Deanship of Scientific Research

A Netnography Analysis Of Indonesian Netizens: Digital Prints Of Mental Health On Instagram®

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Abstract

Objectives: This study aims to examine the message posting network about mental health looks like, what are the categorizations of emerging and final themes, and what are the forms of comments from Indonesian netizens regarding mental health-related discussions.The research object focuses on every content post in the form of reels, *snapgrams* or story updates, live posts, and comments from representative posts under other mental health themes on the Instagram® social media platform.

Methods: This research uses *Netnographic* Analysis method. In total of, mental health-related content posts on Instagram were 534,000 posts. Researchers were then selected based on engagement and certain criteria using the NoLimit tool from May to December 2021. In total of 2,235 posts were closely analyzed.

Results: As a result, researchers found a network that formed three (3) large clusters: bipolar, stress, and depression. In addition, four (4) big themes were found that represented every social entity of conversation on I Instagram social media in Indonesia; they are (1) Oversharing and Self-Claim Phenomena, (2) Community: Normalization of Conversation, (3) When Influencers Share Experiences, and (4) Expert Education.

Conclusions: Digital conversations about mental health on social media have become an important part of the emerging culture. Social media has helped reduce the stigma surrounding depression and other mental disorders by providing a platform that allows individuals to share their personal experiences openly.

Keywords: Mental health; *Netnography*; Content; Instagram.

تحليل نتنوغر افيا لمستخدمي الإنترنت الإندونيسيين: المطبوعات الرقمية للصحة النفسية على إنستغرام

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ملخّص

الأهداف :تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف شكل شبكة منشورات أخبار الصحة النفسية، وتصنيفات الموضوعات الناشئة والنهائية، وأشكال التعليقات من مستخدمي الإنترنت الإندونيسيين على مناقشات الصحة النفسية، ويركز موضوع البحث على جميع منشورات المحتوى في شكل مقاطع قصيرة أو لقطات أو تحديثات قصة، ومنشورات مباشرة، وتعليقات من منشورات تمثيلية تحت موضوعات الصحة النفسية الأخرى على منصة التواصل الاجتماعي إنستجرام.

المنهجية :يستخدم هذا البحث طريقة التحليل الشبكي. حيث بلغ إجمالي عدد المنشورات المتعلقة بالصحة النفسية على إنستغرام 534000 منشور .ثم تم اختيار الباحثين بناءً على المشاركة ومعايير معينة باستخدام أداة نوليت من مايو إلى ديسمبر 2021 .وتم تحليل ما مجموعه ألفان ومئتان وخمسة وعشرون منشورًا عن كثب.

النتائج :ونتيجة لذلك، وجد الباحثون شبكة شكلت ثلاث (3) مجموعات كبيرة :ثنائية القطب، والتوتر، والاكتئاب . بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تم العثور على أربعة (4) موضوعات كبيرة تمثل كل كيان اجتماعي للمحادثة على وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي على إنستغرام في إندونيسيا؛ وهي (1)المشاركة المفرطة وظاهرة المطالبة الذاتية، (2)المجتمع :تطبيع المحادثة، (3)عندما يتشارك المؤثرون الخبرات، (4)تعليم الخبراء.

الاستنتاجات :أصبحت المحادثات الرقمية حول الصحة النفسية على وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي جزءًا مهمًا من الثقافة الناشئة .وقد ساعدت وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي في الحد من وصمة العار التي تحيط بالاكتئاب والاضطرابات النفسية الأخرى من خلال توفير منصة تسمح للأفراد بمشاركة تجاربهم الشخصية بصراحة.

الكلمات المفتاحية :الصحة النفسية ؛ نتنوغرافيا؛ المحتوى؛ إنستغرام.

Introduction

Discussions about mental health among social media users (netizens) in recent years have become a hot trend, especially after the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic (Roy, 2021). Mental health disorders are quite common all around the world, especially in children (Nasir et al., 2023). Understanding communication interactions and phenomena among netizens can be easily observed through their respective social media accounts (Schuman, 2019). There is something unique that has occurred in recent years, especially shortly after the Covid-19 pandemic hit the world. Many posts can be found on social media pages in Indonesia, you can find lots of posts on the themes of mental health, mental disorders, mental illness, depression, bipolar disorder and other mental health problems. Vlog posts with gloomy musical backgrounds, a dim atmosphere, and crying in the middle of a dark room accompanied by the quote "upset" often appear in posts from many social media accounts.

Mikal and Grace in Hetz state that social media can improve relationships between individuals, especially for those who are studying (teenagers) worldwide. Therefore, most social media users belong to the younger generation (Hetz et al., 2015). Young females who are female, live in urban areas, and have high incomes tend to use social media more often (Feng, 2019). Social media as a social networking site makes it easier for users to communicate and interact with other people, allowing them to form virtual social ties and present themselves (Fuchs, 2014). Social media users currently seem to be experiencing digital panic (Korkmazer, 2020). They freely share personal information, for example, the depression they are experiencing, people who make them depressed, and other private information. Many comments and threads also emerged from the educational content on mental health originating from health influencers. These influencers actively share daily affirmations or advice regarding general health awareness of mental health with communities that are concerned about mental health issues and are openly taking advantage of this trend.(Vidamaly & Lee, 2021). These social media users did not the burden of trying to be exposed in the comments column about the mental disorders they are experiencing, medication, or diagnoses that have been made. This trend is often referred to as oversharing because they experience zero privacy, and mental health problems are still considered by some people to be taboo to reveal in public spaces, especially in Indonesia which still adheres to Eastern culture. The rapid development of media technology is thought to be one of the alleged causes of the emergence of this urban culture (Lange, 2015).

In several studies, it was found that *Zillenials* and Millennials are the ones who experience the most mental health problems due to the Covid-19 pandemic, and one of the factors causing this is a large amount of exposure to Internet use, especially social media, and this phenomenon produces stress. However, this does not happen significantly among Internet users of Gen X (Lathabhavan and Padhy, 2022). Evidence that social media is also a source of depression and anxiety experienced by young people is also real (Keles, 2020). Sources of negative content that spread on the Internet should be monitored by related parties to ensure that the younger generation is not contaminated (Hafiar, 2019).

Mental illness or mental disorder is a health condition that affects thoughts, mood, behavior or a combination of these that occurs intermittently or over a long period (Primananda, 2022). Content with nuances about mental health and mental illness currently seems to be a natural thing to be discussed among netizens who use social media, especially if it is done to get help with health services from experts (Kazdin, 2019) because Good mental health is a form of psychological well-being (Ruini & Fava, 2015) and is part of psychosocial well-being and an important aspect of individual life in the modern era (Farooq, 2020).

Based on online searches, researchers obtained several names for health influencers who are favored by netizens because they are concerned about discussing mental health issues on social media. Some of them are doctor Jiemiardian, doctor Andri, doctor Lim Jerren, and psychologist Anassatriyo who have thousands of followers on social media platform. Further, among the *celebgrams*, there is Awkarin, whose followers have reached 7.3 million accounts on her Instagram®. In addition, there are also health expert community accounts that are also active in sharing infographics regarding mental health issues, such as @digitalmentalcoach and @indopsichologi. Remote health communication appears to have become commonplace in the world of healthcare (Mahtta et al., 2021).

Most of the time, the posts from professional mental health experts go viral and give rise to various comments among

netizens who use social media, especially the youth. Many *Gen Z* and *Gen Y* members have shared their stories of struggling with mental disorders that were merely self-diagnosed. To determine a diagnosis regarding certain types of mental disorders, long-term observation is required and must be carried out by professionals such as psychiatrists or clinical psychologists (Barnett & Huskamp, 2020). Some of them even often ask in the comments section of the psychiatrists' accounts to try to get a free consultation. Certainly, this will later become a digital footprint in the future. For example, when one day social media users apply for a job, the HRD will look for the applicant's personal information on social media. You can imagine, that this will be a boomerang for these *Gen Y* and *Z*. Based on the APA survey in 2018, it is clear that *Gen Z* has a higher history of mental disorders than other generations such as *Millennials, Gen X, Baby Boomers* and others (American Psychologycal Association, 2018).

In 2022, a survey from the Indonesia-National Adolescent Mental Health Survey released in 2022 (showed in Table 1) that there were 15.5 million (34.9%) young people (Gen Y and Z) who experienced mental health problems and 2.45 million people (5.5%) of young people who experienced mental disorders. From the overall survey results, it was found that only around 2.6% accessed mental health counseling services (Nababan, 2023).

Table 1. Mental Health State of Generation Y dan Z in Indonesia in 2022

Category	People	Percentage	Generation
Mental Health Issues	15.5 million	34.9%	Young
Mental Disorders	2.45 million	5.5%	Young
Have accessed counseling services	<1 million	2.6%	Young

(Source : Nababan, 2023)

However, it must be acknowledged that the lack of information regarding health services in Indonesia has resulted in low public literacy regarding health. The quality of services and inappropriate use of media are also determining factors for the lack of public health literacy in Indonesia (Hadisiwi, Purwanti & Suminar, 2017). Health information in the current era of digitalization should be intensively collected by professionals such as health workers because they are considered credible parties. In Indonesia, there is often misinformation and disinformation regarding health information, especially on social media platforms (Dida et al., 2021).

Social media is considered effective initial aid for diagnosing mental health disorders in most people. Moreover, during the COVID-19 pandemic, which requires people to stay at home and maintain their distance, individual movement is greatly restricted (Aristi et al., 2021). In addition, health services in the form of e-health that rely on advances in communication technology and new media are also available to provide long-distance mental health care to for evaluation and management stages of treatment and psychotherapy steps that will be carried out by patients with mental health disorders (Whaibeh et al., 2020).

Social media has emerged as an inevitability of new media which is a transformation of the rapid growth of the internet (Khatri, 2021). Many studies have analyzed the massive use and adoption of social media today (Boehm, 2019). Marshall McLuhan explained the current transformation of social media in the early 1900s, such as the birth of online campaigns in the digital market (Rubawati, 2018). Today, there is a wide choice of available platforms, and most of them are shaped by new media. The presence of social media as part of new media seems to be a basic need, especially for the younger generation as the majority of users. The internet, in this case, social media, is also changing and forming new patterns in their activities. This is because social media is an important channel that is often accessed massively by them (Zulhazmi & Hastuti, 2018). For example, understanding a person's current interactions and communication behavior does not require direct access. Just looking at the posts on social media every day. From the content they upload and "share" with the public in the social media space, a collection of data will be formed which will become an online footprint or digital footprint in the future.
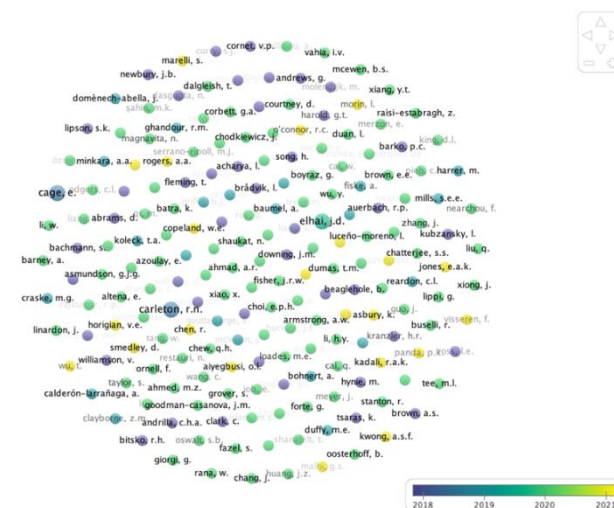
Unlike mass media, social media is very dynamic and prone to misinformation if you look at where the source is from (Hawke, 2020). However, this competency is not needed on social media because anyone is free to create and disseminate

information that could be a lie. Sources of negative content spread on the internet should be monitored by relevant parties so ensure that the younger generation is not contaminated (Hafiar, 2019).

Based on the explanation regarding the trend of discussions about mental health among users in the social media space, the researcher focused on the following research objectives: how the message posting network about mental health looks like, what are the categorizations of emerging and final themes, and what are the forms of comments from Indonesian netizens regarding mental health-related discussions. The research object focuses on each content post in the form of reels, *snapgrams* or story updates, live posts, and comments from representative posts with other mental health themes on the Instagram social media platform.

Literature

Studies on health, e-health, etc. have been conducted out by many previous researchers from various countries. However, there has not been much specific research on mental health or mental illness from social media sources. Therefore, this study fills the gap in research on mental health and social media. The COVID-19 pandemic outbreak then brought positive changes to the world of health, especially mental health, where many people became more aware of this issue. In the last five years (2018 to 2023), researchers found more than 571 international article titles indexed by Scopus on the theme of mental health from various parts of the world. A visualization map that displays the network between authors, institutions, and keywords in mental health-themed journals is as follows:

Figure 1. Researcher Network Visualization Map of Mental Health in Period of 2018-2023
(Source: VOSviewer, 2023)

Based on Figure 1, Researchers have identified 571 journal titles in the last 5 years (2018-2023) with the theme of mental health which originated from Scopus. From this image, a network map of authors and institutions can be obtained which is differentiated through a color spectrum. Research on the theme of mental health carried out in the most recent year (2021) was characterized by a brighter or yellowish color spectrum. Research carried out in 2020 is marked with a bright green color spectrum, which becomes darker in 2019, and purple in 2018. From the overall network map, it can generally be seen that the green color spectrum dominates the number of researchers who written about mental health in Scopus-indexed journals in the last five years.

First, research by Somsamay Vidamali and Soon Li Lee in 2021 was published with the title of *Young Adults Mental Illness Aesthetic on Social Media*. This paper discusses the popularity of social media posts that reveal mental illnesses such as depression in today's digital environment. The aesthetics of gloomy posts on young people's blogs and social media accounts needs to be questioned. This research looks at the problems of why young people use mental illness as an aesthetic

4

on social media. This study used a technique called netnography, which examines online social interactions. In addition, actor-network theory (ANT) is used as an analytical tool to dig deeper and obtain results. Seven mediators were found such as Tumblr, media, attention seekers, coping mechanisms, victims, emo culture, and mental health awareness, which were considered potential drivers of the use of aesthetics for mental illness (Vidamaly & Lee, 2021).

Secondly, research by Amy Tenderich, etc, "What are PWD's (people with Diabetes) Doing Online, A Netnograpfhic Analysis". Researchers conducted an in-depth or immersive analysis of online conversations which became a data site to identify themes, sentiments, and perceptions of social media users during the summer of 2017. Netnography is in demand as a new method to understand the online ecosystem on social media, so it is hoped that it can find digital traces from big data regarding real portraits. The results generated six main patterns, or "life themes" in the social media posts of diabetic patients, which shed light on the needs and feelings of the patients. A social media channel topology was created, showing which platforms were most frequently utilized for each life theme (Tenderich et al., 2019).

Thirdly, a journal article written by Roy A et al in 2021 in the International Journal of Social Psychiatry entitled "Mental health implications of the COVID-19 pandemic and its response in India". In this study, the researchers attempted to review the existing mental health problems during the COVID-19 pandemic through global experiences and the reactive strategies established in mental health care with special reference to the Indian context. The method used was a PubMed and Google Scholar electronic database searches were performed using the search terms "novel coronavirus", "COVID-19", "nCoV", SARS-CoV-2, "mental health", "psychiatry", and "psychology".

The results of the study showed that the main mental health problems reported were stress, anxiety, depression, insomnia, anger denial, and fear. Children and their parents, frontline workers, and people with mental health disorders are among the vulnerable in this context. COVID-19-related suicides are also becoming increasingly common. In general, efforts have been made to address mental health problems using guidelines and intervention strategies. In this context, the role of social media is also significant. Country-specific intervention strategies, telepsychiatry consultations, and special toll-free numbers for psychological and behavioral problems have been issued by the Indian government (Roy, 2021). This research is important because explain the form of a message-posting network for mental health in Indonesia and the categorizations of themes that emerge from conversations about mental health on Instagram® social media.

Research Methods

This research uses an interpretive paradigm with a qualitative approach and *netnographic* methods. Communication interactions regarding mental health problems among social media users will be analyzed thoroughly using a *netnographic* approach on Instagram social media. *Netnography* is a form of qualitative research that seeks to understand cultural experiences which include and are reflected in traces, networks of practice, and online trace systems. Online traces can be textual, graphic, photographic, audiovisual, musical, commercially sponsored politically *fannish*, and many other things. These cultural experiences can be engaged with, communicated through, and then reflected on, forming the three basic elements of *netnography*: inquiry, interaction, and immersion (Kozinets, 2015).

Netnography is an an alternative to participation in engagement. In engagement, researchers did not need to participate in the activities of the informants being studied. For example: participating in posts, commenting on posts from users, giving likes and shares, etc. Participation is difficult because, in *Netnography*, the data generally exists before the researcher conducts the research. Engagement is a form of researcher involvement with data, how the researcher devotes and is involved with the data being researched (Kozinets, 2020).

The subjects of this research are social media users who upload vlog content, *snapgrams*, infographics, story updates, live, threads, and comments regarding mental health in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the object is content that shows communication interactions regarding mental health that occur in each post in the form of a vlog, *snapgram* or story update, live, thread, and tweet containing the theme of mental health through keywords and hashtags including mental health, mental illness, and mental disorder. , mental illness, depression, bipolar disorder, mental health, psychiatry, and psychiatry. The keyword mental health is widely discussed on the social media accounts of Instagram social media users. Content posts will be analyzed using *Netnography* on the second favorite social media platform in Indonesia, which is Instagram (Riyanto,

2022). Researchers will conduct in-depth or immersive conversations in online conversations that become datasite to identify themes, sentiments, and perceptions of social media users (Tenderich et al., 2019).

The Primary data sources in this research were posts and comments on vlogs, *snapgrams* or story updates, and live and infographics on the theme of mental health using the keywords mental health and mental health in Indonesia. The hashtags that will be analyzed are #kesehatan mental #mentalhealth, #mentalillness, #mentaldisorder, #penyakitmental, #depresi #bipolar #sakitjiwa. The types of data used in this research were qualitative data and quantitative data. Content posts will be analyzed from several social media accounts that are discussed the most or have the highest number of posts based on queries from SNA tools. Secondary sources in this research are from other online sources such as journals and the results of previous research.

The data collection technique in this research is through an online data search method using tools and also using purposive sampling on several representative posts through criteria determined by the researchers, who come from Indonesian citizens who are over 17 years old, posts get the number of comments and the most likes were posted in the period May-December 2021. This period was chosen was because the trend of discussion about mental health on social media emerged after the COVID-19 pandemic hit Indonesia and the world. As pre-research data, researchers also conducted searches using on Google Trends. Surveys on Google Trends are a proxy for representing public opinion (Wibowo, 2018).

The survey stated that a high number of fluctuations in discussions on mental health on social media occurred in May and September 2021 (Google Trends, 2023). Then, researchers will collect or scrap the data with the help of big data tools such as NoLimit, which allows for data crawling. Overall, mental health-themed content posts on Instagram currently comprise 534,000 posts. Researchers then made a selection based on the highest engagement (number of comments and likes) via the NoLimit application, which was in the period of May-December 2021, with a total of 2,235 posts for further analysis.

Results

The research results were described in 3 (three) analytical contexts. They are the form of a message posting network regarding mental health, the categorization of emerging themes, and the form of comments from Indonesian netizens. Researchers engaged with the data, and made observations with emotional involvement with the data being studied. Involving oneself emotionally means that the researcher puts himself on the side of the party being researched, and tries to understand the emotions of netizens to understand more about their culture as users of Instagram social media.

Form a Posting Network Regarding Mental Health in Indonesia

Researchers have extracted data from thousands of mental health-themed content on Instagram, as many as 534,000 posts to date. Researchers then made a selection based on the highest engagement (number of comments and likes) through the NoLimit big data application, which occured in the May-December 2021 period, with 2,235 posts for further analysis.In the thousands of posts and intensities that make up the network, researchers identified several topics of conversation that form word cloud mentions as follows;
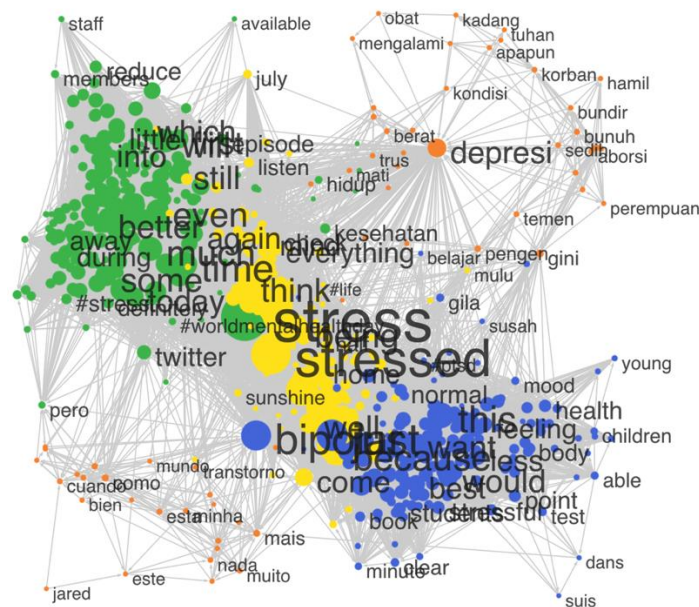

Figure 2. Word Cloud Mentions About Mental Health in Indonesia

(Source: NoLimit, 2023)

From the word cloud mentions graph as shown in Figure 2, it can be seen that topics originating from the keywords "Bipolar" and "Stress" occupy the largest rankings and are most frequently discussed by netizens on Instagram social media in Indonesia. There were 2,235 talks about bipolar disorder and stress and 70,341 talks about mental health. Social media users who talked about this keyword included 2,032 male users (40.9%) and 2,937 (59.1%) female users. Meanwhile, the cities of Bandung and Jogjakarta have the highest levels of discussion intensity regarding mental health.

In addition, researchers have studied the structure of social entities on Instagram to understand how social networks occur through conversations on the theme of mental health theme. Intensity forms a culture of digital conversation in various content with the keywords and hashtags "mental health, mental illness, mental disorder, *penyakit mental*, *depresi*, bipolar, *kesehatan mental*, *psikiater*, dan *psikiatri*". As a result, researchers found a network that formed 3 (three) large clusters: bipolar, stress, and depression. The visualization is as follows;

Figure 3. Social Network Analysis Graph About Mental Health in Indonesia

(Source: NoLimit, 2023)

As can be seen in Figure 3, the bipolar cluster is marked in blue. The Stress cluster is marked in yellow and green, and the depression cluster is marked in orange. The large amount of data distributed on social media has helped reduce the stigma surrounding depression and other mental disorders with the help of platforms that allow individuals to share their personal experiences openly. This helps to broaden the understanding that depression is a common problem and that a person is not alone in their struggle. Thus, through social media, information about depression, symptoms, treatment, and helpful resources can be easily accessed and disseminated through social media. This helps to increase the general public's understanding of depression and reduces confusion and misunderstandings.

Categorization of Themes Related to Mental Health in Indonesia
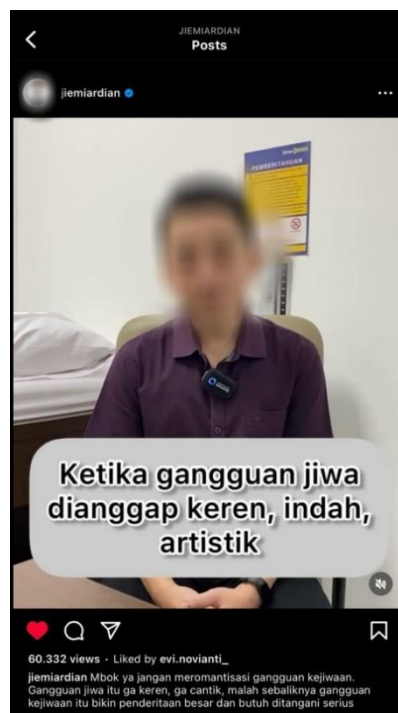
The first context that will be analyzed in this research is the categorization of themes that emerge from posts related to mental health on Instagram social media. The data collection period was from May to December 2021, when the conversation graph regarding mental health peaked in the last three years. The following is a presentation of the data from the data-reduction process.

- **Theme 1: Oversharing and Self-Claim Phenomena**

In terms of quantification, based on the researchers' observations adjusted to the data site, the post themes that emerged were in the form of self-claims regarding the symptoms of mental disorders experienced by netizens. This is thought to have arisen due to the oversharing phenomenon: a situation where netizens freely share important and even sensitive information in cyberspace such as their social media accounts. To diagnose a certain type of mental disorder, long-term observation is required and must be carried out by professionals such as psychiatrists or clinical psychologists. Some of them even often ask in the comment section of the psychiatrist's account to try to get a free consultation. This could potentially become a digital footprint with good social media ethics and literacy.

The phenomenon of oversharing with mental health themes on various social media platforms is evident from the many comments provided by users of each platform. Education from experts is most often found. Through online searches for keywords and hashtags #psikiatri #psikologi #psikiater #psikiaterbogor #psikiater #kesehatanmental #kesehatanjiwa #mentalhealthawareness, it was found that one of the actors who met the research criteria was Dr. Jiemi Ardian. Dr. Jiemi is a psychiatrist who is well-known in the field of clinical hypnotherapy. Dr. Jiemi Ardian is also an advisors at the @Ibunda.id counseling service. He is very active in providing education and even online consultation services to Instagram social media netizens until his followers have reached 279 thousand accounts.

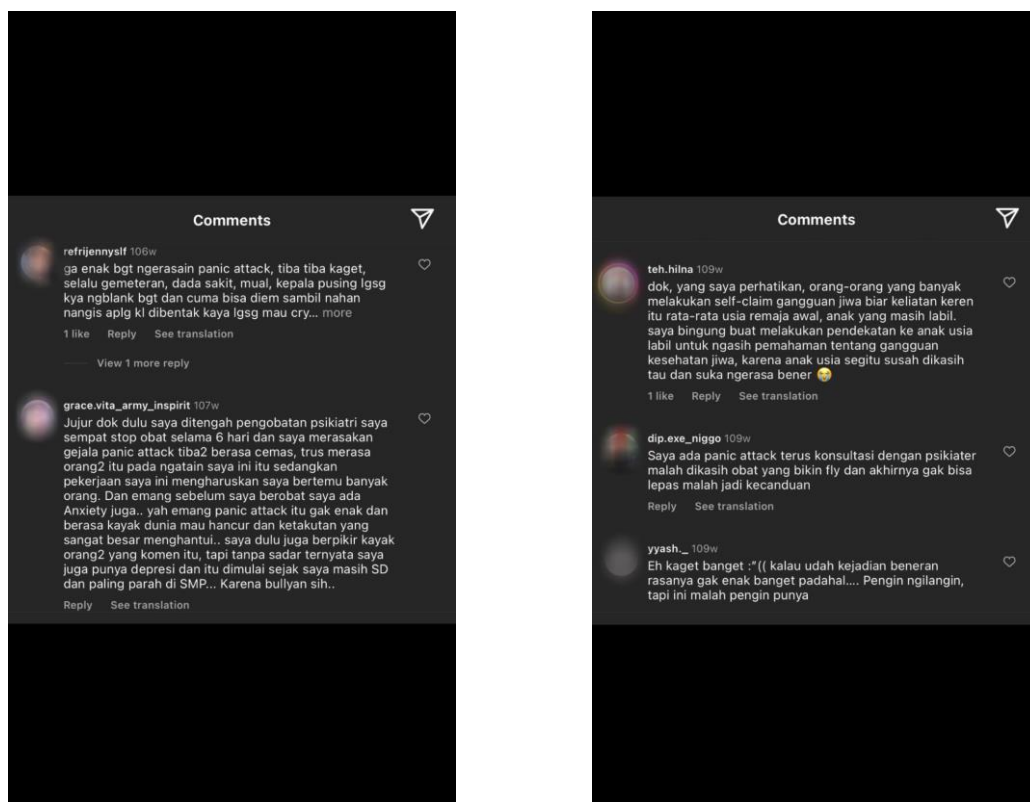**Figure 4. The Example of the Oversharing Phenomena by @jiemiardian**

(Source: Instagram® @jiemiardian, 2023)

The post as shown in Figure 4 is entitled "Ketika Gangguan Jiwa Dianggap Keren, Indah dan Artistik" (When Mental Disorders Are Considered Cool, Beautiful, and Artistic) which is highly engaged in a number of likes and comments from netizens. This post is one of dr. Jiemi's 1,45 educational content which was uploaded on October 30, 2021, was watched by 60,332 viewers, and commented on 262 times. The posts from Dr. Jiemi Ardian tell him how he saw a very massive phenomenon where Indonesian netizens seemed to romanticize the symptoms of mental disorders. Mental disorders are not cool and he claims that mental disorders are a major suffering and require serious treatment from experts. In Addition to Dr. Jiemi Ardian, other actors are active in sharing educational-themed posts from these experts, including @santi_psychiatrist and @andripsikosomatik.

The posts from Dr. Jiemi Ardian received a positive response through comments from netizens. From the results of

observations and immersion notes, researchers found comments that mostly represented netizens' interpretations. For example, a comment from the account @refrijennyslf which stated "*ga enak banget ngerasain panic attack, tiba-tiba kaget, selalu gemetaran, dada sakit, mual, kepala pusing langsung kayak ngeblank dan Cuma bisa diem sambal nahan nangis apalagi kalau dibentak kaya langsung mau* cry…" (it's not nice to feel a panic attack, suddenly startled, always shaking, chest pain, nausea, headache, it's like going blank and you can only hold still while not crying, especially if you're shouted at like you're going to cry... "). One of the netizens' comments seemed to be reflected in his own experience of a panic attack, which is usually caused by excessive anxiety. Apart from this, other netizens also shared their experiences in the comment column regarding their psychiatric treatment. If we observe several netizen accounts, they do experience symptoms of anxiety disorders because it can be seen from their statements that they have taken medication from a doctor.
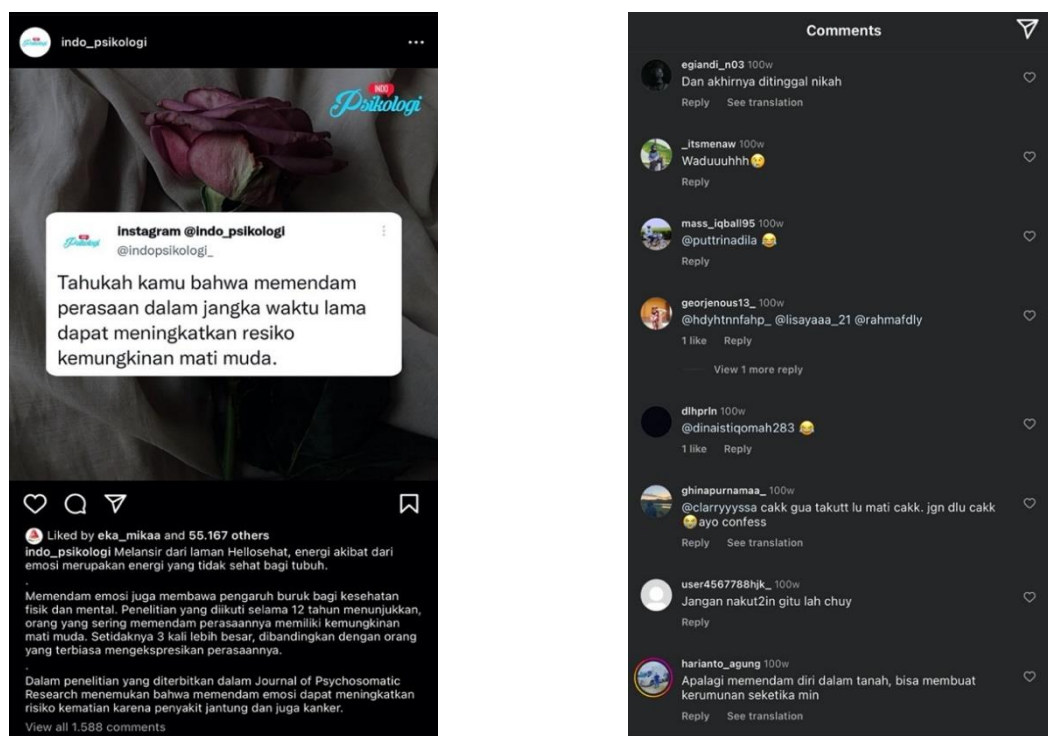

Figure 5. The Examples of Comments from Netizens taken from dr. Jiemi Ardian's post
(Source: Instagram @jiemiardian, 2023)

Further, some netizens also comment that many people self-claim on mental disorders to look cool. According to one netizen, those who make self-claims are teenagers. They are considered still unstable and need to provide an understanding of the dangers of making self-claims regarding their mental health. These social media users from among teenagers or *Zillenials* feel no burden trying to expose in the comment column the mental disorders they are experiencing in the comment column, medication, or diagnoses that have been made. This trend is often referred to as oversharing. Because they experience zero privacy, mental health problems are still considered by some people to be taboo to reveal in public spaces, especially in Indonesia where people still adhere to Eastern culture.

- **Theme 2: Community: Normalization of Conversation**

This theme is the second theme that is often found among other themes from conversations about mental health on Instagram social media. Based on researchers' observations, the @indo_psikologi account is an example of a forum for netizens to share information about feelings experienced, happy and sad emotions, and other psychological information. In

general, the message themes shared by the @indo_psikologi account manager are mostly news, quotes, and infographics, all of which aim to motivate netizens daily. It can even reach four posts per day. From the researchers' online searches to date. The number of posts that have been uploaded has reached 48,300 thousand content. Meanwhile, the number of followers has reached 5 million accounts. Therefore, the @indo_psikologi account has become a community forum for netizens who like to obtain information and discuss their mental health problems. One of the news posts that received high engagement was posted in October 2021 with the title "*Tahukah kamu bahwa memendam perasaan dalam jangka waktu lama dapat meningkatkan resiko mati muda*" (Did you know that harboring feelings for a long time can increase the risk of dying young?) (showed in Figure 6). The caption section of this news states that this information was quoted from the Hellosehat page, "Energi akibat dari emosi merupakan energi yang tidak sehat bagi tubuh." (The energy resulting from emotions is unhealthy energy for the body). Holding in emotions also negatively influences on physical and mental health. Research conducted over 12 years shows that people who often harbor their feelings are more likely to die young. This is at least three times greater than people who are used to expressing their feelings.

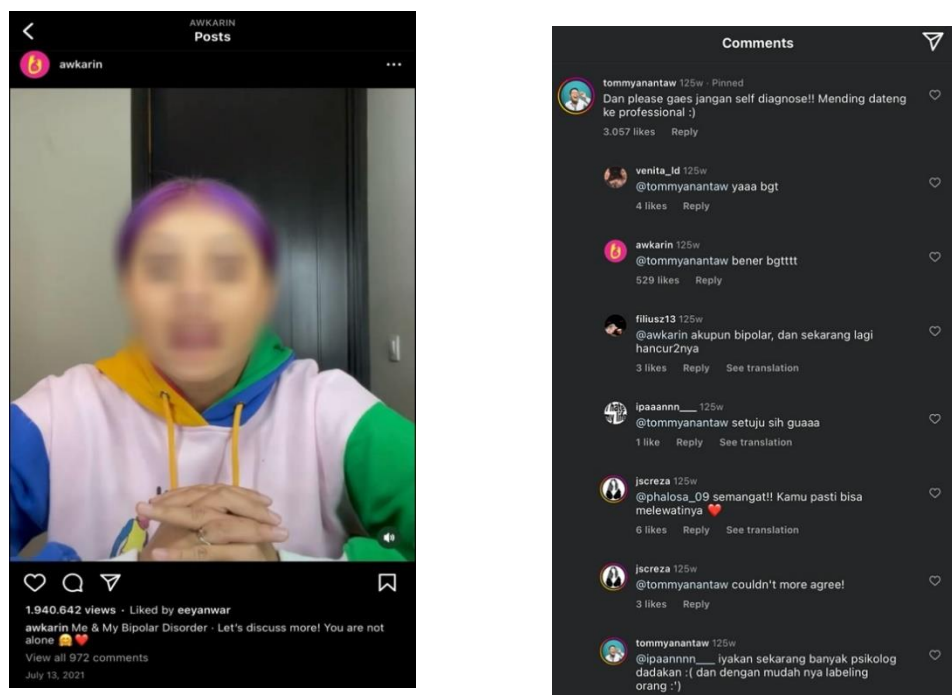**Figure 6. The Example of Theme to Join the Community**
(Source: Instagram @indo_psikologi, 2023)

From the immersion notes that the researchers carried out, many netizens did not hesitate to repost, share, and tag every post from @indo_psikologi and even from social media Instagram to other social media.

- **Theme 3: When Influencers Share Experiences**

Furthermore, the third theme of the entire data site leads to posts by influencers who claim to have experienced symptoms of stress, depression, bipolar disorder, and so on. Of the many public figures who keep quiet about mental disorders, for example, such as bipolar, a YouTube celebrity (internet celebrity), singer and model, Karin Novilda, who is popular with the mononym @awkarin, is one who dares to say that she is a bipolar survivor. His courage is what has become the talk of the pros and cons and is most frequently and widely discussed by netizens on Instagram. Karin Novilda is a 26-year-old influencer who comes from *Gen Z*. It is also assumed that she became quite famous through her controversy several years ago on YouTube because she always exposed her romantic life with several men to the public. In July 2021, Awkarin

uploaded a post about bipolar disorder entitled "Me & My Bipolar Disorder. Let us discuss more and you are not alone." The following are screenshots from the @awkarin account;

Figure 7. Examples of themes when influencers share experiences

(Source: Instagram @awkarin, 2023)

The content in Figure 7 has been watched by more than 1.9 million people and received 972 comments from netizens. In an approximately 3-minute video, Awkarin talks about her experience as a bipolar survivor since high school. She has repeatedly consulted a psychiatrist to recover from bipolar disorder. According to her, no one can recover 100% from bipolar disorder. The mood of people with bipolar disorder will changes very drastically, but not in a short period. You may be in the happy phase for months or the scientific term is the manic phase and changes drastically to the depressive phase. When she is in the manic phase, she feels unbearably happy so she is very enthusiastic about her activities. However, when she is in the depression phase, she will experience to 2-3 times more feelings of sadness and down than normal people. She has difficulty sleeping, performing activities, and working as usual.

One hundreds of people commented on Awkarin's statement about the bipolar disorder he experienced, most of whom agreed and also experienced similar symptoms. A netizen with the account name @filiuz13 who said that he was also diagnosed with bipolar disorder and is now devastated. Another netizen with the account @tommyanantaw commented "*dan please gaes jangan self diagnose! Mending datang ke professional*" (and please guys, do not self-diagnose! It is better to go to a professional).

- **Theme 4: Expert Education**

Based on further observations from researchers and immersion notes, the fourth theme is information and opinions from experts such as psychiatrists. One of them is dr. Andri later became famous through his account @andripsikomatic. He has uploaded information about anxiety disorders hundreds of times since December 2007 and has gone viral since the COVID-19 outbreak in early 2020. Until now, he has uploaded content on various social media platform, including Instagram which has received thousands of likes and comments. The number of followers to date has reached 71.3 thousand.

On September 13, 2021, dr. Andri posted content in the form of an infographic about anxiety disorders. The infographic contains a message that states *"Pasien gangguan cemas biasanya berpikir jauh kedepan, berpikir jauh kedepan bukan berarti tidak baik, kita memang perlu merencanakan sesuatu untuk masa depan tapi, sering kali kita sibuk membawa*

pikiran kita jauh kedepan dan melupakan momen saat ini dan sekarang" (Patients with anxiety disorders usually think far ahead. Thinking far ahead does not mean that this is not good. We do need to plan something for the future but, often we are busy carrying our thoughts far ahead and forget the present moment). The following is a screenshot of Dr. Andri's content shown in Figure 8;
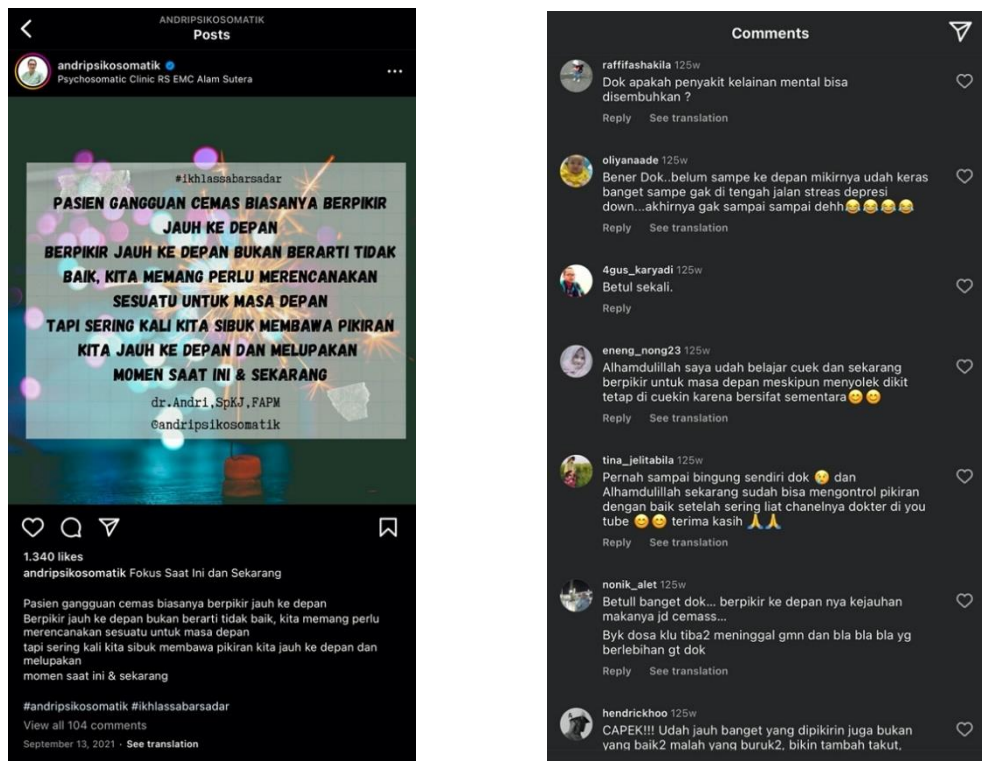

Figure 8. Example of Theme of Expert Opinion

(Source: Instagram @andripsikosomatik, 2023)

From the researchers' online searches on @andripsikosomatic account, he always uses the hashtags #ihlassabarsadar #psikiater dan #psikiatri. In total, there has been approximately 11,000 pieces of contents that have been uploaded. Most of these are infographics in the form of quotes to motivate patients with mental disorders such as anxiety disorders. Dr. Andri's posts always get comments, one of which is on this content, which gets 104 comments and has been liked 1340 times. One of the netizens with the account @eneng_nong23 commented: "*Alhamdulillah, saya udah belajar cuek dan sekarang berpikir untuk masa depan meskipun menyolek dikit tetap dicuekin karena bersifat sementara*" (Thank God, I have learned to be indifferent and I am now thinking about the future, even if I flash a little, I still ignore it because it is temporary). This statement contains the allegation that this netizen has succeeded in reducing anxiety disorders following instructions and suggestions from dr. Andri.

Discussion

Social media will record digital traces of the journey of Indonesian netizens in terms of their awareness of the importance of mental health in achieving psychological well-being. In line with Aristi's (2021) opinion, social media is considered effective as an initial aid for diagnosing mental health disorders in most people. Moreover, during the COVID-19 pandemic, which required people to stay at home and maintain their distance, individual movement was greatly restricted (Aristi et al., 2021). But, The shortcomings of individual media education in handling publication and digital content (Murad, K.K, 2023). Social media help people with mental illnesses share their experiences (Gupta, 2021). In addition, many health services have currently rely on advances in communication technology and new media to provide long-distance mental

health care for the evaluation and management stages of treatment and psychotherapy steps that will be carried out by patients with mental health disorders (Whaibeh et al., 2020).

Psychological well-being refers to a person's state of mind, feelings, and emotions that reflect the level of satisfaction, calm, and balance in their lives. Mental health is the most prominent forms of psychological well-being include mental health. Psychological well-being is often the result of a good balance between these aspects. This shows the importance of seeing a person's well-being as a complex whole, not just from a single point of view. In line with what is written in the book by the American Psychiatric Association (2022), it was found that several recent diagnoses, prolonged sadness disorders due to stress and depression, and coded symptoms of suicidal or non-suicidal self-injurious behavior have been included as mental disorders that have occurred in recent years and must be handled professionally (Psychiatric Association, 2022).

Discussions on mental health on social media have become a new digital culture among netizens. This is also in line with' srnman Symbolic Convergence theory initiated by Ernest Bornman (1985). Humans are essentially storytelling creatures that exchange stories or narratives to describe experiences (Littlejohn, 1996). Cohesiveness in a group can be built not only based on managing structure and authority but also on group members sharing stories, dreams, and hopes together. Symbols in the form of myths, stories, and fantasies play a role in building a common identity among the group members. According to symbolic convergence theory, members in a group will exchange symbols, resulting in a convergence that unifies these symbols. The conversion of these symbols will increase mutual understanding, and the similarity of thoughts and feelings between group members (Eriyanto, 2021).

The phenomenon of oversharing gloomy posts on social media accounts, especially for young people, needs to be questioned as to why they exploit mental illnesses that are mostly self-diagnosed on social media. Several studies have found that *Zillenials* and *Millennials* are the ones who experience the most mental health problems owing to the Covid-19 pandemic. One of the factors causing this is the large amount of exposure to Internet use, especially social media, which produces stress. However, this did not occur significantly among Internet users of Gen X (Lathabhavan and Padhy, 2022). Evidence that social media is also a source of depression and anxiety experienced by young people is also real (Keles, 2020).

Active individuals who experience mental health disorders require the telemedicine services. Telemedicine is one for netizens who experience mental health problems because it is safer, more useful, and more comfortable to have a healthy and sane mind (Arafat et al., 2021). Mental health service providers are expected to make decisions regarding the future of telemedicine programs in collaboration with social media users (Haque, 2021).

Conclusions

Digital conversations about mental health on social media have become an important part of the emerging culture. This reflects a paradigm shift in the understanding and approach to mental health issues at large. Social media has helped reduce the stigma surrounding depression and other mental disorders by providing a platform that allows individuals to share their personal experiences openly. This helps to broaden the understanding that depression is a common problem and that a person is not alone in their struggle. Information about depression, symptoms, treatment, and helpful resources can be easily accessed and shared through social media. This helps increase people's understanding of depression and reduces confusion and misunderstandings. From the various posts and comments regarding mental health, it can be concluded that today's digital culture has encouraged people to dare to upload social media posts that reveal mental illnesses such as depression, stress, and bipolar disorder and have become very popular for discussion by netizens. Researchers have examined the structure of social entities on Instagram to understand how social networks occur through conversations on the theme of mental health. Intensity forms a digital conversation culture in various content with keywords and hashtags of mental health, mental illness, mental disorder, *penyakit mental, depresi*, bipolar, *kesehatan mental, psikiater*, and *psikiatri*. These results generated a network that formed three large clusters. These are (1) bipolar clusters, (2) stress clusters, and (3) depression clusters. Furthermore, four major themes were found that represented every social entity of conversation on Instagram

social media in Indonesia. These are (1) Oversharing and Self-Claim Phenomena, (2) Community: Normalization of Conversation, (3) When Influencers Share Experiences, and (4) Expert Education.

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