic structuralism. Furthermore, the writer will explain the results of the discussion and analysis. Finally, the writer will conclude the results of the analysis.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The researcher chose two previous research titles which were used as research references. First, research by Hendy Adhita's research entitled "*Representasi Praktik Alternative Journalism Joe Sacco dalam Komik Palestine*" (2012). Researchers are interested in Adhita's research line of thought regarding alternative journalism in the comic medium using Bourdieu's genetic structuralism approach. Adhita used text analysis method and found that comic is communication medium that enables the journalistic process undertaken by Joe Sacco. Sacco himself chose comics as a medium to convey messages because in the process, he did not get political-economic pressure like mainstream media workers. The researcher tries to connect Adhita's logic to this research and sees that Risa Saraswati as the main actor in Jurnalrisa chose Youtube as her video publication platform because it can reach mainstream audiences and is easily accessible. Moreover, there are no specific regulations regarding restrictions on horror content on the Youtube platform. So that Jurnalrisa can optimally present horror content explicitly. However, researchers will add text analysis methods to Berger's audiovisual medium to build analytical blades in this research.

Second studies are by Chris Atton & James F. Hamilton entitled “Why Alternative Journalism Matters” (2008). They both agreed that alternative media are part of civil society and form the third voice between state media and commercial media. Especially the new media such as Youtube. Youtube is widely used to upload creative content that is not usually presented in the mainstream media. Like Atton said, the idea that the mainstream media does not provide a balanced and fair presentation of social protest has been developed in the period from the 1960s to the early 1990s (Atton, 2003). That dominant political and economic actors can set the terms of the news agenda or are often portrayed as “authoritative sources”. Marginal political actors, on the other hand, are systematically labeled “different”. The mediation process in alternative media, where the media is seen as a broader process that crosses the social field. Atton also adopted Bourdieu’s theory by evaluating alternative media practices in a broader context, namely fighting over the dominant conditions of media power, symbolic boundaries and hierarchy. The point is how then an alternative media has the power to build reality in the content presented through the role of the agents involved in it (Atton & Hamilton, 2008).

The two previous studies actually used Bourdieu’s theory. The difference is the type of communication media used, Adhita uses comic or conventional media, while Atton and Hamilton choose Youtube or new media as their main study. Basically, these two studies become the researchers’ reference for conducting this research, because they both use the same perspective as the researcher. However, in this case the researcher focuses more on how the practice of horror journalism is represented in Journalism. Jurnalrisa basically are non-professional journalist who knows the journalism standards appropriate theoretical procedures. This is very interesting to analyze, because in the video content of Jurnalrisa, horror journalism practices emerge, such as interviews and investigations. These practices strongly strengthen the researchers’ assumptions about horror journalism practices carried out by Jurnalrisa even though they are carried out unconsciously. Like Atton & Hamilton states that alternative journalism tends to be produced by non-professionals who usually have little or no professional training or qualifications as journalists (Atton & Hamilton, 2008). The horror journalism presented on the Jurnalrisa Youtube channel seems to have emerged with the intention of changing the old thinking about horror that has been presented by the mainstream media in Indonesia.

METHOD

This research is a qualitative descriptive study. Researchers use an interpretive paradigm with a Sociology of Communication approach that focuses on social relations and practices. The research method used is textual analysis which functions to see the representation of a social phenomenon in a media. This is closely related to the ways in which social reality is presented in the form of text. In addition, researchers also use Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of genetic structuralism as a tool for analysis. Bourdieu’s concept of arena and habitus provides a way to carry out external and internal analysis simultaneously. In other words, analysis of the text and the context of the video narrative can be carried out simultaneously by relating it to the origin of the agent who plays a role. Genetic structuralism is a metopene attempt to describe a way of thinking and a way of asking questions so that the analysis of objective structures cannot be separated from the analysis of the origin of mental structures in biological individuals which are partly the product of their own social structures. With this method, we can describe and analyze the origins of a person and the origins of various social structures on the Jurnalrisa youtube channel. Therefore, researchers compile an analysis framework according to the needs with the following illustrations:

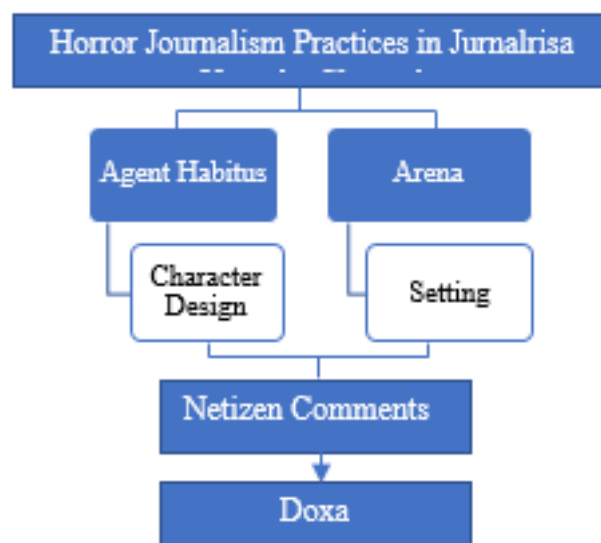


Figure 1. Analysis Framework

There are two levels of social reality seen through Bourdieu's concepts: agent habitus and arena. First, the researcher explains the level analysis of the narrative structure based on the character design of the characters of the selected Jurnalrisa video. The character are grouped based on the group that dominates and the group that is dominated to analyze the structure of the arena by looking at the capitals owned by the figures in the groups. Analyzing the habitus by using the method of reading literature studies regarding the views of Risa Saraswati and other agents who play on horror journalism practices. Second, analyzing arena by describes the setting of time and places. On the other hand, because the platform used in the Jurnalrisa video is a Youtube, it is also important to see how the construction of horror journalism practices has been interpreted by the audience (netizens) through the comments' column. Then, it is associated with doxa or the discourse on horror journalism practices contained in the Jurnalrisa video. This is done to strengthen the arguments and research findings of researchers in analyzing the origins of structured characters' habitus and structuring social practices.

We must remember that the context of this study is online media, whereas Bourdieu's study is all offline. Therefore, the researcher re-arranged an analytical tool to simplify the research process. For Bourdieu, the concept of habitus cannot be separated from the concept of arena, because of the dialectical relationship between objective structures and subjective phenomena. Habitus is a product form in the form of practices and perceptions of the events of the agents' struggle in the arena. On the other hand, video itself as an audiovisual media has a set of important elements that make it possible to have a habitus of agents. These elements are in the form of narration, as well as image shooting techniques that used to construct character or character designs. The formulation of the research analysis tool is as follows:

Table 1. The formulation of the research analysis tool.

| BOURDIEU CON-CEPT | VIDEO ANALYSIS UNIT | ELEMENT | SUB ELEMENTS |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|
| Agent Habitus | Character Design | a. Audio Text | Dialog |
| | | b. Visual Text | Image taking technique |
| | | | |
| | | | Comments in the commentar column |
| Arena | Time & place setting | a. Audio Text | - |
| | | b. Visual Text | Image taking technique |

The agent habitus actually refers to the character design in the form of the characters who play in Jurnalrisa, where Bourdieu himself also mentions that the characters always have an inherent capital in them. According to Pratiŝta, in the narrative of an audiovisual work there is characterization, in the sense that a character in a story is a "figure" who is shown in a narrative work, or drama, not only in the form of a human, but can be an object – which the audience can interpret as having expressions of speech and action (Byrne, 2007). The author uses comments from netizens regarding the selected Jurnalrisa video to describe the image of the characters based on netizens' point of view. This is also important because netizens' comments are link to the public's response to social discourse (doxa) and social realities that develop in society, as I said before. Then in the arena concept, which refers to the shooting of selected Jurnalrisa videos, such as by describing the time and place setting, the atmosphere of the environment visually. Then there is also the sound of a conversation dialogue between the characters representing the audio message in the Jurnalrisa video.

Data collection techniques are using documentation and literature study. Researchers identified the videos uploaded on the Youtube channel Jurnalrisa in 2020 by ordering each edition of the video uploaded. Then the researchers chose 3 editions of the video which represented the depiction of horror journalism practices. The 3 videos selected as the main object, namely: *Jurnalrisa #81 – Jurit Malam, Tanyarisa – #TANYAPERETCS*, and *Journal of Mystery Stories #6 – Peter CS Pernah Datang Ke Rumah Reza di Belanda!* These three videos were selected based on their level of popularity which can be seen by the number of viewers, likes, and comments. Several scenes in the video were taken in the form of image capture, then used as data for this study. Researchers also conduct literature or literature studies as a basis for strengthening problem analysis by collecting data sources obtained from books, literature, scientific journals, as well as other sources that contain information that supports this research.


RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the results and discussion, the researcher describes each selected video into small sub-titles. Researchers describe and analyze two scenes in each video title. Then the researchers also took at least two comments from netizens in each video title that could support the analysis.

A. Jurnalrisa #81 – Jurit Malam

The video for the episode of *Jurnalrisa #81 – Jurit Malam* gained 4 million viewers' popularity, 16 thousand comments, and 176 thousand likes. In this episode, Jurnalrisa team investigates by visiting a Pine Forest in Bandung. There is also a fort from Netherland (Dutch) during World War II. This fort was one of the largest fortresses which was used as an escape route for Netherland soldiers when Nippon (Japanese) entered Bandung. Around 1942 Nippon first entered the Indramayu area to Subang which was used by the KNIL (*Koninklijk Nederlandsch-Indische Leger*) airstrip headquarters or the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army. Interestingly, this episode has the most extreme place visited by the Jurnalrisa team. Some of the scenes shows a trip over steep and muddy land in a Jeep. There were even rainy weather disturbances and fallen trees covering the road they were on.

Table 2. Scene 1 *Jurnalrisa #81 – Jurit Malam*

| Visual Image of Scene 1 |  | |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| Dialog | Angga | “Dikunci, dikunci.” |
| | Kakang | “Dijahit?” |
| | Angga | “Rek dibuka moal? (Mau dibuka tidak?)” |
| | Risa | “Buka heula (Buka dulu). Paling ge aya nu ngambek (Paling juga ada yang marah).” |
| | Angga | “Lapor heula (Lapor dulu). Bisa. Bisa ngabuka (Bisa ngebuka). Iya bisa, sok. Bisa kan?” |
| | Indy / Kuntilanak Waduk | “Terima kasih.” |
| | Angga | “Iya. Kenapa ditutup mulut kamu? Terus.” |
| | Indy / Kuntilanak Waduk | “Minta tolong.” |
| | Risa | “Kumaha? (Gimana)” |
| | Angga | “Terus. Kamu bisa bicara lebih kencang?” |
| | Indy / Kuntilanak Waduk | “Saya takut.” |
| | Angga | “Tidak apa-apa.” |
| | Indy / Kuntilanak Waduk | “Takut mereka mendengar.” |
| | Angga | “Nippon? Kamu minta tolong malah di-ini? Lalu? Dia ngomongnya sih, ketakutan. Terus lari kemana-mana karena takut sama Nippon. Tapi akhirnya ketahuan sama Nippon. Dia ga boleh ngomong apapun, terus dijahit ngomongnya.” |
| | Risa | “Mhm.” |
| | Angga | “Jangan ditutup lagi?” |
| | Indy / Kuntilanak Waduk | “Sakit.” |
| | Angga | “Ada yang bicara sama saya, tidak boleh, harus ditutup lagi. Ya?” |
| | Indy / Kuntilanak Waduk | “Saya tidak jahat.” |
| | Angga | “Makanya ngomong yang sebenarnya.” |
| | Risa / Sepuh | “Waduk (Bohong).” |
| | Angga | “Ya? Ada yang bicara, ya.” |
| | Risa / Sepuh | “Ngawaduk (Berbohong). Walanda Walanda pedut siah (Belanda bohongan). Lain sasaha manehna mah (Bukan siapa-siapa kamu itu). Balik (Pulang!)” |
| | Angga | “Naha bet di .. (Kenapa di..). Rika (Sana sana)”. |
| | Risa / Sepuh | “Disiksa ku urang leuwih ti ieu (Disiksa sama saya lebih dari ini).” |

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Angga | "Kuat ngebohong?" |
| Risa / Sepuh | "Tong sok ngawaduk siah, kaditu nyingkah (Jangan suka berbohong, sana pergi!)." |
| Angga | "Jug kaditu, kaditu (Sudah sana, sana). Mangga weh ditalian deui (Silahkan dijahit lagi)." |
| Risa | "Bukan Belanda da (Bukan Belanda ya?)" |
| Angga | "Iya. Makanya bingung." |
| Risa | "Sok-sok iye Belanda banget." |
| Character | |
| Dominan Character | Angga |
| | Risa / Sepuh |
| Dominate Character | Indy / Kuntilanak Waduk |

This visual image of scene 1 shows the figures of Jurnalrisa (from right to left), including Angga, Indy, Kakang, Iko, Risa, Dimas, and Riri. This scene use medium shoot and eye level that means its show their activities such as chatting each other while standing. Scene 1 tells the story of one of the ghosts of the Kuntilanak Waduk mediated through Indy's body. The Kuntilanak Waduk has a mouth sewn, so that the Jurnalrisa team is interested in talking to her. After talking for a bit, it turned out that Kuntilanak Waduk deceived the Jurnalrisa team into pretending to be the ghost of a Netherland woman. Then the appearance of Sepuh's figure through Risa's body then scolds Kuntilanak. It was answered that the Jurnalrisa team's curiosity about the figure of the Kuntilanak Waduk was answered, because of his penchant for lying and lying to humans, his mouth was also sewn up. He transformed into pretending to be a Netherland ghost who was tortured and had his mouth sewn by the Nippons (as the Japanese in the colonial era). In fact, the act of lying is a bad, which of course will be able to mislead the person being lied to. In this case, the Jurnalrisa team clearly intended to ask questions and get historical information about the place, but they were deceived, of course, the false information would obscure the real history of events. Then the Kuntilanak Waduk was punished by Sepuh who was on guard or served there. Kuntilanak is a ghost resembling a woman whose job is to interfere with human life. The word "*waduk*" here is Sundanese word which means lie or liar.

Based on Bourdieu's agent theory, the figure of Sepuh who is mediated through Risa's body clearly dominates the storyline in scene 1. On the other hand, the figure of Kuntilanak Waduk mediated through the body of the Indy character is clearly dominated. This argument is based on the analysis of the capital of the characters at play. Risa has the most cultural capital and experience in the horror industry among other players. Meanwhile, the character Indy has the least capital among other players. She is the youngest Jurnalrisa personnel and currently studying as a new college student. Then it is also clear that the two figures who are mediated by the figures of Jurnalrisa also show the existence of a social caste that applies in the subtle world. As the figure of Sepuh, who is mediated by Risa, seems to emphasize his position as one of the powerful leaders in the area to discipline and guard Kuntilanak who like to disturb humans, and even don't hesitate to give punishment. In other words, the selection of the body of a Jurnalrisa character to serve as a mediator for spirits clearly shows how the social position of the spirits themselves.

Table 3. Scene 2 *Jurnalrisa #81 – Jurit Malam*.

Visual Image
of Scene 2



| | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|--|
| Dialog | Risa | <i>"Punten hoyong terang (Maaf ingin tahu). Dongeng. Leres itu aya kampung saurna nya (Bener gitu ada kampung katanya)."</i> |
| | Angga | <i>"Seuer dongeng, nguping itu ieu matakna ah hoyong kadieu (Banyak cerita, denger ini itu makanya mau ke sini). Hoyong terang kitu (Ingin tahu gitu)."</i> |
| | Iko / Sepuh | <i>"Heu ueh ai maraneh mah geus mereun didieu baheula na kumaha (Iya kalau kalian sudah tau kali dulunya di sini seperti apa). Ari ieu teh (Ini tuh). Ku gunung kabeh (Gunung semua). Kula jeung kabeh cicing didieu (Saya dan yang lainnya diam di sini). Kabeh nu tiditu, ti kulon nya, ti wetan (Semua yang dari sana, dari barat, dari timur). Mun aya nanaon, kadieu (Kalau ada apa-apa ke sini). Rek aya nu kitu kadieu (Mau ada gitu ke sini). Kabeh didieu (Semua di sini)."</i> |
| | Indy | <i>"Dulu ini semua teh gunung. Terus kalau ada apa-apa teh ke sini."</i> |
| | Angga | <i>"Muhun uninga uninga (Iya)."</i> |
| | Iko / Sepuh | <i>"Jelema datang (Orang datang). Nyieunan itu nyieunan ieu (Bikin ini itu). Nepi ka kieu na (Sampai seperti ini). Anu jahat mah jelema, lain kula (Yang jahat itu orang, bukan saya). Heu euh. Kula ma ngajaga, jelema ngarusak (Saya yang menjaga, manusia yang merusak). Silih paehan, silih aduh (Saling membunuh, saling mengadu)."</i> |
| | Angga | <i>"Jenten weh aya itu ieu nya (Jadi ada aja ini itu ya). Ngampel na didieu, kitu? (Berkumpunya di sini, gitu?)"</i> |
| | Iko / Sepuh | <i>"Heu ueh, ti kulon, ti wetan, ti kaler, ti kidul (Iya dari barat, dari timur, dari utara, dari selatan)."</i> |
| | Angga | <i>"Badami na didieu, kitu? (Berundingnya di sini, gitu?)"</i> |
| | Iko / Sepuh | <i>"Tah, tah nya (Tuh ya). Heu euh? (Ya?)"</i> |
| Character | Dominan Character | Iko / Sepuh |
| | Dominated Character | Angga |
| | | Risa |
| | | Indy |

In scene 2, Jurnalrisa clearly shows another side of the ghost that is not only creepy through the presence of Sepuh or Karuhun in this episode. This scene uses medium shoot and eye level that means its show their activities such as chatting each other while sitting. As the picture and dialogue scene 2 shows the scene of Sepuh's figure being mediated through Iko's body. It seems that he is depicted as a spirit being respected by fellow spirits even respected by humans who can communicate or see him. This is indicated by the choice of language and words used by Angga when communicating by Sepuh using Smooth Sundanese. It is different from the language used when interacting with the ghost of Kuntilanak. It can be concluded that the Sepuh figure has a strong symbolic capital that comes from the accumulation of social cultural capital and experiences which become his intellectual values. He is also believed to be the highest Sepuh as "Karuhun" who ruled in the Pine Forest area. If measured by borrowing the category of magical creatures in Modjokuto East Java belonging to Clifford Greetz (Kurnia, 2005), this Sepuh figure is at the "Danyang" class level or is the embodiment of a protective spirit who was once a powerful figure in society, which has the highest social caste. For the Sundanese people, the existence of "Karuhun" is believed to be the supreme ancestor in charge of protecting the Sundanese land.

Through scene 2, it can be seen that the spirits represented by the figure of Sepuh can be sources and witnesses of historical events in the past. Like when he told about the condition of the Pine Forest area during his life, which was a forest surrounded by mountains. Every mountain has a guard, one of the guards is him. When something happens, the mountain guards always gather in the middle or at the Pine Forest location to meet and discuss. In fact, Nippon came to Indonesia to massacre many Netherland and Inlander. Then the Netherland made a defense fort as a shelter, one of which was the fort which was visited by the Jurnalrisa team. As Sepuh said, the humans (*jelema*) came to cut down the forest, and leveled the land there to make a war defense base. They come arbitrarily, destroy the forest ecosystem, and even worse, they are used as a place to fight wars, killing each other. Humans here refer to Nippon and Netherland.

In the episode *Jurnalrisa #81 – Jurit Malam*, the practices of horror journalism by coming directly to the field, and then exploring spooky places of historical relics to explore the mysteries and myths that occurred in that place clearly done by Jurnalrisa. The investigation process is carried out by mediating or medumizing the spirits of spirits, namely the ghost of Kuntilanak and the figure of Sepuh as the sources. In the perspective of Communication Science, the practice of mediation is included in the context of intrapersonal communication, that a very strong psychological process occurs when decoding and encoding messages in individuals. These processes are in the form of sensation, association, perception, memory, and thinking. The processes of thinking are accumulation of sensation, association, perception, and

memory processes that are issued to make decisions (Byrne, 2007).

Byrne said that thoughts are magnetic and have a frequency (Kurnia, 2005). This theory explains how the human mind works biologically, where when a thought is sent to the universe, then those thoughts will attract all similar things in the same frequency. Meanwhile, the psychological process plays a role in channeling energy in the form of a stimulus wave which then becomes a non-verbal message. In mysticism, this is a special skill possessed by a meditator or an expert communicator with spirits. In fact, spirits are living things that do not have a physical form or body. Yet they are alive, capable of thinking, having taste, and capable of producing energy. For the Javanese, this process is considered as a communication stage achievement that can be trained by processing taste, or cultivating the six human senses: sight (eyes), smell (nose), hearing (ears), taste (tongue), touch (skin), and the sharpness of the heart / heart to feel nature. In Psychology, the eye and ear senses are human senses that function and can improve the cognitive aspects of humans. These two senses can pick up on stimuli from the messages that are absorbed, then brought to the brain to form perception and understanding. If all the five senses are functioning regularly, the results can form a real performance and are accepted by human reasoning. As for the Javanese, they add one more sense, namely the heart as a human sense that is used to absorb information and make sense of the world.

The process of mediation or mediumization carried out by the personnel of Jurnalrisa is a form of intrapersonal communication which is the core of horror journalism practice. Journalism is the work of reporting news facts. Journalism is a substitute for “word of mouth” communication about everyday events. There is a process of reporting and investigation – extracting information data in it, which usually involves sources who act as informants or witnesses to events. By using mediation techniques, the figures of spirits who become sources will be welcome to stick and enter the human body as their physical “medium” so that they can communicate verbally and are easily absorbed by the human senses or recorded by the camera. Based on the analysis of the video episode of *Jurnalrisa #81*, it can be concluded that a large discourse about ghosts or spirits is not all bad, evil, and negative. As the figure of Sepuh as Karuhun, who actually dominates the characters in this episode. To strengthen this argument, the writer links this discourse (doxa) with the comments of netizens as follows:



Figure 2. Comments from Episode of *Jurnalrisa #81 – Jurit Malam*

The comments made by Panji Adhiaksa and Hendry S Mokodongan emphasize how great the ghost figure of Sepuh as Karuhun is, whose task is to maintain the balance of nature and its surroundings. On the other hand, humans are the ones who destroy the natural and social environment. Bourdieu defines the habitus as the mental or cognitive structure with which people relate to the social world. Habitus is a product form in the form of practices and perceptions of the existence of agent struggles in the arena. Thus, the presence of the discourse that ghosts are not completely bad and negative, which is represented by the figure of Karuhun, becomes the habitus product of the horror journalism practice of Jurnalrisa in this episode. Even though there are ghosts that dominate and are dominated, they are clearly presented by Jurnalrisa as an active “subject” and become a form of historical evidence for events that occurred in the past.

B. Tanyarisa – #TANYAPETERCS

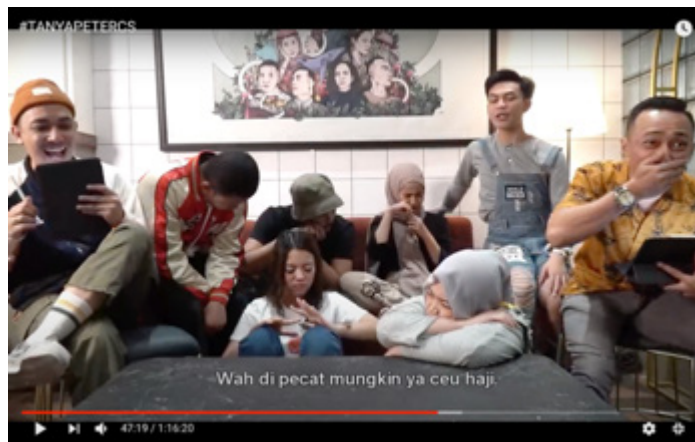
Tanyarisa - #TANYAPETERCS episode gained 4.1 million viewers’ popularity, 24 thousand comments, and 208 thousand likes. This episode was chosen to represent Tanyarisa’s video genre category. On the Youtube channel Jurnalrisa there are several categories of videos presented, one of which is the Tanyarisa video category. For all videos in the #Tanyarisa category, the Jurnalrisa team usually conducts interviews and talks about mystical and ghostly matters which are only done in cafes, in their homes, or in places that are not scary, the format is like a casual talk show. Then the spirits or ghosts will be summoned to come to the place to be invited to mediate and tell stories as sources.

Tanyarisa - #TANYAPETERCS generally tells the story of the Jurnalrisa team’s conversation with Peter CS. In this episode, Jurnalrisa presents a special guest star named Fahrul Rochman. Previously, Fahrul had been invited by Jurnalrisa several times to be a guest star, therefore Fahrul can be had the capital of knowledge about mystical matters. Fahrul is actually a celebgram who focuses on the art of make-up. In several episodes of Tanyarisa Peter CS, the Jurnalrisa team usually reads some questions sent by netizens to Peter CS. Most of the questions posed are indeed very easy to answer,

even if there are difficult questions, Jurnalisa team deliberately does not read them. This is because Peter CS is ghosts in the form of Netherland children who cannot understand when speaking in difficult language.

Table 4. Scene 1 *Tanyarisa* - #TANYAPETERCS

Visual Image of
Scene 1



| | | |
|---------------|-----------------|--|
| Dialog | Angga | <i>"Siapa diantara kalian yang paling manja?"</i> |
| | Iko / Peter | <i>"Janshen."</i> |
| | Riri / Hendrick | <i>"Janshen."</i> |
| | Risa / Anne | <i>"Janshen."</i> |
| | Fahrul | <i>"Janshen."</i> |
| | Angga | <i>"Semua sudah tahu, pasti Janshen ya."</i> |
| | Indy / Janshen | <i>"Janshen sudah besar. Tidak menangis."</i> |
| | Fahrul | <i>"Sudah besar?"</i> |
| | Indy / Janshen | <i>"Itu kamu diam."</i> |
| | Riri / Hendrick | <i>"Bolong giginya yang besar."</i> |
| | Fahrul | <i>"Bolong giginya yang besar?"</i> |
| | Indy / Janshen | <i>"Itu kamu diam. Jangan ngomong."</i> |
| | Angga | <i>"Jangan bicara ya."</i> |
| | Indy / Janshen | <i>"Jangan bicara. Angga aja."</i> |
| | Risa / Anne | <i>"Itu di rumah kami, Ujang tidak banyak bicara. Bicara sedikit tendang."</i> |
| | Fahrul | <i>"Wah dipecat mungkin ya ceu haji."</i> |
| | Riri / Hendrick | <i>"Tapi dia banyak bicara."</i> |
| | Fahrul | <i>"Ujang loba ngomong dipecat (Ujang banyak bicara dipecat)."</i> |
| | Iko / Peter | <i>"Iya. Dia sudah mati harusnya."</i> |
| | Risa / Anne | <i>"Papa Anne pasti marah. Ada Ujang banyak bicara itu tendang."</i> |
| | Angga | <i>"Ujang jangan banyak bicara ya."</i> |
| | Iko / Peter | <i>"Langsung dipukul itu."</i> |
| | Dimas | <i>"Kamu Ujang jangan. Itu tendang aja sekarang."</i> |
| | Indy / Janshen | <i>"Tapi itu baju aneh, ya."</i> |
| | Angga | <i>"Baju aneh? Oke."</i> |
| | Risa / Anne | <i>"Iya, dia tidak punya uang."</i> |
| | Riri / Hendrick | <i>"Ujang memang selalu robek. Bajunya seperti itu."</i> |
| | Dimas | <i>"Ujang sobek bajunya."</i> |
| | Riri / Hendrick | <i>"Karena dia Ujang."</i> |
| | Kakang / Hans | <i>"Beri dia baju Angga."</i> |

| Character | Dominan Character | |
|-----------|---------------------|-----------------|
| | | Angga |
| | | Risa / Anne |
| | | Iko / Peter |
| | | Riri / Hendrick |
| | | Kakang / Hans |
| | Dominated Character | Indy / Janshen |
| | | Fahrul |

#TANYAPETERCS only has 1 scene, but there are some long dialogues. This scene uses medium shoot and eye level that means its show their activities such as chatting each other while sitting. It also showed us how the happy atmospher is happening there. In the dialogue session above, Angga is in control as the interviewer and chats with Peter CS. Angga gave one question to Peter CS, asking who was the most spoiled among them. Then Peter CS with Fahrul answered Janshen. Even Hendrick, who was mediated by Riri, made fun of Janshen's toothless. Janshen then defended himself and fought back against Fahrul, telling Fahrul to be quiet. In this episode, Peter CS is having a hard time mentioning the name "Fahrul". Then William suggested to call Fahrul as "Ujang". Fahrul himself is actually a man who is somewhat feminine like a woman. He also briefly described himself as "*Bencong*" – which refers to flamboyant men or sissy. It was this trait that reminded William of the term "Ujang" that was given to Inlander flamboyant men by the Netherland.

The narrative in #TANYAPETERCS clearly shows the domination of Peter CS against Fahrul. As well as Anne's exclamation about telling Fahrul to be quiet, or Janshen's sentence that instructed Fahrul to be quiet, not to laugh too. This dominance also clearly shows the symbolic violence experienced by Fahrul. In Bourdieu's theory, it is mentioned about symbolic violence and symbolic relations as symbolic power. Bourdieu uses these three terms to describe a process of social reproduction that involves agents in an arena. The dominant figures who play a role in this episode, Peter CS (Peter, Janshen, Hendrick, Hans, and Anne) have the social capital, cultural capital, and economic capital that they brought during their lifetime as children of the Netherland nobility who clearly have a higher position than the Inlander (native people). For that reason, they have innate traits that are arrogant and look down on Inlander. On the other hand, Fahrul has a physical body, traits, and dialect that portrays the Inlander people. Moreover, Fahrul's personality is flamboyant like a woman, it is increasingly considered "confusing" Peter CS to call Fahrul. Because he has short hair like a boy but speaks and acts like a girl.

The accumulation of capitals owned by these figures creates domination which then gives birth to symbolic violence through the mechanism of communication language relations. As Janshen's sentence, "*Itu kamu diam jangan ngomong* (That you are silent do not speak)." Then Anne said, "*Itu di rumah kami, Ujang tidak banyak bicara. Bicara sedikit tendang* (It was in our house, Ujang didn't say much. Talk a little kick)," "*Papa Anne pasti marah. Ada Ujang banyak bicara itu tendang* (Papa Anne must be angry. There is Ujang talking a lot, it kicks)." Peter's sentence, "*Iya. Dia sudah mati harusnya* (Yes. He should be dead)," as well as Hendrick's sentence "*Ujang memang selalu robek. Bajunya seperti itu* (Ujang is always torn. His clothes are like that)." These few sentences clearly denigrate Fahrul as Ujang, namely as an Inlander who is sissy. The term "Ujang" given by the Netherland was actually used to categorize Inlanders who had an unclear gender, namely the physical body of men but having characteristics like women. Today the term "Ujang" is popularly known as *waria*, *bencong*, or *banci* (Transgender).

In addition, this scene image also shows Fahrul's position as Ujang being dominated. He is even shown to be inferior to Nippon, who is closely related to the character Dimasta. It is different with Angga - although Angga is both an Inlander, he has cultural capital and large social capital as "Risa's Family" as well as "Friends of Peter CS" who have the power to defeat the ghost of the "*Wanita Jelek*" that refers to Kuntilanak (Inlander women ghost). Herein lies the censorship that Bourdieu refers to as a form of preservation of all values that are considered "degrees of honor" or values recognized by agents (Ningtyas, 2015). Both the accumulation of capital owned by Angga and Peter CS become a preservation of the degree of honor as "Friends" – Angga as Peter CS's trusted friend and protects from Kuntilanak, and also doxa that Peter CS as the son of the Inlander nobility who colonized the Inlander.



Figure 3. Comments from *Tanyarisa* - #TANYAPETERCS

The comments made by Afifah Pratiwi and Rhindi Antika⁸⁹ further clarify the position of the dominating and dominated figures in this episode. That Peter CS as a representation of the Netherland ghost dominates Dimas who is similar to Nippon and Fahrul who is like a figure of Ujang. As in Bourdieu’s theory, this discourse becomes a product of the habitus resulting from the upheaval of the agents in this #TANYAPETERCS episode.

C. Jurnal Cerita Misteri #6 – Peter CS Pernah Datang Ke Rumah Reza di Belanda!

Jurnal Cerita Misteri #6 gained 1.3 million viewers, 8 thousand comments, and 76 thousand likes. This episode was chosen to represent the *Jurnal Cerita Misteri* type category. Through this video category, Jurnalrisa provides a new breakthrough in horror journalism practice using the internet medium. The practice is carried out by means of a virtual investigation. Jurnalrisa invites the audience to participate in covering mystical and ghost stories by sending their horror investigation videos to the Jurnalrisa editorial team. Then the selected video will be displayed and discussed in detail in the episode Jurnalrisa. In journalism studies, this technique appears to be adopting a citizen journalism reporting style, which is the process of investigation is carried out amateurishly by people who do not have a journalistic basis. Through this virtual investigation, Jurnalrisa team often summoned the ghost figures they found in the video to be invited to mediate and tell stories.

This episode tells the story of the virtual investigation for the Jurnalrisa team in the video sent by Reza and Bre. Reza and Bre are a married couple living in the Netherlands who work as doctors. Reza is also an active vlogger who presents about different cultures, food, and traveling to interesting places and his life as a Dutch citizen on his YouTube channel, Herdiansyah Reza. When Risa and Dima^{8a} were on a honeymoon in the Netherlands, they met and got acquainted with Reza and Bre. At their meeting, Reza also asked Risa about ghosts, especially about Peter CS. Since their meeting, many strange things have happened to Reza and Bre’s house. Then they decided to send a video recording of their home to the Jurnalrisa team to investigate.

Table 5. Scene 1 *Jurnal Cerita Misteri – Peter CS Pernah Datang Ke Rumah Reza di Belanda!*

Visual
Image of
Scene 1



| | | |
|--------|-------|--|
| Dialog | Reza | “Jadi ini sebenarnya ruang, tadi ruang makan, di sebelah sini ada ruang tinggal atau tengah lah ibaratnya. Dimna kita tempat chill gitu dan nonton Tv di sebelah sini biasanya. Dan waktu itu lagi siang hari, kita lagi maen sebenarnya saya dan Fae, Fae waktu itu lagi lumayan agak kecil sih, 1 tahunan. Dan kita lagi maen dan tiba-tiba ada yang ngetok ini. Ada yang ngetok si kaca, gini. Nah kurang lebih kaya gitu. Itu terdengar kaya bener-bener ngetok, Fae langsung loncat karena kaget. Dan keadaannya waktu itu kacanya sedang dibuka seperti ini. Jadi kalau misalnya ada yang ngetok, itu bisa tahu. Ini siapa yang ngetok gitu, pasti ada orang kan, ini bener ga ada siapa-siapa. Tiba-tiba kaya gitu. Dan waktu itu setelah di cek ke samping karena di samping kan ngga ada tetangga. Tapi ngga ada dan ini kaca tebal. Kurang lebih kayanya 2 cm lah, tebal banget. Dan awalnya kalo mau di logika kan itu karena orang di sini orang Belanda kan tidak percaya soal hal seperti itu jadi awalnya mencoba untuk berpikir logis. Mungkin kaca memuai atau apa kan itu bisa terjadi. Bahasa Belanda ngabeletrak.” |
| | Angga | “Heu ueh.” |
| | Risa | “Heu euh.” |
| | Iko | “Siap.” |
| | Reza | “Bahasa Sundanya itu ngabeletrak gitu atau ada bunyi. Tapi waktu itu kejadiannya itu pada saat di periode Risa lagi ke Belanda dengan Dimas sedang honeymoon. Dan waktu itu kita lagi sempat ketemuan gitu, jadi awalnya...” |
| | Iko | “Whoa, ini nih.” |

| | |
|-------|--|
| Angga | <i>"Oh iya bener."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Oh ya ya ya."</i> |
| Reza | <i>"...setelah tidak bisa dipikirkan secara logis. Mungkin, waktu itu saya berpikir. Kayanya Peter CS ada yang ikut ke sini jadi karna lihat ada Fae anak setengah Belanda juga dan anak kecil gitu kan. Jadi mungkin mereka ada yang ingin main atau ada yang ingin ngasih tahu. Eh kita di sini gitu loh, bisa jadi gatau. Jadi tolong tim Jurnalrisa, tolong dikonfirmasi."</i> |

The image of scene 1 and dialog shows the Jurnalrisa team (Angga, Kakang, Risa, Iko, Dimas, Riri, Indy) in a small screen image in the lower left corner looking at Reza's video recording on a laptop, and on the big right there is a character Reza is explaining the events that have happened in the room. Reza told of an incident when someone knocked on the window glass when he was playing with Fae (his daughter) there. He explained that this incident occurred when Risa and Dimas were in the Netherlands, right after Reza, Bre, Risa, and Dimas met. Reza then asked the Jurnalrisa team to examine this case.

Table 6. Scene 2 *Jurnal Cerita Misteri – Peter CS Pernah Datang Ke Rumah Reza di Belanda!*

Visual Image
of Scene 2



| | |
|------------------|---|
| Risa | <i>"Halo. Tadi kamu di sini dari tadi kan? Kita bersama-sama ke sini kalau aku di luar rumah kamu ke sini kan? Oke tadi aku cerita soal perjalanan kita ke Netherland."</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Iya."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Dan kamu tahu ada satu temenku di sana. Iya, yang punya anak lucu sekali, perempuan. Dia penasaran. Bukan penasaran. Dia ingin tahu, apakah kamu waktu itu ikut datang ke rumahnya? Iya?"</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Semua ikut."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Semua ikut? Di sana kamu main-main?"</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Hm m. Lalu ada yang lain di sekitar rumah itu, Risa."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Halo. Tadi kamu di sini dari tadi kan? Kita bersama-sama ke sini kalau aku di luar rumah kamu ke sini kan? Oke tadi aku cerita soal perjalanan kita ke Netherland."</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Hm m. Lalu ada yang lain di sekitar rumah itu, Risa."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Ada? Ada yang lain? Ada apa aja di sana?"</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Ada bapa-bapa tua. Laki-laki."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Ada bapa-bapa?"</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Iya. Tidak ada Wanita Jelek di sana."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Tidak Wanita Jelek? Ya, memang. Karena Wanita Jelek itu adanya hanya di Bandung, ya. Itu istilah kita aja."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Tidak Wanita Jelek? Ya, memang. Karena Wanita Jelek itu adanya hanya di Bandung, ya. Itu istilah kita aja."</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Ya."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Mungkin sebenarnya Wanita Jelek, tapi dia pakai baju bagus ya?"</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Ya. Lebih tidak menakutkan."</i> |

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Risa | <i>"Tidak menakutkan. Lalu, ada yang mengusir kalian dari sana? Suruh pulang, ayo pulang-pulang, ada? Siapa?"</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Ada. Ada wanita. Laki-laki."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Ada laki-laki. Dia suruh kalian pulang?"</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Iya. Kami bermain-main di sana."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Terus kenapa dia suruh kalian pulang?"</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Karena dia tinggal di belakang sana."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Oh tinggal di belakang, terus merasa terganggu?"</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Iya."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Kalian buat ribut?"</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Nee nee. Seperti ... a... dia... jalan-jalan."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Oh, dia jalan kesana-kesini, suruh pulang gitu."</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Iya. Iya. Tidak diam."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Tidak diam? Oh, jadi tidak hanya ada di rumah itu tapi di tempat itu? Dia di tempat itu terus lihat kalian, mungkin mereka tidak kenal kalian. Pulang gitu, pulang. Oke, jadi kamu hanya sebentar saja di sana? Ini penasaran, aku ingin tahu. Kamu lihat binatang di sana? Ada anjing, karena kamu kan suka banget sama anjing, apa di rumah itu ada?"</i> |
| Kakang / Janshen | <i>"Iya. Laki-laki tua itu."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Oke, laki-laki tua itu bawa anjing ya? Oke. Baiklah, yaudah nanti kita bicara lagi ya. Panggil yang lain, kita akan bicara lebih banyak lagi ya. Dadah."</i> |
| *** | |
| Risa | <i>"Nah ini juga banyak yang nanya Kang nih. Kenapa sih ini ngebahasnya ga cuman ini tapi ke pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang saya baca di komen-komen Jurnal Cerita Misteri. Emang bisa ya virtual? Emang ini namanya apa sih, kok bisa sih emang... ada yang meremehkan, ada yang ada apa-apa. Sekali lagi aku sih pengennya ya kalian tidak usah terlalu percaya juga sebenarnya ya sama konten yang kita bikin. Karena tujuan kami bukan membuat kalian percaya. Tapi membuat konten ini tuh yang untuk fun dan ini adalah salah satu a... kegiatan nggak sih, dulu tuh jaman kita ngumpul sama sodara-sodara, jaman belum bikin vlog dan lain-lain. Kalau kita nonton acara-acara misteri di Tv yang live. Uji nyali gitu."</i> |
| Kakang | <i>"Nonton bareng-bareng ya biasanya."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Nonton bareng-bareng dan kita tuh selalu nunjukin. Oh itu di sana tuh hantunya dan lain-lain."</i> |
| Kakang | <i>"Di situ ada. Yah ternyata terkadang kalau memang pas dan apa ya dia menampakkan diri di Tv, suka pas ya, oh betul kan bener ada."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Heu ueh, iya bener. Jadi kita memang kita ya kegiatannya seperti itu."</i> |
| Kakang | <i>"Jadi bukan ini ya teh, bukan ya... untuk yang paham, jadi bukan mata ini yang kita lihat. Tapi rasanya yang langsung dapet itu ya."</i> |
| Risa | <i>"Iya, dan bukan maksudnya ketika shooting kita langsung terbang kesana, astral projection gitu. Tapi kita melihat dari video yang kalian kirim. Dan kebetulan aja kalau kita bisa mediasi, panggil sosok yang ada di sana. Ya karena sosoknya mau untuk kita panggil, gitu."</i> |
| Character | Dominan Character Risa |
| | Dominated Character Kakang / Janshen |

The scene above shows Risa and Janshen that mediated by Kakang, they talking about their trip to the Netherlands. This scene uses medium shoot and eye level that means its show their activities such as chatting each other while sitting. Risa asked Janshen, did Janshen go to Reza's house. Janshen said yes and all the Peter CS were there playing. Then Risa asked again if someone kicked them out, and if there was another ghost there. Janshen answered yes again, and it turned out that there was indeed another ghost living in the house, they are appeared as old woman and old man who had a dog. Peter CS was kicked out by them because Peter CS was disturbing if played in the house. The dog ghost was also previously asked by Bre that Fei had given food to the empty floor which turned out after being investigated by Jurnalrisa

to be the ghost of the Dog that belongs to old man.

About the virtual investigation in the *Jurnal Cerita Misteri* video, Risa also explained that she was inspired by their family gathering while watching a live mystery show on TV. The dialogue above shows Risa and Kakang discussing the origins of the practice of virtual tracing, which was originally intended to be fun and entertaining for the audience. This virtual investigation style becomes a novelty that is displayed by Jurnalrisa in its practice of telling horror content. Risa Saraswati, who is a true horror content creator, has directly contributed to the Indonesian horror content storytelling industry. The proof is that through this Jurnalrisa Youtube channel, Risa is able to bring horror culture products to a higher level by creating new styles in the production process.

Risa seemed to build a new horror industry by making these mystical and ghost stories as commodities. If we borrow a Marxist political economy theory, then Jurnalrisa clearly makes netizens as workers – as reporters of this *Jurnal Cerita Misteri*. Netizens are given the opportunity to directly share the experience of covering the mystical stories around them. They were given a fantasy as if they were working as a journalist crew. In this episode, the characters who play the role are Risa, Angga, Riri, Kakang, Dimas, Iko, Indy, Reza, Bre, and Janshen. In accordance with the accumulated economic capital and social capital of the agents, there is a power relationship between Risa and the Jurnalrisa team as the dominating party for Reza and Bre representing netizens - who are “hired” to cover horror content in the episode *Jurnal Cerita Misteri #6 – Peter CS Pernah Datang Ke Rumah Reza di Belanda!* It is clear that Risa and Jurnalrisa team have far more knowledge capital and social experience capital about mystics than Reza and Bre. Then in economic capital, of course Risa and Jurnalrisa members are the parties that have higher economic value, because they are the parties who benefit the most.

On the one hand, this effort may also be a form of resistance for Risa, who has experienced the trauma of growing up as a “different” child who has the ability to communicate with spirits under the modern system of society that rejects belief in the existence of ghosts. In this episode, Risa even clearly mentioned the television media she had watched with her siblings. “Kalau kita nonton acara-acara misteri di Tv yang live. Uji nyali gitu. Nonton bareng-bareng dan kita tuh selalu nunjukin. Oh, itu di sana tuh hantunya dan lain-lain (If we watch mystery shows on live TV. Test your guts. Watch it together and we always show it. Oh, there are ghosts and so on).” From her sentence, it seems that the video content in the *Jurnal Cerita Misteri* category appears to provide an alternative style of reporting on mystical stories that have been missed on television media.

In Bourdieu’s theory of genetic structuralism, he combines the analysis of objectivism and subjectivism by developing the concepts of habitus and arena. Objectivism is more concerned with the construction of knowledge about the social world which tends to place and structure individuals as objective. Meanwhile, subjectivism tends to construct knowledge about the social world based on the main experiences and subjective perceptions of the individual. If you look back at the history of Journalism, Risa said that Journalism was formed as a space that wanted to show that she and her siblings were normal humans, no different from humans in general. Although he and his siblings have more abilities, this is actually a natural and very human thing. Even it seems clear, Jurnalrisa also seems to want to change the bad way of thinking about mystical things that have been developing in society. Make netizens aware that mystical matters have actually been attached to the cultural context of Indonesian society for a long time. The Jurnalrisa video content as an arena that accommodates the social struggles of Jurnalrisa figures, and the perception of mystical and ghosts as a fairness– has become a habitus.



Figure 4. Comments from Episode *Jurnalrisa #81 – Jurit Malam (2020)*

Figure 4 shows some of the audience's comments, the first comment: Diasty Nastiti said that she thought that virtual investigation in the *Jurnal Cerita Misteri* video were more exciting than other Jurnalrisa videos. In fact, if we compared *Jurnal Cerita Misteri #6* with the episode *Jurnalrisa # 81 - Jurit Malam*, the episode *Jurnal Cerita Misteri #6* is arguably not too scary in terms of the place it is displayed. Thus, it can be said that the purpose contained in the message of Jurnalrisa has been conveyed properly by Diasty. Then the second comment: Adventya Pinkan said that he also had the same experience as Risa and Reza, that they both lived in a former Netherland house and had Netherland ghost friends like Peter CS in his house. This comment clearly shows that the Adventya has similarities with Risa and Reza. This leads to the affirmation of Risa's argument that mystical matters and ghosts are actually natural and very human. Then in the third comment: Yopa Nys clearly stated that according to him Jurnalrisa's content is very different from other horror content. The point is how Jurnalrisa provides a different style in presenting the practice of horror investigation compared to other media. This unique style is clearly capable of making horror stories logically acceptable to netizens. So that it makes the story of mystical and ghosts as a normal thing.

CONCLUSION

Mass media is a communication tool that substantially has a function to convey messages and ideas broadly. It is considered as a sharp tool that can be used to construct human reality in social life. Youtube media is also basically a form of mass media that is used as a communication tool capable of conveying ideas and ideas massively. The existence of interactive features attached to Youtube has changed the way of construction of mystical matters and ghosts through the practice of horror journalism carried out by Jurnalrisa. Based on the analysis using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of genetic structuralism, the researcher found 3 new forms of horror journalism practice carried out by Jurnalrisa. These forms are represented through 3 types of videos displayed on the Jurnalrisa Youtube channel, they are *Jurnalrisa*, *Tanyarisa*, and *Jurnal Cerita Misteri*. The *Jurnalrisa* video which shows an investigative style of tracing to spooky and historical places by interviewing ghosts and spirits as sources. Then *Tanyarisa* which shows investigative practices such as talk shows that present ghosts and spirits as their sources, which are conducted in a comfortable, not scary place. The interview technique used in the *Jurnalrisa* and *Tanyarisa* videos both uses a process of mediation or mediumization. Jurnalrisa personnel consciously and with strong self-control summoning ghosts and spirits who become sources to enter the human body of Jurnalrisa's personnel as the ghost's physical "medium" in order to be able to communicate verbally and easily absorbed by the human senses or recorded by the camera. Then in the *Jurnal Cerita Misteri* which uses virtual search investigations to discuss mystical and creepy events in a video sent by netizens to Jurnalrisa. The practice of investigations in the *Jurnal Cerita Misteri* is a novelty presented by Jurnalrisa by involving netizens as reporters of events such as adopting an investigative style of citizen journalism.

Furthermore, from the results of the analysis of 3 videos, researcher found several habitus products that were formed from the struggles of agents in the selected Jurnalrisa videos. First, Jurnalrisa presents a discourse that ghosts are not completely bad, evil, and negative, which is represented by the ghost of *Karuhun*, which becomes the habitus product of the horror journalism practice of Jurnalrisa in the episode *Jurnalrisa # 81 - Jurit Malam*. *Karuhun* is the one who dominates the characters in this episode. Jurnalrisa also clearly presents a ghost as an active "subject" and becomes a form of historical evidence for events that occurred in the past. Second, the discourse of Peter CS as a representation of Netherland ghosts dominating Dimas which is similar to Nippon, and Fahrul who are like Ujang or sissy as a form of habitus product resulting from the upheaval of agents in #TANYAPETERCS episode. Third, the Jurnalrisa video as an arena that accommodates the social struggles of Jurnalrisa figures, and the perception of mystical and ghosts as a natural thing becomes a habit in the episode *Jurnal Cerita Misteri #6*.

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