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Application of the Spiral of Silence Theory in Rural Mojokerto Indonesia: Opinion Contestation in Duck Village and Social Isolation in Leprosy Village

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ABSTRACT

The background of this study is the hegemony of opinion in the Modopuro duck village and the social isolation of the Sumberglagah leprosy village. This study uses the spiral of silence as the main theory and supports patron-client relationships in rural communities theory. This study took two locations: the Sumberglagah leprosy village in Tangjungkenongo village and the duck village in Modopuro village. This study used a qualitative method focusing on two villages in Mojokerto Regency. This study found the application of the spiral of silence theory applies if public opinion or issues concern villagers' daily lives. Environmental pollution issues in Modopuro and the stigma of the Tangjungkenongo leprosy village are included in the close case category because they are related to the daily life and experiences of the villagers. Another finding is the emergence of patron-client relationships. The position of patrons from business circles with clients in Modopuro villagers is quite strong. Meanwhile, Tangjungkenongo village, which acts as a patron, is a public official for the clients of the villagers, especially the Sumberglagah leprosy village

INTRODUCTION

Recently, the dynamics of village development in Mojokerto Regency tended to increase due to pressure for equitable distribution of development through central government policies regarding the allocation of village funds under the mandate of Indonesian Law No. 6 of 2014 concerning villages. Recent regulations make villages more autonomous so that the intervention of the top-level government, such as district/city governments, is reduced in such a way. Likewise, village autonomy and development are automatically followed by technological advances and communication in village communities. Villages can directly manage infrastructure development financing, facilities and infrastructure, and human resources focusing on village communities. Along with the increased development and democratisation of villages in Mojokerto Regency, it has created several impacts in the form of freedom of opinion, which tends to cause conflicts of interest between the majority and minority groups (Hidayat et al., 2021; Hidayat & Susilo, 2021). The problem of marginalisation of opinion takes two village locations in Mojokerto Regency, namely Tanjungkenongo Village (known as leprosy village) and Modopuro village (known as duck village).

In the first village, Tanjungkenongo, the Sumberglagah area is inhabited by a minority group of lepers and their descendants. The leprosy sufferers did not only come from various regions in East Java Province. They chose to live in Sumberglagah because there used to be a Sumberglagah Hospital that specifically served treatment for people with leprosy. Still, now the hospital has become a general hospital. Anggoro and Qomaruddin (2019) explain that lepers physically suffer from disabilities if they do not receive proper treatment. In comparison, the psychological aspect, leprosy sufferers can experience mental disorders due to stigma and opinions from the village community. The existence of a group of former lepers who prefer to live in Sumberglagah shows that this community does not want to return to their place of origin. This proves

that leprosy sufferers experience alienation because the disease can cause permanent disability, so they cannot carry out their social roles, such as working normally without physical limitations.

The second village, Modopuro, is called a duck village because most of the village's residents work as duck farmers. Various home industries developing in Modopuro are processing chicken crackers and catfish farmers. The rise of intestinal processing entrepreneurs uses a lot of female workers from Modopuro. The head of the Modopuro village explained that currently, there are 14 Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) processing chicken intestines and slaughtering chickens in his area. Meanwhile, the management and marketer group Syla (Aliyah, 2021) accommodated the results of the catfish farmers in Modopuro village processing catfish. The rise of the food processing home industry has caused environmental problems in Modopuro village. For example, a river that is polluted by chicken intestine processing waste so that the rice fields become infertile because the water is polluted by sewage. The pollution also causes a foul odour around the river and duck farms belonging to the village community.

In the Tanjungkenongo case, lepers and their descendants are a minority group because they are immigrants who choose to live in Sumberglagah. The fear of transmission and the negative stigma towards leprosy sufferers has raised public opinion problems for Sumberglagah residents. Aulya et al. (2016) opinion of Sumberglagah residents is a new problem, even though leprosy is not lethal and not easily transmitted. The opinion is that leprosy looks disgusting, with deformed toes and hands. This opinion causes Sumberglagah residents cannot sell food and the like. This opinion does not only arise from people outside Tanjungkenongo Village but also from the villagers themselves. It results in leprosy groups experiencing increasing marginalisation in communication, such as expressing opinions and relations with the social environment.

Table 1. Population Tanjungkenongo and Modopuro Village

Description	Amount	%
Tanjungkenongo Village	2539	100%
Male	1314	52%
Female	1225	49%
Modopuro village	5971	100%
Male	2981	49,9%
Female	2990	50,1%

Source: Author's Data (2023)

For Modopuro, the farmers are a minority group because of the mushrooming home industry of intestinal chips and chicken slaughtering. For example, the process of producing chicken intestine chips wastes waste in rice fields' irrigation canals and contaminates the Ledeng River, the primary water source for farmers' fields. The position of farmers is increasingly squeezed in the battle of opinion because entrepreneurs get the support of village elites involved in the intestinal chips business. The elite village, as opinion leaders, conveyed that the home industry of intestinal chips does not pollute the environment, and bad smells only appear during the dry season due to the reduced flow of the Ledeng river. The elite group brought messages that the presence of business actors in the intestine chips and the chicken factory could increase the income of the Modopuro village community, especially additional income for homemakers. Differences of opinion between the majority group (supported by the elite village) and the minority group in both villages this is the focus of this article to further elaborate on the phenomenon of courage to express opinions by the Tanjungkenongo leprosy group and the Modopuro farmer group in the perspective of the spiral of silence theory.

The phenomenon of conflicting opinions theoretically, voicing opposing opinions, or acting inconsistent with the general opinion (the majority) can lead to logical consequences of isolation. The dominance of public opinion forces individuals or groups to behave and argue in accordance with general provisions when social interaction occurs (Neumann, 1974). Neumann explained that his attitude of not isolating himself took priority over his

considerations. For example, when a minor's opinion has risen to a certain threshold level, it does not make an individual's position as a minority group. This shows that the theory of the spiral of silence rests on two assumptions: that individuals understand which opinions are the majority and which are not. Individual responses adjust the expression of their opinions based on these perceptions. (Litteljhon et.al, 2017). Suppose, according to someone, the public opinion is different from his opinion. In that case, that person tends to be silent on the issue because his point of view is not represented on a specific issue in social life (Hidayat et al., 2022).

Another theoretical concept that can analyse the dominance of opinion in Tanjungkenongo Village and Modopuro village is the theory of patron-client relations. The rationale for using this supporting theory is that the dominance of the opinion involves opinion leaders who act as patrons. The opinion formers come from business leaders and essential village community officials. The term 'patron' comes from a Spanish word, which etymologically means 'someone who has power, status, authority and influence'. At the same time, the client means 'subordinates' or people who are ordered and ordered.

Furthermore, according to James C. Scott (1997), the pattern of patron-client relations is an alliance of two community groups or individuals that are not balanced or equal in terms of social status, authority, and income. This relationship thus positions clients in lower social status (inferior) and patrons in higher positions (superior). Alternatively, it can also be interpreted that a patron is a person in a position to protect and support his client (Prasetyono et al., 2020). In the village community,

as in the two villages that were the research locations, patron-client relations are quite common in the villages of Mojokerto Regency.

As explained by the spiral of silence theory and the patron-client theory above, this article aims to answer how the opinion formation process causes conflict in Tanjungkenongo Village and Modopuro village, Mojokerto Regency. Several previous studies regarding implementing the spiral of silence theory are as follows; Dharma (2016) describes the conflict between Sunni and Shia groups in Sampang, Madura. The study's conclusion on the conflict of the religious groups in Sampang, the actions of adherents of the Shia teachings are not in accordance with the concept of the spiral of silence theory. They deliberately went against Madurese public opinion, even though they already understood that countermeasures could take the form of sanctions, social exclusion, and at worst, violent conflict could arise. Furthermore, Rahmawati, BY Wibowo, and Musahwi (2018) examine the contestation of opinions in regional head elections from the spiral of silence theory perspective. Regional head candidates seek to increase electability through campaigns to form positive public perceptions. There are three assumptions from the spiral of silence theory: the main community will pose a threat to individuals who deviate from social isolation, the feeling of fear of isolation causes individuals to check public opinion at any time, and the opinion of the majority group influences public behaviour (Susilo, 2022b, 2022a).

Afriza et al. (2018) reveal the phenomenon of racism based on the spiral of silence theory in Indonesia, specifically the Papuan figure Natalius Pigai. Acts of racism through social media posts received criticism from the mass media, so the perpetrators received legal sanctions. The findings show that the increase in Google search volume through the keyword "racism" is evenly distributed in all provinces of Indonesia. At this time, the individual, according to the assumptions of the spiral of silence theory, will continue to review his social environment to distinguish his position in the majority opinion or minority opinion. Finally, a

study by Adrian Tawai et al. (2021) on the issue of COVID-19 at Media Kompas.com in Indonesia took the perspective of the spiral of silence theory. This article concludes that the government used non-verbal language more during the early COVID-19 Pandemic. The government's role as an opinion former cannot build public trust. This makes the community less compliant with health protocols due to the absence of strict sanctions for violators. After looking at the results of the presentation of previous studies, it appears that no research has made the village the locus of implementing the spiral of silence theory. Another novelty is using a supporting unit of analysis, namely the patron-client theory, to uncover the phenomenon of hegemonic opinion and social isolation in the two villages (Tanjungkenongo and Modopuro). Then there is the role of opinion formers who come from community leaders and have a higher social status than others or the position of community leaders as patrons in patron-client relations while forming public opinion.

METHODS

This type of research is descriptive qualitative. Method qualitative has the advantage of elaborating on a social phenomenon in depth, observing the process, and finally drawing conclusions. This research aims to explain the marginalisation of opinion and the courage of minority groups to express opinions different from the general will. The qualitative method was chosen because of its ability to build priority social problems from the theory used for concluding. This study chose Tanjungkenongo Village and Modopuro village because the two villages are unique, popular with the leprosy village and the duck village, and there is a clash of opinions about the image of the village, which involves the majority group and the minority group.

Data was collected in two ways. The first is to conduct a literature study and content analysis of various literature and news in online media, especially those relevant to research problems. The online media used as a research data source explicitly covers the gap in public opinion in the two villages.

Second, conduct in-depth interviews with relevant parties, especially those with information related to the research topic (Susilo et al., 2021). The interviewees were opinion leaders from public officials and community leaders who mainly represented the voices of minority groups. The informants' details from Tanjungkenongo Village are the village head Ahmad Hariadi, the head of the Sumberglagah hamlet Lulus Alufa, and ten leprosy residents of Sumberglagah village. In contrast, the informants' details from Modopuro village are the head of Modopuro village Imron Wahyudi, head of Bangsri hamlet, Agus Siswoyo, head of Sememi hamlet, Suwito, head of Modopuro hamlet, Iman Asmadi, and ten farmers.

The steps for processing data that can be taken to maintain and improve reliability in qualitative studies are research settings and triangulation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2009; Moleong, 2010). Data was analysed from various sources, namely interviews and secondary data in the form of online media news, previous studies, and village government documents in the form of picture notes or others. After the data is collected, a reduction or selection of data is carried out so that it can answer research problems. The second step is to categorise the data based on particular coding. The third step is to check the validity of the interpretation of the existing data. In the opinion of Miles and Huberman (1994), the data processing process consists of three activities that co-occur: data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This article aims at the communication relations of the village community. Soekanto (2012) characterised the village community with several parameters, including; first, the interaction of community members that is strong internally but weak externally. Second, communalism on a kinship basis. Third, the dependence of the village community on the agricultural sector. For the first point, Summer (1960) initially found the idea of in-group and out-group. The division of village social groups was also influenced by Cooley's ideas

regarding primary and secondary groups in Janu Murdiyatomoko (2008). Primary group identities tend to have closer interaction bonds, the characteristics of which are familiar and know each other with each group member. A pattern of group life supports the communication pattern of the village community, so the principle of kinship is quite strong. Relatively homogeneous communication procedures support this according to the local cultural system. The concept of patron-client can analyse the relationship between individuals on a micro-village scale.

The portrait of village life also experiences ups and downs as a form of conflict action and consensus in the communication process. This research is based on the assumption that the spiral of science communication theory is appropriate as a unit of analysis for forming opinions at the village level. The reason for choosing two villages, namely Modopuro village and Tanjungkenongo, was because they were considered suitable as cases of public opinion contestation. Moreover, the two villages have different characteristics, but the distribution problem of minority issues is almost the same. According to Eriyanto (2012), three main requirements exist for the spiral of silence theory to be used for a particular issue. Namely aspects of knowledge, proximity to issues, and opinion predictions. Whether the public knows about this issue or not, because if only a few people know about the issue, then the spiral of silence theory is not proven. Furthermore, closeness to issues related to an issue exists in real life. For example, the final condition for opinion prediction is that someone can accurately estimate the most recent dominant opinion (majority group) in society.

Villagers with minority views tend to be cautious in expressing their opinions in public or may remain silent because they do not take the risk of conflict. The spiral of silence theory focuses on the role of opinion in interactions between individuals in social communities. Controversial issues that develop into public opinion also involve mass media coverage. This reinforces the opinion that develops in the form of domination of the majority group and forms of silence originating from marginalised groups which can also be influenced by mass media issues (Nurudin, 2010). Another factor is those village actors have the skills to communicate and form opinions. As a party used as a source of reference by villagers, these figures can carry out the role of opinion leaders well.

Social Isolation and Sumberglagah Perception as a Leprosy Village in Tanjungkenongo Villagge

Sumberglagah is the domicile of lepers, former lepers and their families. This makes this area known as the leprosy village. They moved to Sumberglagah because there used to be a particular hospital for leprosy in Sumberglagah (Arianti and Suwanda 2020). After lepers are cured, they still experience social isolation from society with a negative stigma. For example, their descendants find it challenging to get a job, are excluded from public places and

schools, and find it difficult to find a mate or partner. Sumberglagah is identical to a beggar's village because physical disabilities due to leprosy are often used to make money in cities, especially Mojokerto and Surabaya. Sumberglagah is not all inhabited by migrant groups consisting of lepers and their families. The original inhabitants of Tanjungkenongo Village can also be found living in East Sumberglagah. Meanwhile, most of the West Sumberglagah are migrant residents or areas of former lepers and their families.

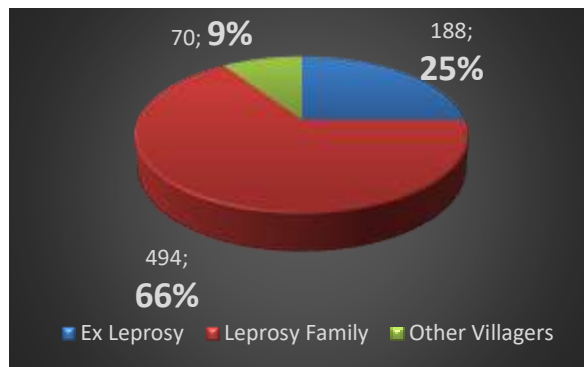


Figure 1. Population of Sumberglagah

One hundred eighty-eight patients and former lepers live in Sumberglagah, consisting of 106 men (56.38%) and 82 women (43.62%). They are migrants from other areas, mainly from Mojokerto Regency 26.9%. The Social Service (East Java Provincial Government) provided 51,050 m² of land for residence and 41,120 m² of rice fields for the livelihoods of former leprosy sufferers. Various facilities and assistance from the government were the main reasons. They did not return to their respective places of origin and chose to move to

Sumberglagah. Specifically, the Sumberglagah area consists of 4 neighbourhood units (RT), three neighbourhood units mostly inhabited by immigrants (ex-leprosy), while native Tanjungkenongo villagers inhabit one neighbourhood unit. This shows that leprosy sufferers are alienated and refuse to return to their home areas and gather with their families, so they choose to live in the village of leprosy, Sumbergalagah, Tanjungkenongo Village, Pacet District, Mojokerto Regency (Aulya and Zein, 2016).

Table 2. Profile Sumberglagah

Sumberglagah East	Sumberglagah West
47 Family	253 Family
70 people	682 people
1 Neighborhood (RT 4)	3 Neighbourhood (RT 1, RT 2, RT 3)
Non-leprosy	leprosy and families

Source: Author's Data

The growing public opinion has marginalised the residents of Sumberglagah, including the natives of Tanjungkenongo, even though they are not lepers or their descendants. The natives of Tanjungkenongo also feel a bad stigma when they claim to be residents of Sumberglagah. For example, residents outside Tanjungkenongo Village avoid buying food or garden products from Sumberglagah. Many villagers go far outside the city to look for work because if employment is still in the Mojokerto Regency area, the factory or company will likely reject it (Habibie et al., 2020). The opinion is formed in the community outside Tanjungkenongo Village depending on each party's knowledge and level of education. In the opinion formation stage, there are four determining factors. First, the cultural background, traditions and customs of the individual/community. Second, the life experience of a particular individual or community becomes the foundation or perception. Third, the values of morality, ethics and religion held by specific individuals and communities. Fourth, news and broad views so that a person can be influenced by his thoughts and actions (Ruslan, 2005; Herlina, 2017).

The former Sumberglagah leprosy sufferers are a minority group who cannot express their aspirations. They can only remain silent in public because this group is already marginalised and alienated in the public sphere. To change bad opinions and stigma, their opinions are less able to be heard by the village government because they are migrants who only occupy land belonging to the East Java Province Government Social Service. In Neumann's (1974) spiral of silence theory, voicing opposing opinions or expressing perceptions inconsistent with a popular opinion will challenge isolation. The dominance of public opinion forces ex-leprosy individuals and their family groups to experience alienation (job opportunities and social life). This results in differences in material ownership, restrictions on citizens' rights, and a lack of opportunity to express oneself.

The actions of the Sumberglagah leprosy group are relevant to Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory. The Sumberglagah leprosy

group does not want to continue to be isolated from the social environment, so their response is to monitor the opinions that develop in society. Based on the confessions of ex-leprosy informants, he made assumptions about whether his personal opinion was the same or different from the dominant opinion that leprosy was dangerous, disgusting and contagious. When a former leprosy person meets educated groups from outside the city, such as bureaucrats, health workers, and students, he dares to express his opinion about leprosy, which is harmless and non-infectious. However, suppose the people being confronted are the residents of Tanjungkenongo Village itself and neighboring villages around Tanjungkenongo, who tend already to have the stigma of a dangerous and disgusting disease. In that case, the residents of Sumberglagah prefer to remain silent. This is because he sees that his personal opinion differs from the majority's opinion. One of the head informants at Tanjungkenongo Village emphasised the dominant opinion that leprosy is dangerous and disgusting. He explained that if there were residents of Sumberglagah selling food, it would be difficult to sell and find it difficult to find work outside because of the image of leprosy.

The error in the opinion prediction stage shows the degree of dispersion of opinion distribution within the village community. When the dominant opinion is firm and broad, it shows that the dominant opinion is evenly distributed within the village community and outside the village. Thus, opinion prediction errors can be minimised so that communication consensus is more easily realised between the majority group and the minority group. This study found that the opinion on leprosy in Sumberglagah village is widespread throughout Mojokerto Regency. This relates to the statement that leprosy is dangerous, contagious, and disgusting. This opinion is increasingly dominant because there is a particular hospital for leprosy in Sumberglagah. However, it has become a general hospital, so it does not only serve leprosy treatment. Hendra (2019) describes the process of spreading opinions involving personal communication channels and communication through the mass media. The spiral

of silence continues when individuals express views according to the dominant opinion. Then the media tends to do continuous reporting or repeat the same message simultaneously (cumulation).

Opinion Relationship with Duck Village Business in Modopuro Village

Modopuro village has a symbol of a duck statue at the entrance to the village as an identity for outsiders. The majority of the population are also duck farmers, so they are known as the duck village. The location of Modopuro is a lowland traversed by two major rivers, namely the Sadar River and the Ledeng River, as the primary source of irrigation for agricultural land. The area of Modopuro village is around 294.5 hectares, divided into two, namely 93.5

hectares for residential areas and 201 hectares for agricultural land (Cahyani et al., 2021). As the data shows, primarily agricultural land does not guarantee that most of the population is a farmer. Based on the results of interviews with the head of the village, Moduporo village is divided into four hamlet areas. First, it is estimated that around 75% of the population's work is duck farmers. Second, it is estimated that almost 90% of Sememi's residents work making chicken intestine crackers. Third, in Bangsri Hamlet, an estimated 75% of the villagers work making intestinal chips and cutting chicken. Fourth, most Modopuro hamlet is engaged in services for making intestinal chips, entrepreneurs and farmers.

Table 3. The Livelihoods of Modopuro Village

Type of Work	Total
Trader	668
Craftsman	27
civil servant (PNS)	131
Tailor	12
Breeder	1023
Driver	127
Entrepreneur	772
Carpenter/stone	62
Army/police (TNI-POLRI)	37
Farmer	314
Service worker	461

Source: Author's Data

Based on the above data, the villagers' livelihoods are not farmers but work in the livestock sector and the home industry to process chicken intestine crackers and slaughter chickens. The increasing number of breeders impacts the unpleasant odour around the duck coop. Meanwhile, the mushrooming of the intestinal chips home industry produces waste from washing chicken intestines, contaminating the Ledeng River because the surface covered with garbage comes from chicken intestine faeces and fat. Another impact is that the stench that arises from the pollution of the Ledeng river is so pungent that this condition makes the village residents and outside the village often feel uncomfortable when visiting Modopuro. The secretary of Modopuro village explained that the

village government could not close a business that was proven to have dumped waste into the Ledeng river because a lot of the residents' income depended on the home industry. He added that Modopuro village is famous for its home industry centre for intestinal chips and duck farms. This impacts more and more business actors processing intestines into snacks. The chips production process produces waste that smells bad and pollutes the environment

The parties most affected by the Pollution of the Ledeng River are farmers. The farmers, totalling 314 people, are a minority group compared to the majority group, which comes from duck livestock entrepreneurs and chicken intestine cracker entrepreneurs. One of the informants, a farmer, admitted that the waste from duck farms and

slaughtered chickens make the river water red. Meanwhile, water mixed with waste from the intestinal processing industry enters the agricultural land area. If it comes into contact with the skin, it causes itching. Farmers usually apply used oil to the legs before going to the fields. As a result of this waste, some farmers fail to harvest, and the reason is that plants affected by chicken intestine fat cannot grow properly. Another problem is that the waste from washing the chicken intestines also pollutes the residents' wells because the water contains oil from chicken intestine fat.

According to the confessions of the informants, the minority group of farmers prefer to remain silent about the opinion of environmental pollution in Modopuro Village and the Ledeng River. Their reason is that most of the village's residents depend on livestock farming and chicken intestine processing for a living, so the dominant opinion is not about environmental pollution but that Modopuro Village is a business centre for duck farms and the manufacture of chicken intestine crackers. The condition of the Modopuro farmers is called the spiral of silence process. They choose to remain silent on controversial issues of environmental pollution. Farmers may remain silent, forming the impression of the distribution of opinion. If they feel they are a minority group, they tend to be silent on

the issue. The perspective of the spiral of silence theory states that individuals have sensory organs analogous to statistics. This instrument is used to select what opinions and actions are approved or disapproved by the local community and what opinions and forms of action gain or lose the power to exercise contestation (Neumann, 1993; Duku, 2014).

Opinion regarding the issue of environmental pollution in Modopuro uses personal communication channels between farming communities and mass media communication channels. The mass media's role is to spread controversial issues, so public opinion about Modopuro also involves the media. So there is a close relationship between opinion formation and the mass media. Mass media coverage usually influences what dominant opinion is evenly distributed in village communities. Thus, individuals express their opinion or do not voice their opinion. It all depends on which point of view is more prominent as the dominant opinion (Afriza et al., 2021). The issue of Pollution of the Ledeng River is quite a lot found on online media news portals such as kompas.com, detik.com, tribun.Jatim.com, and beritajatim.com. Even the news about the tap river went viral after it entered the private television media Indosiar through FOKUS news coverage.



Figure 2. News Coverages of Modopuro Village Environmental Pollution

One of the exciting findings in the communication process between groups in Modopuro village is the opinion of minority groups

about environmental pollution. Even though they receive support from media coverage, farmer groups still choose to be silent or not voice their opinions

loudly. This is different from the opinion of Neumann (1993) that the media provides various news words and sentences so that certain parties can speak confidently about a topic. That the majority of the population adapts their behaviour to directions from the media, for example, determining what issues are important or interesting to the community or controversial issues involving the interests of many people. When expressing an opinion, a person often admits that he feels powerless in front of the media. Two kinds of responses express this feeling of helplessness. First, the difficulty in obtaining a publication channel for a point of view. Second, the media are willing to be sacrificed with what Neumann calls the media's punishing function (pillory function). In this case, a person feels powerless against the media, making the media an essential component of the spiral of the silent communication process (Littlejohn, 2017; Herlina, 2017).

The silence of the Modopuro farmer group regarding opinions on environmental pollution despite media support can be explained by the theory of patron-client relations. According to Scott in Nilasari and Handayo (2015), patron-client relationships produce remuneration or compensation that the patron and his client receive. A patron of higher economic status uses to influence and resources to protect someone of lower status or a client. Modopuro's patron-client relationship between the chicken intestine cracker entrepreneur and the village community can be seen. Entrepreneurs as patrons have the economic resources needed by Modopuro village residents. As explained by the head of Modopuro village, almost the majority of the work of the villagers is processing chicken intestines. Thus, many residents of Modopuro village (possibly also farming families) depend on patrons or entrepreneurs for their income. Unbalanced power relations and the support of the majority make the farmers, with a relatively small number of people and resources, tend not to want to conflict with entrepreneurs, so they tend to remain silent and not protest about the environmental pollution of Modopuro village.

CONCLUSION

From the study, it can be concluded that the power of media coverage and the extent to which a person's closeness to a case is a source of opinion formation at the village level. In the Modopuro case, there is a correction to the spiral of silence concept because environmental pollution has frequently appeared in media coverage. Still, it has not made the minority farmers continue to protest strongly. They chose not to speak out loud because there was support from the media for reporting on the issue of environmental pollution in Modopuro village. This is different from the writings of Neumann (1993), that using sentences and arguments taken from the media can lead to a more acceptable point of view by the public and reduce the threat of social isolation. In the context of the Modopuro minority farmer group, they chose not to protest even though the issue of environmental pollution was also intense in the media and even went viral after private television coverage. According to James Scott (1994), this reluctance is also due to the lower status of farmers or clients. At the same time, entrepreneurs are prominent patrons because they have various businesses, such as intestinal chips and chicken slaughter, and are agricultural land owners. Entrepreneurs have abundant economic resources, so a lot of the income of Modopuro village residents depends on them. Perhaps also farming families work as chicken intestine processors.

Meanwhile, the dominant opinion is very strong for the case of leprosy in Sumberglagah village in Tanjungkenongo Village because it is spread evenly throughout Mojokerto Regency. Residents of Sumberglagah are relatively more able to predict the dominant opinion because previously, there was public opinion about the Sumberglagah leprosy hospital. The dominant opinion that leprosy is contagious and disgusting causes the minority leprosy group to become increasingly silent or not want to conflict opinions with residents of Tanjungkenongo Village and outside the village. Moreover, media coverage of government assistance to leprosy sufferers always makes Sumberglagah a news locus object. This makes the majority group

increasingly dominate the Sumberglagah leprosy community. Another consequence is that the social isolation of all Sumberglagah residents, both leprosy and non-leprosy sufferers, is getting stronger. Both the Modopuro and Tanjungkenogo cases explain that the theory of spiral silence can apply depending on whether the issue is near or far for someone. The issue of environmental pollution in Modopuro and the stigma of leprosy in Tanjungkenogo village is included in the close case category because it relates to the daily life and experiences of the villagers. Eriyanto (2012) states that even though a case has true and false values or moral content, the spiral of silence theory does not apply if the public views the case.

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