

Ghosting Phenomenon in Interpersonal Communication of Bumble Application Users

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Abstract

Technological developments have made it easier for humans to build interpersonal relationships, one of which is using dating apps. One phenomenon that is often found in dating apps is the ghosting phenomenon. The ghosting phenomenon is an indirect termination of relationships that can hinder communication. However, many adult couples often fail or experience a breakup when they are at the approach stage. In general, someone experiencing the end of a relationship or losing a partner can be a very traumatic and sad experience and can disrupt a person's mental health. This research aims to find out at what stage the ghosting phenomenon occurs in interpersonal communication on the dating app Bumble. This research uses a phenomenological research method with a qualitative approach, data collection techniques of in-depth interviews and observation. The theory used is the Social Penetration Theory which has four stages in a relationship, namely the orientation stage, affective exploratory exchange, affective exchange and stable exchange. The results of this research show that the ghosting phenomenon can occur at every stage of a relationship, during the introduction stage or when the relationship is already close to each other. This experience of ghosting behavior also creates communication barriers between people and leaves the victim feeling uncomfortable.

Keywords: Phenomenology, Ghosting, Interpersonal Communication

INTRODUCTION

Along with the development of technology, it is getting easier to interact and communicate without restrictions, namely using social media. Currently, social media continues to grow and presents many applications that make it easier for individuals to interact with one another. Romantic relationships are one form of interpersonal communication that can exist between individuals. Romantic relationships that exist between individuals nowadays are not difficult with the emergence of various applications, these romantic relationships can be established easily. There are many applications that are a place for romantic relationships to be established, but the application that the author uses is a dating app.

Dating apps are social media platforms in which this is medium is widespread in among young people and adults which allows users to find friends to chat with, partners or dates by looking at each other's identities and getting to know each other through the chat feature. There are many dating apps in Indonesia. According to CNET, there are several best dating apps in 2022, namely Bumble, Tinder, Hinge, OkCupid, Happn, Coffee Meets Bagel, and Her. The application the author uses is the Bumble Application (www.kontan.com). Bumble is a dating app that is currently in demand by teenagers and even adults. Bumble was created by Whitney Wolfe Herd in 2014, which has a different concept from other dating apps, namely Bumble focuses on women. Bumble has a "Ladies Ask First" feature where women start the conversation first, not men (www.kumparan.com). Bumble also has many features in it that make users free to choose whether to use it to find a partner (date), find a business partner (Bizz), or just be a friend (BFF).

According to Steward and Logan in Kurnianti, there are two ways to build a romantic relationship types of romantic relationships, namely dating and marriage (Kurniati, 2015). However, to move on to marriage, each individual must go through the stages of approaching and dating to get to know each other for a deeper introduction. However, many adult couples often fail or experience a breakup when they are at the approach stage. In general, someone experiencing the termination of a relationship or losing a partner can be a very traumatic and sad experience and can disrupt a person's mental health. According to Kendler, Hettima, Butera, Gardner, & Prescott in LeFebvre & Fan the termination of a relationship can also be emotionally painful and is often recorded as one of the most disturbing and painful psychological events (LeFebvre & Fan, 2020).

Usually, the effects of ending a romantic relationship are also influenced by who carries out the process of breaking up the relationship. According to Doering in LeFebvre & Fan there are 2 types of relationship termination, the first is bilateral relationship termination which involves both parties in making the decision to terminate a romantic relationship. Meanwhile, the second is one-party termination, where only one person plays a role in making the decision to terminate the relationship (LeFebvre & Fan, 2020).

Indirect termination of relations, often referred to as "Ghosting" in Indonesia, this term ghosting has often occurred. As reported by detiknews, there was a case where a Caucasian woman from Australia flew to Bali to meet her online boyfriend but ended up arriving in Bali, her online boyfriend could not be contacted for days and all of the woman's social media accounts were unfollowed (detiknews.com). This ghosting behavior usually means leaving the partner without clear certainty or leaving the current relationship hanging.

This ghosting behavior also occurs on Bumble, behind the advantages of Bumble which can bring couples together and even get married, a deficiency was also found, namely the Ghosting Phenomenon. The increase in the use of Dating Apps has made the ghosting phenomenon increasingly commonplace and is often used as an indirect termination strategy. This is because Dating Apps can expand the options of targeted individuals or individuals who suit their characteristics in choosing a partner and can enable users to communicate easily without any clear rules, such as being able to control who they communicate with and what messages

they want to convey. So, it will be easier for someone to reject or block someone just by not being responsive or replying to the message. This ease of communication technology will make the practice of ghosting easier and more prominent (Timmermans, 2020)

The ghosting phenomenon itself can make individuals feel anxious, confused and even depressed because it is filled with uncertainty. When the termination of one party occurs, it will give rise to a stronger role (initiator) who might be called the party who terminated the relationship and a weaker (non-initiator) who might be called the "victim" in a romantic relationship. According to Sprecher, Zimmerman, & Abraham in LeFebvre & Fan, when unilateral termination occurs indirectly, the non-initiator will accept it as an indirect termination strategy that lacks empathy and is only self-oriented (LeFebvre & Fan, 2020)

RESEARCH METHODS

The research method used to analyze the ghosting phenomenon in this application uses qualitative methods and phenomenological methods. Qualitative research itself is research where the researcher is placed as the key instrument, data collection techniques are carried out by combining with inductive data analysis (Sugiyono, 2017:43). Phenomenological research itself studies forms of experience from the perspective of people who experience them directly, as if we experienced them ourselves. (Rachmat, 2006:42) This research involved 5 sources and the responses written by the sources became the findings in this research.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Ghosting phenomenon that occurs in interpersonal communication between Bumble application users has almost the same time period for each user. Based on the results of interviews with 5 sources, 80% said they experienced a unilateral termination when the communication relationship between the two had entered deeper acquaintance.

The essence of individual experiences in using Bumble started from 2020, 2021 until now, where individuals were recommended by friends and saw reviews on social media to simply find friends or partners because conditions at that time made it impossible to meet new people. Bumble has a "ladies ask first" feature which requires women to initiate a conversation. Initial introductory conversations used by individuals include light greetings and using profile descriptions of the person they are talking to. The topics used are not far from using descriptions of the interlocutor's profile and daily activities.

The development of a conversation topic to the point that they have the same conversational preferences will create an individual's interest in the person they are talking to and the intensity of their conversation will increase until each other feels comfortable.

The comfort that is formed comes from various things, one of which is that interpersonal communication runs well and is not boring. In this case the individual will consider whether or not the ongoing relationship will continue. Interpersonal communication that goes well will make a relationship rise to a higher level.

An increase in level or what could also be said is included in the level of intimacy where there is a meeting between the individual and the person they are talking to. Because meeting frequently will make each other more open and open and both will have the same thoughts and be able to assess the other person they are talking to. At this stage you will usually think more about the continuation of the current relationship, however, there are also those who feel that a relationship like this is enough.

However, every relationship that exists does not always run well even though the interpersonal communication that exists is at the highest level. Interpersonal communication that exists may experience a sudden decline without any significant signs because of this the relationship will experience damage because in the relationship one of the individuals feels interpersonal dissatisfaction such as feeling that the relationship being carried out is not as important

as previously thought. This decreased interpersonal communication causes a change in attitude in responding to a conversation and a reduction in the intensity of the conversation between the two when the relationship has entered the intimate stage.

These changes cause estrangement in a relationship. The estrangement that occurs can be caused by several factors, such as no longer having similar preferences in the conversation, lack of interest, which can lead to the termination of the relationship by one party, which can be called ghosting behavior.

Ghosting itself creates feelings of ambiguity and uncertainty which make the victims not get results from the relationship they have had. Based on research conducted, the existence of a vacuum in information encouraged informants to reduce uncertainty. In accordance with uncertainty reduction theory, uncertainty can form a communication behavior that is created from that uncertainty.

Of the five informants, all five had the same way of reducing perceived information uncertainty, namely by asking or confirming it directly with the people they met on Bumble. The strategy used by the five informants was to carry out an active strategy, namely by asking the person they were talking to directly. However, the efforts made to reduce uncertainty could not always be carried out, because five informants did not get definite answers from their interlocutors. So the five informants replaced this lack of information by thinking that the ghosting behavior they experienced was a normal thing and could start a new relationship with someone else.

However, even though you feel that ghosting is a common thing, this ghosting behavior still causes unpleasant effects in the individual, such as feeling sad, disappointed, lack of self-confidence and even overthinking about why the relationship ended. The following table explains the five informants

Table 1. Categories (Cluster of Meaning)

Theme	Draft	Textural	Structural	Synthesis	Essence
An individual's initial experience using the Bumble app	The process starts using the Bumble app	Informant one chose Bumble as a dating application since 2020 because informant one felt that Bumble had clearer features compared to other applications. Informant one used the Bumble application because he wanted to have someone to chat with after the relationship with his partner ended. Informant two chose Bumble since 2021 starting from the recommendation of informant two's friend who introduced Bumble to find a partner. Informant two finally tried because at that time informant two did not have a partner. Informant three chose Bumble in 2021 because of reviews that informant three saw on social media. From these reviews, informant three was interested in using Bumble. Informant three finally tried Bumble because informant three's	The five informants had the same experience in choosing Bumble, namely around 2020 and 2021 because they were recommended by friends or saw their own reviews on social media. The two informants chose Bumble in 2020 because at that time there was a Covid-19 pandemic and they were looking for someone to chat with after their relationship	The similarities in the experiences of the five informants can be seen from the initial process of using the Bumble application. The five informants started using Bumble around 2020, 2021 and are still using it today. They chose to use Bumble because it was recommended by friends and saw reviews on social media until	The essence of individual experience in using the Bumble application starts from 2020, 2021 until now, and they use Bumble because it was recommended by friends and saw reviews on social media just to find friends to chat with or partners. When starting a conversation on Bumble, individuals use light conversation such as greetings and profile

	environment was narrow and it was difficult to meet other people. Informant four chose Bumble in 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic situation at that time which made informant four feel bored and needed friends. Informant four is interested in using Bumble because someone he meets on Bumble has higher value and is more attractive than other dating applications. Informant five chose Bumble in 2021 due to the recommendation of informant five's friend who told him that Bumble had advantages compared to other applications. Informant five was interested in using Bumble because of the recommendation of informant five's friend and also to fill informant five's free time at that time.	with their partner ended. Then, two informants chose Bumble since 2021 because of recommendations from their friends to look for partners on Bumble and fill their free time. There is one informant who has chosen Bumble since 2021 because he saw reviews from social media.	finally they used Bumble. Another similarity between the five informants is that they use Bumble to find friends to chat with or partners.	descriptions to start the topic of conversation.
The initial process of getting to know each other in the Bumble application	Informant one started the communication process with his interlocutor on Bumble through light conversation as a conversation starter, after that informant one used a topic that could be said to be standard and did not appear to be cornering to continue communicating with his interlocutor. The topic is considered to determine the quality of the conversation between the two parties. According to Informant One, the conversations that occur on Bumble have different time spans, there are conversations that are short, there are also conversations that are ongoing. Informant two started the communication process with his interlocutor on Bumble by looking at the profile description of the interlocutor listed on his account. Informant two started a conversation using a description of the profile of the person he was talking to as the topic. According to	After using Bumble, the five informants had something in common in starting a conversation on the dating app Bumble, namely using light conversation as an opening and profile description. The five informants also had similarities regarding the time span during the introduction which was different at the beginning of the introduction. Each informant had differences in the topic of conversation, there were three informants who used profile	After using Bumble, the five informants had something in common in the initial introduction process, namely using light conversation as an opening and profile description. In determining the topic of conversation, the five informants used profile descriptions and personal activities in their conversations. In the conversations that took place, the five informants felt that the time	

informant two, the time span of the conversation varied greatly, seen from the intensity of the conversation that took place and the intensity depended on the person they were talking to. Informant three started the communication process with his interlocutor on Bumble through light conversation as a conversation starter, after which informant three discussed topics about his interlocutor's personal activities and exchanged further personal information such as telephone numbers. According to informant three, the conversations that took place on Bumble were intense in the early stages of introduction. Informant four started the communication process with his interlocutor on Bumble through light conversation as a conversation starter and discussing each other's personal activities. Informant four started a conversation using a description of the profile of the person he was talking to as the topic. According to informant four, the conversations that took place on Bumble had different time spans, there were conversations that lasted a short time, there were also conversations that continued on to other social media platforms. Informant five started the communication process with his interlocutor on Bumble through small talk as a conversation starter and using a description of his interlocutor's profile. Informant five also used a description of the profile of the person he was talking to to start a topic of conversation. According to informant five, the conversations that occur in Bumble depend on the intensity of the person they descriptions as the topic of conversation. However, there were two informants, namely one informant who used topics that did not harm the other person as the start of their conversation and one informant who used personal activities as the topic of conversation. spent varied depending on the person they were talking to.

Individual experiences starting relationships within the Bumble app	The process of developing attraction to the person you are talking to	are talking to in responding to the message given by the informant. Informant one's interest in the other person started when the other person had appropriate conversation preferences, such as telling personal things, which then made informant one more open to the other person and experienced a change in the intensity of the conversation. The emergence of interest in the other person in informant two was greatly influenced by how the other person responded to the conversation. Informant two's openness to his interlocutor can occur if there is reciprocity between informant two and his interlocutor. The intensity of the conversation that occurred with informant two when the reciprocal process occurred. The emergence of interest in Informant Three's interlocutor began when Informant Three's interlocutor felt that he had an interesting conversation preference with his interlocutor so that Informant Three began to open up a little about personal information. The intensity of the conversation that occurred with informant three was related to the person he was talking to. Informant four's interest in the interlocutor began when informant four and his interlocutor found a suitable chat frequency so that informant four and his interlocutor began to open up about their daily activities. The intensity of the conversation that occurred changed and increased, however, this intensity made informant four feel anxious about the actions of the person he was talking to.	When starting a relationship, the five informants will begin to be interested in the other person when they have the same preferences or frequency of conversation in telling new things and openness between the two. One informant will start to open up to the other person when the intensity of their chat increases, while one informant will start to open up when there is reciprocity between the two in communicating. Two informants started to open up when their interlocutor had the same conversation preferences as him. However, there was one informant who did not allow himself to open up more because there was no guarantee that informant five and his interlocutor would continue to be together.	The similarity of the five informants in the process of developing interest in the interlocutor is indicated when the five informants and the interlocutor have the same preferences or frequency in the conversation that is taking place. Because of this, the five informants finally started to open up to their interlocutors, although not completely. The intensity of the five informants with their interlocutors also increased.	The essence of an individual in starting a relationship on the Bumble application is the emergence of attraction when both of them have something in common in the chat they have built so that it will give rise to openness at the beginning of the introduction, even though it is not yet complete. Because of this, the intensity of each individual's conversation also increases.
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Individual experiences start a relationship to the next stage	The process of accepting the interlocutor or	Informant one began to feel comfortable when informant one and his interlocutor had communicated frequently, however, informant one had not yet considered continuing the relationship due to differences in attitudes that occurred when informant one and his interlocutor switched social media platforms. Informant two began to feel comfortable when informant two and his interlocutor had frequently communicated and switched social media platforms and at this stage informant two was considering continuing their relationship but informant two did not know whether his interlocutor wanted the same thing. Informant three began to feel comfortable when his interlocutor made interesting conversation topics so that informant three felt comfortable, but behind this comfort informant three was afraid of future risks due to religious differences between informant three and his interlocutor. Informant four began to feel comfortable when the	In entering the next stage, the five informants felt comfortable with their interlocutor, as, because of intense communication, the interlocutor was able to create interesting topics, in accordance with the informant's wishes and considering the continuation of the relationship. However, the two informants did not want to consider continuing their relationship because one informant was possessive of the other person and one informant was because of religious differences with the other person. The other three	The similarity in the experiences of the five informants in entering the next stage is that the five informants feel comfortable when communication with the person they are talking to is intense, interesting and not boring, because of this the five informants will consider whether to continue their relationship or not.	The essence of an individual is to feel comfortable when the communication that occurs with the person they are talking to runs smoothly, intensely and is not boring because this means that the individual will consider whether or not their relationship will continue.

		conversation between informant four and his interlocutor became more intense and informant four was considering continuing the relationship with his interlocutor, however, his interlocutor was reluctant to continue discussing the relationship further. Informant five began to feel comfortable with the person he was talking to if the person he was talking to was deemed to be in accordance with informant five's wishes. Informant five has considerations about continuing to a further stage, but these considerations depend on the personal factors of the person he is talking to.	informants had considered continuing their relationship with their interlocutor, however, one informant did not receive an appropriate response from his interlocutor.
The individual's experience of entering the final stages of a relationship	Intimacy with the person you are talking to	Informant one reached a higher level of intimacy marked by a meeting between informant one and the person he was talking to directly. Because of these meetings, the interlocutor often invited informant one to meet and discuss the continuation of his relationship with informant one. One informant began to tell his interlocutor more deeply about his personal details. Informant two reached a higher level of intimacy marked by a meeting between informant two and his interlocutor. After the meeting, informant two's interlocutor discussed the issue of continuing their relationship in the future, but informant two did not want to discuss it further. After meeting informant two frequently, he has not opened up further to his interlocutor due to the trauma that occurred to informant two in each of his relationships on Bumble. The highest level of intimacy for informant three in the form of direct contact or meetings between both	When entering the final stage of the introduction of the five informants, it was marked by a meeting between the two so that there was conversation about their relationship and openness between the two. After the meeting, two informants discussed the continuation of their relationship, but the other three informants were reluctant to discuss it because one informant had a different religion from the person they were talking to, one informant had trauma with someone they met on a dating app and one informant was

parties occurred after half a year of informant three and his interlocutor being in contact via the Bumble application. After the meeting, informant three and his interlocutor continued to communicate as usual and informant three did not want to get their hopes up because of the religious differences between the two. However, informant three and his interlocutor got closer and informant three told him personal things that even informant three's friends did not know.

Informant four reached a higher level of intimacy marked by a meeting between informant four and his interlocutor on Bumble. After this meeting, the topic of discussion between the interlocutor and informant four became more fun and intense, leading to a more serious relationship. Informant four and his interlocutor became more open and trusted each other regarding their personal matters.

Informant five reached a higher level of intimacy marked by meetings between informant five and his interlocutors on Bumble. This direct meeting has a different intensity of discussion when the discussion is on the Bumble application. A high level of intimacy did not make informant five have further openness and trust towards several of his interlocutors.

Informant one felt a sudden change in the attitude of the person he was talking to, whereas previously informant one felt that their conversation was going well. Because of this change in attitude, the intensity of chatting between one informant and the other person was decreasing until finally the other person

because of differences in the person they were talking to when they met. Because of this meeting, three informants began to open up to their interlocutors, but there were two informants who were not yet open to their interlocutors due to factors related to their interlocutors.

Individual experiences of terminating their relationships within the

Relationship estrangement

The five informants had something in common when entering into an estranged relationship with their interlocutor, namely that the interlocutor showed a

The same experience was found when the relationship between the five informants had entered the final stage of acquaintance

The essence for individuals in ending a relationship is the change in attitude that occurs with the person they are talking to when communication

Bumbl e app	disappeared without any clarity. Informant two felt a sudden change in attitude that occurred in his interlocutor when informant two and his interlocutor had switched social media platforms. The intensity of chat between informant two and his interlocutor is decreasing and even his interlocutor is not responding to messages from informant two. Informant three felt a change in the attitude of the person he was talking to when replying to informant three's message and their conversation became less interesting. During this change, the intensity of chat between informant three and his interlocutor decreased. Informant three believes that the person he is talking to already has chat friends besides himself. Informant four felt a change in his interlocutor's attitude when his interlocutor's attitude changed to become indifferent to him. When the intensity between informant four and his interlocutor decreased, informant four tried to start the conversation again but his interlocutor did not respond well to informant four's conversation and then just disappeared. Informant five felt that there was a change in the attitude of the person he was talking to, which changed when responding to informant five's message, becoming more indifferent and the intensity of the conversation between them reduced. Informant five still started the conversation again but did not receive an appropriate response from the person he was talking to	change in attitude and reduced the intensity of their conversation. There were three informants whose interlocutors showed a change in attitude when their conversation was going well. Two other informants also experienced changes in their interlocutors' attitudes, one informant when he had switched social media platforms, one informant whose conversation between the two was no longer interesting and boring. Three informants also experienced a lack of intensity in conversation due to this change in attitude, two informants restarted the conversation with their interlocutor but did not get a good response from the interlocutor.	where the interlocutors of the five informants showed a sudden change in attitude and were suddenly indifferent and did not respond back to their conversation, while the communication that was taking place was fine, even to the point of changing media platforms. social.	n is running smoothly and they have suddenly switched social media platforms, in this case it means that the individual experiences ghosting from the person they are talking to, which gives rise to the effects of feeling less confident, sad, overthinking and the feeling of disappointment that every individual feels.
The process of moving	informant one experienced ghosting from his interlocutor in the Bumble application while he was in a	The five informants have similarities in ghosting and	Because of these changes, we also found similarities	

away from each other	communication process which could be said to be intensive, informant one did not see any signs of the ghosting, the ghosting was carried out suddenly by his interlocutor. One informant once ghosted one of his interlocutors when it was felt that communication between the two was not going well due to factors coming from the interlocutor. Informant one felt disappointed when the person he was talking to walked away, apart from feeling disappointed, thoughts about himself having many shortcomings also emerged. Informant two experienced ghosting from his interlocutor on Bumble when communication between the two could be said to have been intensive, but the interlocutor unexpectedly did not respond to their conversation for hours before informant two's interlocutor finally disappeared. Informant two once ghosted one of his interlocutors because the interlocutor did not develop a conversation between the two of them. Informant two felt less confident and felt unpleasant when his interlocutor left informant two unclear. Informant three experienced ghosting from his interlocutor on Bumble when the two of them were in a communication process that could be said to be intense, they even switched social media platforms, but during the conversation on the other platform, informant three's interlocutor disappeared without a word. Informant three once ghosted one of his interlocutors when it was felt that communication between the two was not going well	hosting someone. Five informants experienced sudden ghosting from their interlocutors, even though at that time their communication intensity was fine and they had even switched social media platforms. The five informants also ghosted their interlocutors due to poor communication, not developing a conversation and the interlocutor not meeting expectations. The five informants, when the ghosting behavior occurred, became insecure or lacked self-confidence, felt disappointed, sad and even overthinking thinking about what was wrong with them.	between the five informants who turned out to be victims of ghosting behavior from their interlocutors, but apart from being victims, the five informants had also been perpetrators of ghosting themselves. This ghosting behavior caused the five informants to feel less confident or insecure about themselves, feeling like they were lacking, disappointed, sad and overthinking about the person they were talking to.
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due to factors coming from the interlocutor. Informant three felt sad when the person he was talking to walked away, apart from that informant three felt that he was lacking in several aspects and this caused overthinking to arise. Informant four experienced ghosting from his interlocutor when their relationship was very close and they even met several times. However, informant four did not see any signs of the ghosting, the ghosting was carried out suddenly by the person he was talking to. Informant four once ghosted his interlocutor because the interlocutor did not match informant four's expectations. Informant four felt sad when this ghosting behavior occurred. Informant four felt insecure about himself and had negative thoughts about himself. Informant five experienced ghosting from his interlocutor on Bumble when informant five and his interlocutor decided to switch platforms to communicate further. At that time, informant five's interlocutor suddenly became indifferent in responding to informant five's message. Informant five once ghosted his interlocutor because informant five's interlocutor did something that made informant five feel unsuitable. Informant five felt sad when his interlocutor moved away when the two of them were already close and often spent time together to meet. Apart from that, the informant felt insecure and overthinking about himself

CONCLUSIONS

Bumble is a dating app that has gone viral recently because it gives women the freedom to proactively get to know each other. Currently, the use of dating apps is increasing and changing a person's way of interpersonal communication, especially in building romantic relationships. The informants in this study had their own stories about downloading and using Bumble, which started as a fun way to find friends and ended a previous relationship with the aim of finding a partner. The relationships that occur from the experiences of the informants above have different stages, such as the theory used, namely social penetration, where every introduction to establish a relationship has several stages from the superficial phase to the intimate phase.

The experience described by the informant above means that the convenience offered by dating apps actually gives rise to the phenomenon of ghosting or sudden unilateral termination of relationships. This ghosting phenomenon is experienced by many informants when they are heading into a more serious relationship or this is becoming more commonplace.

The phenomenon of ghosting is interpreted as a sudden termination of a relationship. From the experience felt by the informants, it was revealed that ghosting is an unpleasant event that can leave uncertainty which makes the victim feel overthinking, blaming themselves, overthinking, insecure and even having difficulty placing themselves. With the uncertainty of the information obtained, the situation is perceived as ambiguous, causing the victim to make efforts to reduce uncertainty. Based on research, informants have similarities in reducing uncertainty by asking questions directly to their interlocutors even though they do not get the right answer.

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