A News Framing of Campaign Declaration President and Vice President Jokowi - Makruf and Prabowo-Sandy Presidential Election 2019 at kompas.com and republika.com

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to see the tendency of reporting in the mass media, about the presidential and vice presidential candidates for the 2019-2024 Period, Joko Widodo-Ma’ruf Amin and Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. The researcher chose digital mass media, kompas.com and republica.com as the subject of this study. The reason for choosing republica.com digital mass media is media ownership. The President Commissioner of PT Mahaka Media Tbk, the legal entity that houses republica.com, is Erick Tohir who is the Chairperson of Jokowi-Ma’ruf Amin TKN (National Winning Team). That condition is published an assumption that Erick Tohir accessed to influence editorial policies, related to the reporting of the 2019 presidential election. For the kompas.com digital media, it was chosen because that corporate has always been considered professional and independent. Kompas' daily (the up line of kompas.com) track record gives a strong indication of how the national media truly presents an impartial press in its reporting. This study uses framing analysis of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki models. The results showed that both online media republica.com and kompas.com quantitatively contained more news for candidate number 01 (Joko Widodo-Ma’ruf Amin), than candidate number 02 (Prabowo-Sandiaga). Whereas qualitatively, both online media still contained neutral or impartial content and did not tend to one of candidates pair.

Keywords: Media alignments, Media Framing, Presidential Candidates

I. INTRODUCTION

Political recruitment for the ‘palace dwellers' entered the half-stage when the Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates for the Republic of Indonesia 2019-2024 had been established. The General Election Commission through its decision No. 1131 / PL.02.2-Kpt / 06 / IX 2018 officially named the pairs of Joko Widodo-Ma’ruf Amin and Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno as the presidential candidates. The input of support for the Jokowi-Ma’ruf Amin pair was provided by seven political parties, namely; Hanura Party, Nasdem Party, Golkar Party, PKB, PDI-P, PPP, and PKPI are members of the Working Indonesia coalition (Koalisi Indonesia Kerja). The couple got the serial number 01. Then, the Prabowo-Sandi pair received political support from the PKS, Gerindra Party, PAN, and the Democratic Party. In addition, political support from the small parties, a kind of working party. The couple got the serial number 02, and their coalition was joined under the banner of the Koalisi Adil Makmur. In that atmosphere the temperature heats up as party machines, party wing organizations, volunteers from each candidate pair and the construction of media coverage cover the political activities of each
candidate. The media is inevitably a powerful channel for the political communication of each candidate in marketing themselves to all constituencies in the country.

Media thinker, Matthew Kieran, said "news is not formed in a vacuum, news is produced from a dominant ideology in a certain area of competence". The events provided are mediated by a category, interpretation and evaluation of reality. Every event can be seen with certain glasses and views (Eriyanto, 2002). Furthermore, the days leading up to the 2019 presidential election are the days shrouded in the realities of political activity, in which the mass media played a role in echoing it. In that context it is inevitable that each candidate pair tries to empower the power of the media to become a political force, in the sense of becoming an amplifier for the vision and mission of the candidate pairs.

Malcom X sees the power of the media as truly powerful. He said "the media is the most powerful entity on earth. They have the power to make the innocent guilty and to make the guilty innocent, and that's power. Because they were controlled the minds of masses". The media is a great force because it enters the human psychic realm. The media through the contents of the message is able to stir up the psychological sphere to give birth to certain perceptions or perspectives in society. Especially in this tumultuous national political atmosphere, media coverage is unwittingly able to direct deeper perceptions, to issues that are good or bad about something. This is what then becomes even more dangerous if the spirit of media coverage is designed. Kompas.com and republika.com in the context of research will see how the two media inclines their coverage. In relation to the "struggle" of executive power today, whether the two media above is a representation of hegemonic power, where public awareness is controlled and a source of legitimacy, through which the media they have power can cultivate their power to appear legitimate and true (Sudibyo 2006), or as a messenger for true reality?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Framing

The media is in a strategic position in constructing how the reality of reality is understood and explored to the public. The metaphor for reality, for example, is a luxury motorbike, the latest design where there are accessories (decorative lights, sirens, etc.) which are imaged as the reality of the motor itself. However, if observed there are other parts that are more real and interesting to publish. For example, the matter of tire size, alloy wheels, engine capacity, technology and so on. In that context, because the media plays a role in constructing and defining how a reality must be understood, what the luxury motorcycle imaged is the part of the ornament that is considered prominent in the public eye. The description of the model was built by the media, hereinafter known as framing. Famous framing experts, Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki said that in general there are two conceptions of interrelated framing. First, the conception of psychology, which emphasizes more how a person processes information in themselves (cognitive). The second concept, namely sociology, where the frame is understood as the process of how a person classifies, organizes, and interprets his social experience to understand himself and the reality outside himself (Eriyanto, 2007). News framing can be seen from the characteristics of the framing device, including how the news structure is built, the news element or what we know as the 5W + 1H formula, the form of sentences, pronouns, and even graphics deliberately made to highlight such information. Pan and Kosicki said the framing device can be divided into four large structures. Broadly speaking, the four framing framing structures are summarized as follows; first, the syntactic structure related to how journalists arrange
events, statements, opinions, quotes, observations of events in the form of a general arrangement of news (Eriyanto, 2007).

In its application, the most common syntactic concepts, for example, headlines, place the top portion of the most important (inverted pyramid), leads, background information, sources, cover in a single whole news text. When examined, the headline news element is the most prominent syntactic aspect and indicates the tendency of a story. The right headline will bring about a better memory of the reality reported. In addition to the headline syntactic concepts that are often examined are the arrangement of scripts or script structure related to the way journalists pour events into the form of news. Generally events are reported as a story or story, because of the relationship between events. The third framing instrument according to Pan and Kosicki is a thematic structure. This instrument relates to the perspective of the journalist in expressing his views of events into propositions, sentences that make up the text as a whole. For Pan and Kosicki, news is like a test of the hypotheses of the events covered, sources cited, and statements expressed. All statements are used to make logical support for the hypotheses made. The plenary device is, the rhetorical structure that is intertwined with how the journalist provides embossing of events into the news text. In this tool for example are diction, idioms, metaphors, illustrations and so on. This is the taste of journalists in their work. The rhetorical structure of the news discourse describes the choice of style or word chosen by the journalist to emphasize the meaning that the journalist wishes to highlight (Eriyanto, 2007).

**Political Economy-Media**

In the non-neutral media, Pan and Kosicki's perspective will show the tendency of defense to certain parties that he supports. For example the use of bombastic and vulgar language has negative meaning towards groups that they do not support. Contrary to that, when the media reports on those who are supported, the execution must be from a positive perspective. In the perception of the public, all media exposures have the potential to be regarded as truth. Related to that, it is inevitable that in the high-temperature national political conditions leading up to the presidential election, partisan media seemed to get space. Especially when the public tends to prefer reading that can meet their needs. Such conditions are congruent as theorized in uses and gratifications, where there is power in the audience to decide which media to choose or consume. The recipient community has an active role in interpreting media messages into the scope of their lives. In the rules of uses and gratifications, the audience is responsible for the selection of media to meet their needs. In the context of this research, media support for certain candidates in the presidential election always leaves ethical and normative debates.

The debate is the media for herd of opinion and the media as a viewer of objective reality. As a herald of opinion the real manifestation is the media's support for certain candidate candidates, and this will cause bias in media coverage. How TV media that have supported certain presidential candidates cannot be objective and independent in reporting on presidential elections (Armando, 2014). The direction of the media alignment pendulum on one of the presidential candidates is not separated from the growth of the media industry. This growth is a perfect assimilation of the economy and politics. The media industry finally ignores the right of people to get satisfaction with their needs to get free space for public discussion. As an objective reality viewer the existence of the media in supporting the process of political recruitment is very important. The support of the news became a kind of generator of public discourse, such as political participation, awareness of clean democracy, and the role of other political education. The driving force for public discourse is the role of the media as leaders of public opinion and determinants of
public agendas, within the framework of broad-scale interests. This is an idealism that not every media plays it. Distortion is very likely to occur, when people ignore the 'rights and obligations' to supervise the media. If you wore the political economy economy's glasses, it turns out that the media actually cannot be neutral and objective as the idealism is credo.

The media is strongly bound, even very strong on the political views of the owner. The law is certain how the media is very vulnerable to dealing with interests that want to make it an instrument of power in a political system. At the same time, the media industry must also think about profit. This is an important trigger for the ongoing media industry, and today, political advertising is a significant supplement to the gain of the corporation's media. The media in this research discourse has clearly entered the gates of political economy. In political economy theory, the media are generally used to discredit relations between economic systems, political systems, and communication systems in the structure of capitalism (Mosco, 1996). Political economy theory is concerned with the relationship of economic structure, industry dynamics and media ideology. The theory explains that the market and ideology have a significant influence on determining the content of media messages. The difference in message content between media depends on the power of the owner of the media. In the structure of media conglomerates, it is known that some of the owners of major media in Indonesia are politicians who are allied with one of the presidential candidates. Although there is no bare policy that prohibits the reporting of opponents, it is inevitable for journalists to kneel at the feet of their owners who also have their own political agendas.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This research has a constructivist paradigm, with a qualitative approach. This constructivist paradigm seeks to assess how the media / journalists construct an event reality to be understood by the public. The research method used is the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing analysis. This method assumes that each story has a frame that functions as the center of the organization of ideas. This frame is an idea that is connected with different elements in the news text (such as source citation, background information, usage of certain words or sentences) into the text as a whole (Eriyanto 2007).

The subjects of this research are kompas.com and republika.com who wrote news about the campaigns of two Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates in the 2019 Presidential Election.

The researcher collected the main data, namely the news about the campaign which took place from campaign period. Not all the news contained in the fragment became the research unit of the researcher. Researchers carefully try to select certain topics and determine news that has been published on the same dates and events on kompas.com and republika.com with the aim of making it easier to analyze using framing analysis Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As if it has become an axiom, that political dynamics require communication media so that the attraction becomes a reality that exposes the public at large. So in this case, there are no political events, especially in the current technological era that do not involve the function of the mass media. That is an ideal presupposition for the function of the mass media in society. The encoding apparently cannot coincide with reality, when not all media have contributed to the political education of the community. The media then divides into independent and partisan. Independent media are media that in their reporting do not swing their pendulum to certain parties. An ethical guide to cover both sides is one of the bases for
the presentation of information, so that the public can ingest themselves. In contrast, the partisan media prioritizes reporting according to the interests of the groups it supports. The format of the news will more or less cover up the ugliness or weakness of the support group, and expose the total objectives of the support group. At this point there is a strong neglect of extraordinary moral responsibility. Even though the public has the right to offer accurate and proven information. 

Thus the perception of information by the public is information that is not misleading, is again misleading. Strong pressure from investors in the media industry on news neutrality is very apparent. The realization is news content that will be homogeneous. The public will find it difficult to get the right news, considering that media owners are the backbone of government power, which will not preach the reality of the government’s disadvantage. In essence, media independence and neutrality are two concepts that cannot be divorced, even if they can be defined differently. Independence means there is no pressure, sterile editorial table from other parties in producing news. For the word neutrality, the meaning does not take sides in conveying the message / news 

Denis McQuail believes that the media disseminating information to the public should work on the principles of freedom, equality, diversity, truth and quality of information, taking into account social order and solidarity, and accountability. Therefore, both media owners and managers should abide by these rules. If it follows that principle, the media are operated by independent individuals, independent individuals who have no connection with political parties or sympathizers of a certain group. In reality, it is really troublesome to negate the current reality in which the media are actually owned by figures who compete in the Indonesian political sphere. We witnessed the media giant preaching the superiority of those who were supported in the non-neutral media presidential election refusing to report on political rivals even though the public needs to know objectively the advantages of both parties fairly. It’s hard, if not impossible to say that it is impossible for the media to be independent and neutral from the interests of their owners. 

Entering the inaugural day of the 2019 Presidential Election campaign, republika.com made the event a headline on page 1 with the title "Pledge of Peace". The inaugural campaign was the political statement of the two Presidential and Vice-President candidates to fight hoax, hate speech, and politicization of SARA. The political statement was carried out jointly at the National Monument on Sunday (9/23/2018). To strengthen the reality of the event, the news was supplemented by photos of the two pairs of candidates. The photo was in one frame when releasing pigeon free after the peace statement. After the headline there is a narration that reads "Supporters between candidates are asked to continue to greet each other". In the lead section, the narration reinforced is the pledge of peace promises for all 2019 Election participants read by KPU Chairman Arief Budiman. There are three basic points in the statement of the peaceful election, namely the party participating in the 2019 legislative election, the campaign team and supporters. In the body of the news, a parade also took place in the pre-declaration, where participants were required to wear traditional clothing. Presidential Candidates-number 1, Jokowi-Ma’ruf Amin depicted (scripts) wearing Balinese clothes, smiling while greeting residents, and Ma’ruf Amin seemed eager to raise his hand while occasionally swaying accompanied by Erick Thohir. The pair number 02 Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno also left the golf cart. Prabowo is told to wear a Javanese beige (blangkon), while Sandi wears a black cap. The statement of MPR Chairman Zulkifli Hasan, who is also the head of the party supporting the Prabowo-Sandi coalition, was quoted but not intended to support one of the candidate pairs or political parties. Because, he
emphasized in the news, asking all volunteers and supporters between presidential candidates and political parties need to keep greeting each other when meeting. In addition, in order to strengthen or accentuate the contents of the pledge, Republika made a chart containing three declaration points quoted from the KPU.

Whereas kompas.com, making the 2019 Election Peace Pledge Declaration as the headline with the title "Prabowo: The Winning Body, Don’t Conduct a Negative Campaign". Then followed by a news lead, namely: 'Candidate number 2 presidential candidate, Prabowo Subianto, asked his winning team to use a positive method during the campaign'. The headline is a statement from candidate pair no 2 addressed to the BPN team, in order to use a positive method. But there is no decomposition in the news lead, so the reader must search the news body to get what is meant by the positive way. The lead in this news is an affirmation of the headline above. Prabowo banned his team from politicizing ethnicity, religion and race, or spreading lies during the campaign. The above analysis is compared with political research conducted by ICMI and the G Communications institution. The institute’s research ended at the conclusion that six national media were still neutral in preaching the 2019 Presidential Election, even though the number of news stories about candidate 01 was more than candidate 02. Indeed, the frequency of reporting needs to be confirmed whether it would affect human political choices. Because there is no qualitative analysis of media content in favor of one candidate pair. The research conducted in March 2019 analyzed 1,681 news content. According to CEO G Communications research, the news about the 2019 presidential election in six media was divided into 3 topics: candidate number 01, candidate number 02 and general (kompas.com).

Coverage from the general category is balanced coverage between candidate pairs 01 and 02, as well as those related to election management institutions, such as the KPU (General Election Commissions) and Bawaslu (Election Oversight Body). During March 1-31, 2019, there were 906 news stories about candidate pair 01, while Prabowo-Sandiaga was only 590. While the news about the two candidates or general news such as KPU and Bawaslu were 185 articles. Once again though, said qualitatively, the content of the news about the 2019 Presidential Election in the six media is still neutral. The media can still be said to be neutral in raising news about the 2019 Presidential Election. The construction of the issues raised by the six media, according to the study, is still on the threshold of factual categories. The issue is why quantitatively the amount of coverage for Paslon 01 is greater?

This is certainly related to the psychology of media coverage which in fact is influenced by the existence of candidate pair number 01. However candidate pair 01 is incumbent, who unconsciously influences the media to preach more actively. Comparing this research with the G Communication research, there are at least supporters that the two online media that were examined in this study namely republika.com and kompas.com in the qualitative level contain news in the neutral category. The neutral category in this case is not taking side one of the candidate pairs with certain content. As for the quantitative perspective, both media reported a larger portion for incumbent candidate pairs, namely candidate pair number 01.

IV. END OF WORDS

The current era of digital-based mass media seems to be humanity's last love. All lines of life use it, including in this context is the world of politics. The campaign stage is no longer noisy in the field or sports hall, but in the vast virtual world. Online media is a necessity, which in the context of this research is kompas.com and republika.com participated in reporting the campaign of the two presidential
candidates in the 2019 election. The results showed that both online media republica.com and kompas.com, quantitatively contained more news coverage for candidate number 1, than candidate number 2. This means that the frequency and volume of reporting made to the two were not the same for the two pairs of candidates. Candidate pair number 01 gets a bigger portion, which is related to the frequency and volume of news. While qualitatively, the two online media still contain neutral or impartial content of one of the candidate pairs. This means that from the dimension of the news content, no one will corner each party. In this case the content is considered to have no effect on the tendency of choice. It is different from the quantitative dimension in this research which is not discussed whether it has a significant influence on the tendency of constituent elections. We need further research that can explain this.

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