

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN THE MASS MEDIA

(Framing Analysis News of East Java Governor Election 2013 on Malang Daily Morning Post and Memo Arema at 12th up to 26th August 2013 Period)

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Abstract

In 2013 becomes a democracy party for East Java citizens to be re-elected as the governor candidate in 2008. There are four couples who propose themselves as the vice of Governor. The results showed that Malang Daily Morning Post tends to proclaim the East Java Governor Election campaign 2013 to the demand services to be shared more, this media preaches candidates with more portion by blowing up candidate campaign activities. So it makes the news unbalanced. And Daily Morning Memo Arema is able to maintain its neutrality with a slogan that is critical and outspoken, despite having a partnership with a KarSa's couple, this media still criticizes when the couple is in violation.

Keywords: Political, Communications, Mass Media.

INTRODUCTION

In 2013 it became the party of democracy for the people of East Java to be able to re-elect as a candidate for Governor in 2008. For the preparation and the step of governor election directly by the community for the second time that will be held on the next August 29th. After holding a long plenary meeting, the East Java Electoral Commission (KPU) determined and declared from four registered couples only three candidates for governor (Cagub) and candidate for vice governor (Cawagub) who would follow in the election of regional heads on August 29, 2013.

According to the plenary result which held on July 14, 2013, the three candidate pairs that have been declared fulfill the requirements to become the participants of East Java Regional Election 2013 consist of Bambang-Said (BangSa), Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf (KarSa) and Eggi-Sihat (Beres). While the couple of Khofifah-Herman (Berkah) was declared not qualified because could not fulfill the support requirements. However after filing a lawsuit Khofifah granted by the member of East Java KPU. The couple Khofifah Indar Parawansa-Herman S Sumawiredja (BerKah) finally got away in the East Java Governor Election (Pilgub). The passing of this couple was marked by the decision of the Election Organizing Committee (DKPP) which won the candidate's lawsuit brought by the Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) and several non-seat parties. In addition, it was decided, at the East Java Pilgub 2013, Berkah pair got the sequence number four. the determination of the Khofifah-Herman pair was passed through the Letter of Decision (SK) No. 41, while the determination of the serial number was passed through the Letter of Decision (SK) No. 42 of 2013.

Kinds of activities are carried out by all candidate pairs and serve as a series of routine propaganda actions, designed to be shared through the media. Indirectly through the media they build self-image even long before they officially register themselves as participants of East Java governor election in 2013.

The researcher use framing analysis approach. Framing analysis which researchers used see how the media construct reality. Events are understood not to be taken for granted. In contrast, journalists and medias are actively shaping reality. So, if there is a news election of East Java Governor 2013 then the reality created in the conception of journalists. The things that happen, the facts, the people, are dumped into an event that presented in front of audiences. So, in framing research. The point of the problem is how the reality or event is constructed by the media. More specifically, how the media frames the events in a specific construct. So the main point of attention is not whether the media preach negative or positive, but how the frame developed by the media, (Eriyanto, 2011: 7)

This study, using Robert N. Entman model analysis, because in addition to framing elements define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgement and treatment recommendations. Entman sees framing into two major dimensions: issue selection and emphasis or highlighting certain aspects of reality. Projection is the process of making information more meaningful, more interest, denote, or better remembered by audiences. In the Entman model can also be analyzed through the words, sentences, photos and images which displayed to the audiences.

Based on the background of the study above, it would be better to identify the problem covering this research "How is the framing news of election of East Java Governor in Malang Morning Post and Memo Arema Period 12 up to 26 August 2013?"

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research uses constructivist paradigm with qualitative method. Basically, the paradigm or approach of communication research can be seen in three paradigms; positivist, constructivist, and also critical. These three paradigms can usually be distinguished by looking at ontology aspect, epistemology, axiology, and also methodology.

The ontology aspect looks what is called a reality. This constructivist paradigm considers the reality of social life not a natural reality, but the result of construction. (Eriyanto, 2008: 5)

Based on the epistemology aspect, or something that concerns how to gain knowledge, constructivist paradigm puts the researcher and the object of the study as an inseparable part.

The third aspect is the axiological aspect in which concerns the purpose of learning something. The research with constructivist paradigm aims for the reconstruction of social realities dialectically between researchers and social actors being investigated. (Rachmat, 2007: 110)

The last is the methodological aspect in which the techniques are learned in finding knowledge. In this paradigm researchers and informants (under study) emphasize the relationship of empathy and interaction through qualitative methods, such as participant observation.

This research uses a constructionist paradigm. This paradigm was created by Peter L. Berger. The main thesis of Berger is humans and society are constantly dialectic, dynamic, and plural products. Society is a human product, but constantly has a return to its producers. Instead, man is the result or product of the society, (Eriyanto, 2011: 13-14)

According to this view, the news is not a representation of reality. The news that we read is basically the result of journalistic work construction, not the standard rules of journalism. All construction processes (starting from the selection of facts, sources, usage of words, pictures, to editing) contributes to how the reality is present in the presence of audiences (Eriyanto, 2011: 26). Media is not a free channel, it is also a subject that constructs reality, complete with views, biases, and parenting. Here the media is seen as a social construction agent that defines reality, (Eriyanto, 2011: 23).

Subjects and Objects of Research

One of the major characteristics and strengths of case studies is the use of various sources and techniques of collecting data (Yin, 1984: 78). Thus, the sampling technique in this research is purposive. So, the subject of research (informants) is news and those who are considered to provide adequate information related to the question of this research.

Determination technique of sample in this research is purposive sampling or purposed sample. Purposive sampling is one of several types of non probability sampling which is usually referred in qualitative research. It Called non probability because, you as a researcher aim to generalize the research findings.

The object of this research is news presented by Morning Pagi Malang Post and Memo Arema which are about various image of reality of East Java Governor election 2013. Researcher choose the focus of research about news campaign of East Java Governor election 2013 in Malang Morning Post and Memo Arema which is published on the 12th up to 26th August 26, 2013

Technique of Data Analysis

Reading news construction by Daily Newspaper of Malang Post and Memo Arema on News of East Java Governor Election 2013 Period 12th up to 26th August 2013, Researcher using Robert N. Entman's framing analysis techniques. They divide the model into four parts, problem identification, cause of problem, moral evaluation, and offering of solutions to the problem.

Entman defines framing as a selection of the various aspects which accepted of reality and makes the event more prominent in a communication text. Framing keeps the audience away from getting news objectivity. Framing can occur through the way of shooting or point of view of events, editing, and presentation of events on the presented text.

According to Entman, framing in the news is done in four ways: (Sobur, 2005: 172) First, problem identification, the event seen as something which is positive and which is negative. Second, causal interpretation, who is considered the cause of the problem. Third, moral evaluation, the assessment of the cause of the problem; and fourth, the treatment recommendation, which offers a way of handling the problem and sometimes predicts the outcome.

| Framing Robert Entman | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Define problems | How is an event /issue seen? As a kind of what? Or what kinds of problem? |
| Diagnose causes | The event was seen by what? What is the cause of a problem? Who is (the actor) considered the cause of the problem? |
| Make moral judgement | What moral values are presented to explain the problem? What moral values are used to legitimize or delegitimize an action? |
| Treatment recommendation | What solutions are offered to solve the problem / issue? What paths are offered and must be taken to solve the problem? |

Test of Data Validity

In this research, the techniques used to test the validity of data obtained by using triangulation techniques. Triangulation is a technique of examining the validity of data that utilizes something else (Moleong, 2006: 330), Moleong also describes triangulation techniques consisting of four steps, namely triangulation of sources, methods, investigators, and theory. This study uses source triangulation and theory which means comparing and checking the degree of confidence of information obtained through different times and tools, by utilizing two or more theories to be combined. For that required the design of research, data collection, and complete data analysis for the results comprehensive. Panton (in Moleong, 2005: 330)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Reporting Data of East Java Governor Campaign 2013 In Malang Daily Morning Post and Memo Arema Terbit On 12th up to 26th August 2013

| Malang Daily Morning Post | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|--|
| No | Tanggal | Halaman | Judul Berita |
| 1 | 14 th August 2013 | 1 | Gandjar : the successful of Governor election in Central Java is surely to be repeated in East Java. |
| 2 | 19 th August 2013 | 2 | Khofifah: APBD allocation for education is still poor |
| 3 | 24 th August 2013 | 1 | Embarrassed if <i>Karsa</i> lost |
| Memo Arema | | | |
| No | Tanggal | Halaman | Judul Berita |
| 1 | 14 th August 2013 | 1 | The first day, Bambang DH visits Malang city |

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------|---|--|
| 2 | 19 th August 2013 | 1 | Khofifah wants female labor are not housemaid |
| 3 | 24 th August 2013 | 1 | “Tuku Kripik Nang Kertosono, Seng Wes Apik Ayo Diterosno”, Choose Number 1 |

Comparison of Three Selected News Frames

1. Reporting of East Java Governor election Campaign 2013 In Malang Daily Morning Post and Memo Arema On 14th August 2013.

Malang Post daily viewed the success of having the same character and three excellent programs of Bambang DH. The main point is the statement of Gandjar Pranowo who describes the key to victory for Bambang DH and the key to success of Jokowi in DKI Governor election and himself at Central Java Governor election. While the reference of three excellent programs of Bambang DH through Bambang DH’s statement that promised to provide free education 12 years, free medical expenses and funds Rp 500 million a year in each village. The image that want to show is the success of Jokowi in DKI Governor election and gandjar in Central Java are believed to be repeated in East Java and Bambang DH promise to provide free education 12 years, free health care and funding Rp 500 million a year in each village.

While Daily morning Memo Arema view as the success of East Java Governor Candidate of PDIP, Bambang Dwi Hartono in free tuition when he become the mayor of Surabaya for two periods. The second is Bambang DH’s statement about his achievement which still enjoyed by the community is the provision of tuition fees until now. The image that want to show to the public is With 12 years free education program, providing scholarships for students and underprivileged college students and guarantee welfare for teachers and lecturers and provide direct money Rp 500 million to each village, Bambang sure can change East Java to be better .

| Elemen | Malang Post | Memo Arema |
|--------------------------------|--|--|
| Frame | The success that has same character and three excellent programs Bambang DH | The success of East Java Governor Candidate from PDI-P, Bambang Dwi Hartono in tuition fee education when he became Mayor of Surabaya for two periods. |
| Problem Identificatiaon | Success that has the same character | Promise |
| Causal Interpretation | Gandjar dan Bambang DH | Bambang DH |
| Moral Evaluation | Using hard and smart work of party political machine, Gandjar sure Bambang will win in East Java Governor election | With the experience of becoming Mayor of Surabaya, Bambang sure can change East Java to be better with 12 years free education program, providing scholarships for students and underprivileged collage students and guarantee welfare for teachers and lecturers and provide direct money Rp 500 million to each village. |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--|--|
| Treatment recommendation | APBD must be managed properly and cleanly, surely citizen will be happy, because the free cost program that is expected to be applied in East Java is not maximal and there are many problems. | Ahmat Basarah: "Let's close to the line to win the couple of Bambang-Said in East Java Governor election 2013" Ganjar Pranomo: "If the citizen of East Java want a proper change, they choose Bambang-Said". Prove free education can be held in Surabaya. |
|---------------------------------|--|--|

2. Reporting of East Java Governor Election Campaign 2013 In Malang Daily Morning Post and Memo Arema On Date 19th August 2013.

Malang Post Daily View the first is Khofifah who is determined to advance the education world if she elected to lead the province of East Java, because the lack of allocation of East Java budget for education sector. secondly it has been no equal treatment to Khofifah in the constellation of East Java Governor election 2013 and third about the participation of three NU cadres who advanced in East Java election round. The first reference to Khofifah's statement that she has highlighted the lack of allocation of East Java's APBD for the education sector. The second reference is indicated by the unpaid pair of spouse's names on the C1, C2 and C6 forms by the KPU. The third reference to KH Hasyim Muzadi comments. The image that wants to be displayed in public is the first promise of khofifah who want to advance the education world if she elected as Governor of East Java, second The absence of equality of constellation treatment in East Java Governor election, as errors election code ethics. The three leaders of the three best cadres of Nahdhotul Ulama (NU) in East Java Governor election made Nahdliyin's support split.

While Daily Morning Memo Arema looked at Khofifah campaign entitled Halal Bi Halal in GOR Ken Arok City of Malang as to hook public support NU residents of Malang City During the East Java Governor election. The daily reference is the promise of Khofifah that will improve the quality of education and skills of migrant women workers and migrant male workers, was conveyed in front of hundreds of Nahdliyin residents who attended the campaign entitled Halal Bi Halal big family PC Muslimat NU, and PC Fatayat NU Malang in GOR Ken Arok Malang City. In addition, the opinion of the head of PC Muslimat city of Malang HJ Muthaimimah Muzadi convey that Khofifah Indar Parawangsa is a right figure to be a Governor. The image that we want to show to the public is that all the people of East Java have the same right to get the education service. Therefore, the homework that will be done when they get the confidence to be the Governor of East Java to improve the quality of community education.

| Elemen | Malang Post | Memo Arema |
|---------------|--|---|
| Frame | Khofifah is determined to advance education if she elected to lead East Java province, because the lack allocation of East Java budget for the education sector. There is no equal treatment on Khofifah in the constellation of East Java Governor election 2013 Regarding the participation of three NU cadres who advanced in the round of East Java Governor | Khofifah Campaign titled Halal Bi Halal in GOR Ken Arok City of Malang as to hook public support NU citizen of Malang because During the eve of East Java Governor election |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| | election. | |
| Problem Identificatiaon | Promise | Promise |
| Causal Interpretation | Khofifah and KH Hasyim Muzadi | Khofifah |
| Moral Evaluation | The absence of equality in this treatment, the assessment of errors in the code of ethics election. | Khofifah Indar Parawansa promise will improve the quality of education and skills of migrant female workers and migrant male workers who have been working overseas just as housemaids. |
| Treatment recomendation | Kyai Hasyim reminded the NU residents in East Java to keep the voice of <i>berkah</i> couple's during election and until the vote count over. | All East Java citizen have the same right to get educational services. For that reason, the main duty to be done when she become East Java Governor is to improve the quality of community education. |

3. Reporting of East Java Governor election Campaign 2013 In Malang Daily Morning Post and Memo Arema On 24th August 2013

Malang Morning Post looked at Ari Lasso gave support for the couple of KarSa, because Ari Lasso already familiar with this couple so he would be embarrassed if this couple lost. In addition, this daily also saw Gus Ipul is a wise figure in face up the three best cadres of Nahdhotul Ulama (NU) in East Java governor election make the Nahdliyin residents split. Ari lasso states that Gus Ipul and Pak Karwo is his best friend. While Malang Morning Post daily give a respond to Gus Ipul about his statement. "NU citizens know which one they want to choose, I am one of the Chairman, Representative of Kiai Said Aqil Siradj, the choice according to each of them, this is not the first time event." Image will be displayed to the public is different is a common, not now but at each of different election. Because, that is democracy, sometimes support certain party, another times support others.

While Memo Arema Daily Morning view as an optimization of the last campaign of the couple KarSa and Gus Ipul optimism will win the East Java Governor Election in just one round. The optimism is connected with the flow of all out support from PKS of East Java. The reference is the statement of Gus Ipul that Hammi Wahjunianto as a chairman of DPW PKS of East Java. The image that want to be shown to the public is Gus Ipul believes that in the next East Java governor Election is only one round and won by the couple of KarSa because supported by PKS of East Java.

| Elemen | Malang Post | Memo Arema |
|--------|-------------|------------|
|--------|-------------|------------|

| | | |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| Frame | Ari lasso gave support to the couple of Karsa, because Ari Lasso already familiar with this couple so he would be embarrassed if this couple lost. Gus Ipul is a wise figure in the advance of three best cadres of Nahdhotul Ulama (NU) in East Java Governor election make Nahdliyin residents split. | Optimization of the last campaign of the couple of KarSa and and Gus Ipul optimism will win the East Java Governor Election in just one round. The optimism is connected with the flow of all out support from PKS of East Java. |
| Problem Identificatiaon | The last campaign | Optimization of the last campaign |
| Causal Interpretation | Ari Lasso and Gus Ipul | Gus Ipul |
| Moral Evaluation | berbeda itu sudah Different is a common, not now but at each of different election. Because, that is democracy, sometimes support certain party, another times support others. | Gus Ipul meyakini kalau Gus Ipul believes that in the next East java governor election is only one round and won by the couple of KarSa because supported PKS of East Java. |
| Treatment recomendation | NU citizens know which one they want to choose, I am one of the Chairman, Representative of Kiai Said Aqil Siradj, the choice according to each of them, this is not the first time event. | Tuku Kripik Nang Kertosono, Seng Wes Apik Ayo Diterosno "choose Number 1" |

Policies Redaction of Malang Daily Morning Post and Memo Arema In East Java Governor Election Campaign 2013

Based on the descriptive analysis, there are six news titles taken by researcher about East Java Governor Election 2013 which published by Malang Daily Morning Post and Memo Arema during 12th up to 26th August, 2013. In this research, in order to get relevant result the writer do interview with key informant. The interview was held in the Editorial Office of Malang Post Daily at Sriwijaya Street 1-9 Malang City East Java on 29th August 2013 and Daily Morning of Memo Arema in Dinoyo Istana Office Building Complex Block B No. 6 JL MT Hariyono 1-A Lowokwaru Malang on 2nd September 2013 This interview is to get descriptive data with qualitative approach

The result of interview with Mahmudi as the key informant as political editor from Malang Morning Daily Post and Januar as editorial of Memo Arema. They told that their media as one of the local newspapers, which has a political segment and reporting on the events that are going on. Malang Morning Post and Memo Arema as mass media which have the main function as educational tool for society. In this case they have a vision both of Malang Daily Morning Post

and Memo Arema in viewing the process of East Java Governor election 2013 campaign directly framed in the mechanism of democracy in general. Preaching the contents of the news clearly, not to distinguish one candidate to the others and appropriate with journalistic code of ethics.

Besides the way to write a news, the important thing is selection of issues. The issue here is meant of a warm event occurred in the midst of society, and seized a big attention to the public. As well as about the East Java Governor election campaign 2013, Malang Morning Post and Memo Arema selects the issues and the news is worth to be presented continuously to the reader and able to attract the public interest to keep up with these developments. According to Mahmudi, political editor of Malang Morning Post there are some reasons to bring this news continuously first to help candidates to socialize or interact with the community. Secondly to reduce the community's *golput*. According to Januar as chief editor of Daily Morning Memo Arema. The first has a high news value and much in demand by the community. Both candidates of governor who have political party supporters and have their own political masses and power, so they want to know its progress.

In addition, the second important thing is the protrusion aspects of reality, Malang Morning Daily Post has a campaigns news of East Java Governor election which the researchers select put two of news on the front page. For the other news put in the second page but with a large portions. Daily Morning Memo Arema put three campaign news of East Java governor election that the researchers select on the front page. One example of the projection of the reality of East Java Governor election campaign from these two daily is the Malang Morning Daily Post News on 14th August 2013 edition with the title *Gandjar: Success in Central Java Governor Election to be repeated in East Java*. The contents of the news is the success of Jokowi in DKI Governor Election and Gandjar in Central Java Governor election and it is believed to be repeated in East Java governor election because Bambang DH has the same character with them. Next, Daily Morning Memo Arema News on 14th August 2013 edition with the title *The First Day, Bambang DH Visit Malang City*. The contents of the news is his success in the free education program of East Java Gubernur Candidate from PDIP, Bambang Dwi Hartono as Mayor of Surabaya for two periods. This event is exactly the same as the first campaign in Malang city by Bmbang DH-Said Abdullah couple, while angel taken by Malang Morning Daily Post and Memo Arema are different. Of course, indirectly protrusion of this fact has a different effect to the reader or media.

The effect of the communication which presented in this event is described using model of communication by Harlod D. Lasswell include *who* it means that by whom is the reporter acts as a communicant in charge of presenting this news. The second process is *what he want to say* about the preaching of East Jawa Governor election campaign 2013. The third process *what kinds of channel are they used* and they use Malang Daily Morning Post and Memo Arema as media. The next process is to whom or target that want to be achieved of this news, in here the readers Malang Daily Morning Post and Memo Arema as the target. And the last process is in what effect that want to be achieved, the answer is the community can know the programs that will be done by the candidates if they are elected or the society will be affected on one of the candidates if the media is not balanced in sharing the news.

The selection of the title according to the key informant, the editor has the authority whether the title is feasible to appear on the front page. The process of selective perception by journalists and editors, consciously or unconsciously, has an important role in producing a headlines news, letter sizes for titles, daily placement of news on whether is it put in the front or back pages, indicate that the news is important or not. Like preaching of East Java Governor Election campaign 2013. The selection of titles not only consider the contents of the news, but also the space factor or news column is considered. But unfortunately, service factors also affected in the selection of titles which be displayed on the front page although it is not feasible displayed on the front page and this is recognized by the key informants of both media. So it make this media is not balance in coverage of the candidates during the East Java Governor election campaign 2013.

Conclusion

The fact, there is a change in identifying the problem, determining the actors causing the different problems, is not the same in evaluating the moral and emphasis the solution, it can be concluded that in news writing, journalists have different views as a result of internalization

process between himself and news object as the influence of experience, education and background of the journalist itself. It shows that is a real reality, different from reality according to the journalist so that the result of news is influenced by the construction of event.

Malang Post daily tends to proclaim the East Java Governor Election campaign 2013 to the demand services to be shared more, this media preaches candidates with more portion by blowing up candidate campaign activities. So it makes the news unbalanced. And Daily Morning Memo Arema is able to maintain its neutrality with a slogan that is critical and outspoken, despite having a partnership with a KarSa's couple, this media still criticizes when the couple is in violation.

High value news of Malang Daily Morning Post and Memo Arema have a special editorial policy on East Java Governor election campaign 2013 issues, and the policy has a strong influence on the reporting frame of each candidate.

Some journalists and the media have an important role in the election process, both as a means of socialization and take the role as *watch dog* so the election being free, fair, peaceful and free of conflict. Journalists should also develop an understanding of the media strategy of the political parties in the election. It is important that journalists are not trapped become "waiters" of candidate and party political campaigns. A balanced report will provide the different programs and candidate promises to the community that will greatly help voters decide freely and rationally

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