



ORIGINAL RESEARCH ARTICLE

OPEN ACCESS

POLITICAL JOURNALISM IN MEDIA CONVERGENCE ERA

¹Dudi Iskandar, ²Antar Venus, ²Herlina Agustin, and ²Aceng Abdullah

¹Ph.D Candidate of Communication Science of Padjadjaran University, Bandung, West Java, Indonesia, and Lecturer of Faculty of Communication Science of Budi Luhur University, South Jakarta, Indonesia
²Lecturer of Communication Science of Padjadjaran University, Bandung, West Java, Indonesia

ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received 19th May, 2017
Received in revised form
18th June, 2017
Accepted 05th July, 2017
Published online 30th August, 2017

Keywords:

Media convergence,
News, Power,
Presidential election

*Corresponding author

ABSTRACT

Indonesia presidential election campaign, June 5-July 5 2014 was the most crucial period of the practice of journalism and media organizations in Indonesia. Reports of three media groups (Kompas Group, Media Group, and MNC Group) during the 2014 presidential election campaign is the focus of this study. This paper is the second stage of research results (discourse practice) of three planned phases as critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough (text, discourse practice, dan socio cultural levels). In the 2014 presidential campaign, Media Groups and MNC Group are very much in the interest of their owners. While the Kompas Group at the editorial level is not visible even though they have historical connection with the ideology of a particular party. The coverage of Kompas Group on PDIP is not as massive as Media Group reporting on Nasdem party or MNC Group about Hary Tanusoedibjo. Kompas Group is more viscous economic and business interests than ideology and politics. While the news in Media Group and MNC Group is more political than a pure journalistic work.

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Citation: Dudi Iskandar, Antar Venus, Herlina Agustin, and Aceng Abdullah, 2017. "Political journalism in media convergence ERA", *International Journal of Development Research*, 7, (08), 14808-14812.

INTRODUCTION

In the 2014 presidential election campaign the media's political preferences to couples candidates are Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa or Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. The political choice must be carefully taken by the media because it will clash with the attitude of media independence character. Almost most of the media in the 2014 presidential election are drawn to the issue of presidential election. Appraisal tendencies appear to certain candidates. However, what should be underlined is the standard of journalistic ethics code. It is the community that will test and assess news from one media. The public must be aware that there is no neutral media. Media only provides choice and assessment of a particular candidate. Media has certain frames and interests in the news. Some groups of media such as Media Group and MNC Group have links with political parties or their owners involved in politics. This should be addressed carefully by journalists who take shelter under the media company. On the other hand, there are some media have no affiliation and linkage with certain political parties so relatively free in determining its editorial attitude in

dealing with presidential election campaign 2014. Kompas Group is one of them. News polarities in Media Group and MNC Group are very subtle. Media Group with Surya Paloh and Nasdem party, and Hary Tanusoedibjo at MNC with Hanura party. Each uses the media for the political interests of its owners. Television, in particular, that uses public frequencies should be used for public purposes rather than for certain political campaigns. Meanwhile, Kompas Group is not vulgarly in a certain position, but from the news angle we can see the tendency of Kompas Group support to certain couples. This article talks about the practice of producing the news (discourse practice) in three media groups (Kompas Group, Media Group, and MNC Group) during the 2014 presidential election campaign, 5 June-5 July. Each group consists of three different media, newspapers, television, and online.

Kompas Group

The focus of Kompas newspaper is the implementation of pilpres not on the party bearers or both candidates. Whoever wins does not matter. The most important thing for Kompas is pilpres implemented in quality. On the basis of that

independence, in coverage, Kompas divided the covering teams into two, each covering both candidates. Kompas Research and Development is also involved to ensure independence as a media.

Tabel of Informans for Discourse Practice

No	Informan	Institutions
Kompas Group		
1	Sutta Dharmasaputra	Kompas Newspaper
2	Yogi Nugraha	Kompas TV
3	J. Heru Margianto	Kompas.com
Media Group		
4	Abdul Kohar	Media Indonesia Newspaper
5	Abdul Kohar	MetroTVnews.com
6	Ade Firman	Metro TV
MNC Group		
7	Alex Adjisaputra	Koran Sindo Newspaper
8	Arya Sinulingga	RCTI TV
9	Puguh Hariyanto	Sindonews.com

In the news, the very independence of the Kompas newspaper emphasizes, including independent in behaving, not taking sides. (Bennet, James and Niki Strange (ed.) 2015: 196). That is, when looking at a matter related pilpres, which determines it is important or not to be reported purely based on self-assessment, not because of the pressure of others, especially because it is paid. If the Kompas newspaper contains or sides with certain political promises or trends, it is because the Kompas newspaper judges it to be true. In fact, to strengthen the assessment of Kompas and maintain neutrality, the Kompas Research and Development is involved to measure the proportionality of news and its magnitude. (Zulkarimein Nasution, 2015: 135). Indeed, inevitable conditions in the 2014 presidential election campaign, the public and the media split sharply. The cause is a contestant pilpres are only two candidates, Prabowo Soebianto-Hatta Rajasa and Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. Among the media, this condition also of course splits media into two poles. Of course, Kompas TV can not mention one by one and on which side. Each media has a different political background. They have their own subjectivity. Kompas TV look further in the 2014 election battle map. That is, the meaning of independence. As long as he conveys the value, the media can be subjective. Such subjective perspective is permissible as long as it gives opportunity to others, especially in the context of the 2014 presidential election. There is no blocking of an impression. Television is a public-based medium of frequency. (Holli A. Semetko and Margaret Scammell, 2016: 62). In the regulation of presidential rlection, Kompas TV follows the rules that many people say; giving equal opportunity to every candidate. This is in accordance with journalistic ethics. The factor of giving the opportunity is indeed in practice very difficult in the field. Many obstacles faced. The position of Kompas TV as part of Kompas Group still carries the tradition of humanism and independent journalism. So the approach he did was put forward the value of humanity. In any event Kompas TV is always responsible. Second, the value of independence. Kompas TV has the obligation to maintain the pride, maintain the dignity of journalists, especially institutions Kompas Group. That way Kompas TV has a historical burden associated with independence. Kompas TV does not care who wins in the presidential election. Independent choice is also unpleasant. Kompas TV already stamped pro Jokowi-JK stamp though it is wrong. In the context of 2014 presidential election, there are three things that become to focus. First, the most important thing for Kompas TV is the voters or the

community. Voters in the view of Kompas TV are they will become consumer policy. Therefore, they are the main concern of Kompas TV. Second, the election organizer, the General Election Commission and the Election Supervisory Board. Kompas TV's attitude toward both institutions is always critical. What they both do like the deployment of logistics, for example will always be criticized. Third, the contestants. A small but decisive number of contestants is part of three important election elements for Kompas TV. In showing this contestant, sometimes Kompas TV is given ugly and public weighted level. In the 2014 presidential election both contestant supporters have protested to Kompas TV. They consider Kompas TV unbalanced in the eyes of the two factions fighting. The main consideration in reporting the 2014 presidential election campaign is to meet the elements of journalistic ethics code. This is the basis. Whatever the news, the assumption outside or inside includes outside the context itself, as long as it meets the elements of journalistic code of ethics including fact verification, for Kompas TV is not a problem. But if you talk about the priority scale, Kompas TV will prioritize voters, public. For example, coverage of damaged ballot papers, the piercing procedure is paramount. For Kompas TV if the voters are not up to 60 percent, the presidential election is considered failed. This means that participation is low. Kompas.com, from the past and to this day, stands alignment should be to the public, on the public interest. Similarly, during the presidential election, Kompas.com still put forward the principle. Kompas.com does not side with one of the camps. Kompas.com is independent. From the beginning, Kompas media was founded in the 1960s by Jakob Oetama and Peter Kanisius (PK) Ojong, it was mentioned that Kompas's alignment is to the community. Jakob Oetama says he wants to establish a media not on behalf of the group, but the media that builds Indonesia, the community. So the sides of Kompas to pluralism, diversity. Indonesia, not to a group of people. Jakob Oetama always reminds the editors to make room for all candidates. (Zulkarimein Nasution, 2015: 131)

However, of course in this case it is not without value. In any sense, whatever Kompas.com preaches, regardless of what Kompas.com intercepts, reported or not, it is more on Kompas.com's own judgment, not because of any party intervention, including media owners. Kompas.com make journalistic coverage which according to Kompas.com important for all, for the candidates, on the basis of the belief Kompas.com that we write it useful, does not damage the public interest. In reportage, Jakob Oetama often assesses and asks, but never directs. There is no specific direction from Jakob Oetama to coverage. So actually Jakob Oetama normative only, so make Kompas open to anyone. Kompas.com is independent, not in favor of a particular candidate, but about how to bring Indonesia to a better direction. The Jakob figures continue to remind us of the importance of maintaining the credibility of the news. Kompas.com believes with the advice because in fact over 50 years he maintained the name and reputation of Kompas Group. And, Kompas Group's mission on humanity is always repeated to the editor. That is Jakob's main character in journalism. The Kompas Group is fortunate to be founded and owned by Jakob (with Petrus Kanisius Ojong), two journalists. This is different from other groups that many entrepreneurs have. True the existence of media is business, but it is different from other business. Media is a business of trust. Business means to continue life in need of money, but the way to earn it

must remain respectful. The meaning of advertising, for example for Kompas TV, is appreciated, because they install means others believe the products of Kompas TV. Therefore, Jakob advised to keep the product quality first.

Media Group

In the 2014 presidential election, the media offered various options. The choice makes all the media has tendency to choose a certain figure. There are many reasons why this can happen. Media Group believes that in the current situation Indonesia needs a figure like Joko Widodo. This means that people come from the general, not from the elite. People from the average can feel the life of the people. Jokowi is not from the palace; not a person who has ever received privilege. Media Groups see almost all presidents have privilege. Soekarno has privilege because he's a proclaimer. Soeharto has privilege because it is considered to crush the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). BJ Habibie has privilege, because he was called Pak Harto back. He was given various facilities. Megawati Sukarnoputri lives in the palace and daughter of Bung Karno. KH Abdurahman Wahid has chain of Nahdhatul Ulama. He is one of the founding grandchildren of NU KH Hasyim Ashari who is privilege among the NU. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is actually relatively free from privilege even though he is the son-in-law of Sarwo Edi the current RPKAD Commander. Among the soldiers, he was one of those who got some privilege so he could get on the job quickly. Well, this Jokowi really pure depart from the average. He's an ordinary person who might not dream of being president, but he has a pulse, a feeling that's about a breath with the public. Therefore, he deserves to be championed. Moreover, the opponent of Jokowi is a potential to get privileged because he is General, Kopassus, his son Sumitro Djojohadikusumo (one of the economic advocates of Indonesia), one of former President Soeharto's son-in-law. That way, maybe this is the time to change. At that point, it is natural that the name Jokowi appears. This is one of the reasons the Media Group supports Jokowi in the 2014 Presidential Election.

Another reason is that Jokowi figures are relatively no problem. Compare with Prabowo Soebianto who has many problems, especially his past related to Human Rights. Prabowo had to explain it all. It is common that the differences between Jokowi and Prabowo figure split the media. Due to this non-privilege consideration, Media Group is on Jokowi's side. This attitude is very clear because it was echoed in the editorial of Media Indonesia and Media Group. (Herbert J. Gans 2003: 24). Another consideration is for democracy. Democracy is not a goal. (Wilson Lowrey and Peter J. Gade (ed.) 2011: 51) It is a means to achieve welfare goals, but we already have a consensus together to choose the path of democracy. Therefore the democracy that the Media Group develops is healthy democracy; A democracy that provides opportunities to anyone; depart from any group; of individuals with any level of economic status to occupy the highest positions in this republic. In business, political appeals to Jokowi are very risky. For a businessman, the politicians are too risky. How if Jokowi lost? But the consideration of those risks must have been seen when deciding far bigger things; a wider range of interests than a business. There for support Jokowi no business calculations. If business interests, for example, oke if later Jokowi become President, you will get what or your party will get seats and some benefifis. Such a thing is the prerogative of the president. The President knows

enough how to accommodate. The media when the 2014 Presidential Election split into two poles, according to the views believed to be the best presidential candidate for this nation. So there are two different editorial attitudes. However, the role that the media play in both poles remains as a controller, in order that pilpres run honestly and fairly, according to the function of the media as a means of control. The editorial of Media Group saw what was happening in the community at that time. That some say we are partisan media, we are objective. Indeed, if people think we are partisan, it can't be blamed too, the article of our media owners are politicking, so the stigma in our society is aligned.

One thing that we hold in the coverage during the presidential election is cover both sides. A candidate and candidate B remains our accommodation. So we still meet the rules of journalism. There is no problem between alignments with journalism rules. However, to judge it is certainly not us, but the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission and Press Council whether our journalistic rules have been met or not. If we think, is fulfilled, because what we hold is the principle of cover both sides. The alignment of the Media Group will politically affect the journalistic product. However, Media Group has a personal perspective on its own journalism. For example, there is no such thing as objective news. Everything is subjective. News is a constructed reality. In that context we are familiar with the agenda setting theory, for example. Prohibited journalism, among others, is not balanced, do not verify the facts. Negative campaign is allowed. What is not allowed is a black campaign. Therefore, journalistic Media Group is very fair. The most important frame is not wrong. By the basic rules of journalism is also not wrong. The alignment is obviously like praising Jokowi. The important is fact. The Media Group does just praise Jokowi, conveying the good things of a particular candidate. That's fine. Although according to certain people this is considered excessive. This means that journalism can be accounted for. It does not spread false and balanced news in that sense does not mean Media Group drives the Press Council. Balancing does not mean if Jokowi get 50, Prabowo also have to get 50. Balanced when there is someone called his name, he is confirmed, but what perspective is his right issue in the news room. This is called subjective-objective. In this context, the media in general is very difficult to judge. We may be neutral campaigns but in fact many media have spinning. That's the lie. The role of Surya Paloh or the owner of Media Group in the contestation of the 2014 Presidential Election is to have a specific desire to be proclaimed. For example, questions of nationality, about diversity. Likewise when prohibiting not to be told something. It is a sensible policy for many people. But he never delivered directly from his own mouth. He made the first discussion with the board of editors.

MNC Group

Koran Sindo newspaper saw the media trends in 2014 presidential election campaign mixed up. Some people choose different ways to utilize empty space in terms of marketing. This is where the position of the Koran Sindo newspaper utilizes the market niche (Jeremy Iggers 1999: 85-89). There are two markets divided. There is Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla 52 percent and Prabowo Soebianto-Hatta Radjasa 48 percent. Koran Sindo newspaper honestly policy alignment is the same anywhere. Considerations of an event to be headlines are determined not on one good news decision but there is one

interest respectively. Ideology, business, and politic. So if Koran Sindo newspaper witnessed a media in favor of Jokowi, it is because of political interests. Koran Sindo newspaper also can't be separated from the interests of Harry Tanusoedibjo featuring business interests and political interests (Jeremy Iggers 1999 : 17). Hence the political policy on Prabowo continues to support. So between the political interests with the company interests are one vision. (Herbert J. Gans 2003: 22-23). So the partisanship of Koran Sindo newspaper to Prabowo can't be separated from Harry Tanusoedibjo's instructions. Nevertheless Koran Sindo newspaper is also looking for Prabowo track record. Because Koran Sindo newspaper sees not guilty, the Koran Sindo newspaper decided to support Prabowo-Hatta. Alignment to Prabowo is aware of the consequences, including political consequences. The Koran Sindo newspaper has measured the risks and consequences that will be generated from these political choices. For journalism, Koran Sindo does not see anything to be worried. The most important is to meet journalism ethics like cover both sides for the balance of news. Harry Tanusoedibjo is not involved in the news. It is only strategic. The Koran Sindo newspaper reads the direction and political views of Harry Tanusoedibjo.

Influence of Hary Tanusoedibjo as the MNC owner, he is not day to day watching. There is no influence of the owner here (Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, 1996). All candidates are the same, if RCTI takes sides, of course we do that. In fact, RCTI is sometimes trapped by its own candidates. Finally RCTI is not given enough space. Reporter RCTI not invited the campaign. RCTI still pursues the campaign of the candidate who did not invite. The influence of the media owner certainly exists. It's just that they are not directly involved. We must carefully and carefully read their movements outside. The owner may not attend the editorial meeting, but instead the editor must understand what the owner wants. The principle as long as it does not violate the ethics and principles of journalism then the editor will support it. The change in the ownership gait outside causes changes also in the pattern of editorial policy. The principle of journalism does not change its technical course that has developed.

The Koran Sindo newspaper chooses a political direction not necessarily, but through lengthy inquiry. In the issue of human rights violations by Prabowo, for example. Koran Sindo newspaper believes Prabowo is not guilty because there is no court verdict. Koran Sindo newspaper saw Prabowo trial by press. It's an injustice. On the other hand, Koran Sindo newspaper saw Jokowi only as a doll from outside forces. Koran Sindo newspaper sees pragmatically only. Jokowi sometimes makes things up. Yet the problem of this country is very complex. It's can't be compared dan equated with in Solo which the area is small. Jokowi once said taking care of Jakarta is easy. This is wrong because Jakarta is very heterogeneous. Jokowi is weak. The Koran Sindo newspaper saw who was behind Jokowi (Haris Jauhari (ed) .2012: 154). The alignment of the Koran Sindo newspaper to Prabowo did not receive any financial rewards. Nothing is paid. The Koran Sindo newspaper only sees justice in the news. Jokowi is supported almost by all media. Kompas, Tempo, and Media Indonesia. Justice in news is the concern of Koran Sindo newspaper. Giving balanced information is the Koran Sindo newspaper mission. Koran Sindo is independent newspaper. He is not a political party (Jeremy Iggers 1999: 36).

Meanwhile, sindonews.com sees the battle in the 2014 election campaign as an implication of the strong competition between the two candidates, Prabowo-Hatta and Jokowi-JK. This powerful content will inevitably or necessarily split the media into two camps as well. Each of them claim each other and win their respective candidates. There are vulgar supports there are also media who are 'shy but willing' to support a particular partner. Sindonews.com must admit the political dynamics of the 2014 presidential election is remarkable. Sindonews.com is not a hypocrite has a certain tendency (Holli A. Semetko and Margaret Scammell 2016: 69). Reporters in the field are carried away emotionally and in favor of a certain camp. This can be known from the direction and writing. This is where the editor becomes a filter and gatekeeper. News must facts to be objective. Objective is one of the main rules of journalism.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the 2014 presidential campaign, Media Groups and MNC Group are very much in the interest of their owners. While the Kompas Group at the editorial level is not visible even though they have historical connection with the ideology of a particular party. Nevertheless, Kompas Group's report on PDIP, for example, is not as massive as Media Group coverage of Nasdem party or MNC Group parties on Hary Tanusoedibjo. Kompas Group is more viscous economic and business interests than ideology and politics. Meanwhile, for Media Group and MNC Group, political alignments against candidate pairs. Media Group in Jokowi-JK camp and MNC Group on opposite side, Prabowo-Hatta couple. This political support caused all of their journalistic products to be problematic from the point of the Journalistic Code of Ethics (Steven Barnett, 2011: 171). Even if they refute and use the Journalistic Code of Ethics standards is a compulsion. The news of Media Group and MNC Group are always at odds. Metro TV's coverage of the Salam 2 Jari concert is the worst about allegiance to Jokowi-JK pairs. Surya Paloh, the owner of Media Group, gave a some speechess. By using the plaid dress symbols and the characteristic campaign Jokowi-JK, without feeling guilty. Surya Paloh openly supports and campaigns Jokowi-JK. So it is with Koran Sindo. Headlines title "SBY Restui Prabowo-Hatta" is the construction news of Prabowo-Hatta's successful team. This news does not exist in any media other than the Prabowo-Hatta support media. The Koran Sindo newspaper Pattern in this news is similar to the political alignments of Media Group and Kompas Group when writing konser Salam 2 Jari. Of course with each journalistic argument. Each has its own perspectives and claims. That the news they are broadcasting is not in violation of the the Journalistic Code of Ethics and in accordance with the social appropriateness. Therefore, news coverage in Media Group and MNC Group is more political than a pure journalistic work (Jeremy Iggers 1999: 17). The political alignments of the two groups to each candidate made public interest publicly infringed. Media that should be a public interest turned into the interests of presidential candidates or political parties. Because of that sincerity, Media Group and MNC Group play an active role in building good image and public opinion and vice versa for candidates supported by them (Anwar Arifin, 2010: 91). Actually, media allegations against certain political parties or candidates are not only happening in Indonesia. In some other countries it is the same. Many media choose and affiliate with certain political parties or sympathizers of candidates. This is one of the risks of the media dominated by traders and politicians. Owners with entrepreneurial backgrounds and

politicians do not understand the code of ethics of journalism and the law in depth. Although we do not deny there are some media groups who keep doing their journalism duties correctly. This shift is due to the increasingly large media companies. The feel of politics and interests is very strong. It must be admitted that political alignments in the 2014 presidential campaign made the media affiliated or owned politicians of certain political parties the quality of the news very bad. In fact, just to meet the code of journalistic ethics just can not. Events are framed for the political interests of media owners. To provide a portion for very few political opponents if not said to be very forced. For television they use public frequency for their political interests. Political alignments of the media are better declared openly. That way the public knows it. The public will see media that has affiliation with certain political parties. This is better than the independent and neutral pretense of a certain political contestation. This neutral pretense of deceiving the public. The editor may decide to support a particular candidate as long as it is decided in the editorial room there is no intervention from the media owner. Appealing to a particular candidate because it is more credible than the other candidates, for example, is legitimate.

Conclusion

The industrialization of media is inevitable. Capitalism has come into the mass media. Capitalism is then linked with politics, creating a paradox in the world of journalism. The media that ought to oversee the politics must be lost by the interests it oversees. Ironically the interests of capitalism are getting stronger today. This also happens in various parts of the world. In fact, if media conglomeration is more hegemonic it is not impossible that a healthy world of journalism is increasingly marginalized. The tendency of media conglomeration can be a problem for the enforcement of the journalistic code of ethics.

In fact, there is a compromise tendency between the code of ethics and the interests of capitalism, especially for those media that are not economically self-sufficient. Economic aid for media survival greatly affects media independence. In some group companies, media is a small part that should be subsidized by the owner or parent company so it is difficult to be neutral in its news.

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