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The News of Governor Candidacy on 2017 Banten Gubernatorial Election in Radar Banten (Study of Media Content Analysis)

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to find out how Radar Banten reports on the practice of political economy and how the neutrality and professionalism of Radar Banten in the Banten Gubernatorial Election 2017. As long as the 2017 Banten Gubernatorial Election contestation takes place, Radar Banten, as with other local media, play a role in disseminating various news related to the contestation. This research is qualitative research with the method of framing analysis. The data analysis method used in this study is the analysis of media political economy, content analysis, framing analysis and discourse analysis. The results of this study showed that the news presented by Radar Banten tended to favor one of the candidates. This also shows that Radar Banten is not neutral and unprofessional in presenting the news related to the Banten Gubernatorial Election 2017.

Keyword: Framing, media, media political economy, campaign, Banten Gubernatorial Election 2017

INTRODUCTION

The development of local media at this time has been influenced by market fundamentalism dogma which tends to direct the content of the media. As a result, mainstream media at the local level is more of an industry producing entertainment information commodities rather than being a means of public aspirations. Rating is everything. In fact, pages or duration are always measured by exchange rates. In this situation, local media can only be accessed by parties who have economic and political power. This can be seen from most media spaces that are "filled" with bureaucracy or local politicians.

Portraits of local media are finally mired in industries that are more concerned with the market will and are no longer compliant with the principles of public interest. Market logic, which emphasizes the function of entertainment and profit orientation (capital), makes local media like a funnel for investors and local politicians. The contents of local media no longer represent the lower middle class who are considered unable to contribute to the existence of local media businesses. In contrast, local media are more familiar with entrepreneurs, politicians and bureaucrats. As a result, the content of the media feels tight by the agenda-setting of that group.

The existence of local media, as mandated by political reform, should be able to foster public sphere that enables lower-middleclass people to gain access and opportunities so that they can open insights, aspirations and desires to participate in the discourse of

common interests. However, these noble ideals are not easily realized, because private media are not interested in collaborating with the lower classes, and feel more comfortable working with the elite, something that is believed to guarantee the existence of business as well as a mutual effort to maintain the perpetuation of power politics and economics at the local level.

The portrait of the media that we see and feel at the moment is inseparable from the context of macro, meso, and micro. In the macro context, we can see how the development of globalization and capitalism is still gripping the media business so strongly. The grip also occurs at the meso level, especially related to the process of production and the consumption of media. The example is local media news that is rarely critical and confrontational with the authorities and local elites. The news tends to be generated due to closeness, order, and other forms of advertorial. Thus, the media which are actually able to present the reality has gone astray, and the severity is increasingly plunged into the interests of media engineering that represents the economic and political rulers.

In the end, consumers were forced to believe the news presented by the media. In fact, often the news that presented is believed to be the only source of information. We certainly hope that the media can re-understand its identity as a portrayal of reality even if it has to face the economic and political interests of certain groups.

On the other hand, the revolving reforms in 1998 brought dramatic changes in the media landscape in Indonesia; the media system shifts from an authoritarian system to a libertarian characterized by a strong market role. In this position, because the controller is a market, market fundamentalism also thrives. Deddy N. Hidayat (2003) mentions that market fundamentalism adheres to the dogma that there is nothing sacred except the market and everything becomes a market-regulated commodity.

In the market rules, everything is a commodity. Consequently, the public interest is ignored, because it is faced with economic or political pressure. This market mechanism makes the media vulnerable to the power of capital. According to Dedi N. Hidayat (2003), this could lead to conditions in which the market dictates the public interest. Public issues such as unemployment, health and others, can be categorized as issues that do not contain news value because they do not concern the interests of the majority group of purchasing power consumers. For this reason, separate analysis of the content of the news is needed to find out the background of writing an event. Thus, the community is expected to be more mature in addressing news or media, including news that is closely related to the Banten Gubernatorial Election (Pilgub) or the dynamics of local politics.

Radar Banten, as a local mass media in Banten Province, is a medium that is already familiar in the Banten community. The number of readers is estimated to have reached 55 thousand people. Every year, the Radar Banten circulation rises by 17%. The daily is also widely distributed in eight cities and districts in Banten Province. In the context of

this research, Radar Banten had to face the challenges of professionalism and neutrality during the Banten Gubernatorial Election 2017. One of the challenges happened when one of the gubernatorial candidates reported Radar Banten to the Press Council because it was considered not neutral or in favor of one candidate pair. Although the allegations were not proven, Radar Banten continued to face the challenges of neutrality and professionalism amid the dynamics of warm local politics that developed during the Banten Gubernatorial Election 2017.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a qualitative approach. Qualitative research aims to understand social or human problems based on the creation of a complete holistic picture, formed with words, and report the informant's beam in detail and arranged in a natural setting (Cresswell, 2002).

According to Fraenkel & Wallen (1990), qualitative research focuses on the ongoing process, while according to Lincoln & Guba (in Cresswell, 2002) qualitative research is a developing design in terms of results, understanding, and interpretations negotiated with human data sources, because the reality of the subject is what researchers want to understand.

Bodgan and Taylor (1975) define qualitative methodology as a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written and oral words from people and observable behavior. This approach is directed to the background and the individual holistically.

This study uses a constructivist paradigm; in the technique of collecting data, the constructivism paradigm tends to use involved observation techniques, empirical text analysis, and imperative secondary data which generally takes place in ethnographic studies, case studies, ethnomethodology in qualitative groups (Hamad, 2005).

According to Gamson and Modigliani (in Eriyanto, 2005), media discourse can be conceptualized as an interpretive packaging device that gives meaning to an issue. The internal structure in the packaging is an idea that tries to organize or understand relevant events. Mulyana (in Eriyanto, 2005) states that the constructivism approach is both analytical and critical.

This research is directed to see how far Radar Banten in constructing news of the candidacy of Banten Gubernatorial Election 2017 through framing efforts, especially during the campaign period (November 2016 to January 2017).Framing analysis is used to see how an event/reality is constructed by the media that selects and highlights certain aspects of reality. The method of framing analysis that used in this study is Gamson and Modigliani's model.The data collected in this study only reaches the text level, while the

analysis unit is the news column. At the text level, the analysis unit that used is a news item that highlights the activities of the Banten Gubernatorial Election 2017, including campaign activities carried out during November 2016 to January 2017.

In this study, the selection of informants is based on characteristics that are commonly used in qualitative research. In the context of this study, Spradley (in Sugiyono, 2008) suggested that informants involved in this kind of research are people who have deep or broad involvement and understand in journalism, the process of making news, news management. In addition, the informant also understands the (local) political constellation in Banten, understands the context and substance of the subject study, and objective in giving views on every aspect of the research's issue.

Furthermore, data is analyzed based on text or news that has relevance to the object of research. According to Patton (in Moleong, 2006), data analysis is the process of arranging data sequences, organizing data into a pattern, category and basic description unit. From this understanding, Patton distinguishes between the study of data and interpretation, which gives significant meaning to the study, explains the pattern of description, and looks for relationships between the dimensions of the description.

The data analysis method used in this study is the analysis of media political economy, content analysis, frame analysis, and discourse analysis.According to Sobur (2004), the study of politics and ideology is at the level of "preferably", and therefore is normative-subjective. Therefore, the views built tend to be based on ideological assumptions, and are very likely to fail in seeing the real reality, or even close their eyes to the reality and the changes that are taking place. At this point, reviewing media texts through framing analysis becomes relevant.

The study of news framing itself is part of discourse analysis, namely the study of language/language use. Discourse is linguistic communication that is seen as an exchange between the speaker and the listener and as a problem activity where its shape is determined by its social goals (in Eriyanto, 2006). Discourse analysis focuses on the natural structure of spoken language as contained in discourses, such as conversations, interviews, comments, and utterances.

Robert N. Entman, one of the experts who laid the foundations of framing analysis for the study of media content, defined framing as a selection of various aspects of reality that were accepted and made the event more prominent in a text of communication, such as presenting specifically definitions of problems, interpretations cause and effect, moral evaluation, and offer of settlement as the problem is described.

Framing analysis is the latest version of the discourse analysis approach, especially for the interests of analyzing media texts. The frame is defined as a conceptual structure or set of beliefs that organize political views, policies, discourses, and provides standard

categories to appreciate reality or events. Goffman (1974) presupposes frames as strips of behavior that guide individuals in reading reality.

In a communication perspective, framing analysis is used to dissect media or ideologies in constructing reality. This analysis looks at the selection strategy, prominence, and linking facts to the news so that they can be more meaningful, more interesting, more meaningful or more memorable, to guide the interpretation of the audience according to their perspective. In other words, framing is an approach to find out how perspective used by journalists when selecting issues and writing news.

Dedi Mulyana (in Eriyanto, 2005) states that framing is used to see the socio-cultural context of a discourse, especially a relationship between news and ideology. Framing analysis can also be used to see who controls who in the power structure, which party gets benefits and which is disadvantaged, who is the oppressor and the oppressed, which political actions are constitutional and vice versa, which policies should be supported by the community and not supported, etc.

RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS
Radar Banten News in the Practice of Political Economy

Robert W. McChesney (1997) argues that political economy has two aspects. First, as a media liaison with a communication system on a community structure. The purpose is to examine how the media (and communication systems) and content reinforce, challenge, or even influence existing classes (community stratification) and social relations. Second, political economy communication shows how ownership encourages performance (such as advertising) and government policies that influence the behavior of the media and the news in it.

In the context of a society that is starting to grow and stretching economically, community participation usually has not spread evenly. In general, the community is still passive, and other groups that are much smaller are actually active. In a society that is relatively well developed both economically and politically, the role of elite groups can initially be a stimulus for the participation of other community groups. They expect the involvement of elite groups in giving encouragement and roles that can influence non-elite groups. As stated by Gaetano Mosca (in Wijaya, 1986), elite groups are believed to be a group of people who are strong and economically dominant at first. In the next development, their influence will spread to the political field.

In the local context, the practice of the media-political economy has little influence on the practice of journalism and Radar Banten's media business. In fact, the closeness between journalists and certain political leaders can affect the advertising spot. According to Editor in Chief Radar Banten, the closeness between journalists and political figures is indeed unavoidable. As long as journalists can be objective and professional, it is not a

problem. However, it would be better if journalists were not "too close" to certain political parties or figures, since it was feared that would affect the news. Therefore, the journalists should not do certain framing of politicians, political parties, or certain officials.

The closeness between journalists and politicians, political parties, or certain officials will impact on subjectivity, especially if there are demands for pragmatism from media institutions that must be met by a journalist. Political interests make the process and work of the news no longer based on an ethical foundation and professionalism, but on a political foundation.

In the context of Banten Gubernatorial Election 2017, the existence of local media is expected to provide balance while reading various potentials that might occur in the local political process. The news that is expected to emerge is not merely to appoint one candidate, but able to explore the political conditions at the local level.

However, the subjects in this study (Radar Banten) tended to preach too often on one candidate (see **Table 1**). Construction should not be emphasized only in terms of the superiority of candidates, but on the issue of rationality and participation from the Banten community. One of the objectives is the public control over the government can be more stringent, and mass media can be a forum for dialogue for both. Moreover, one of the objectives of the existence of local media is to build local wisdom to address various political issues.

Meanwhile, the moment of the Gubernatorial Election (Pilgub) also created a kind of mutually beneficial relationship between local media and candidates. The needs of each candidate for socialization are translated by the media as a golden opportunity to reap income in the midst of increasingly intense competition in the local media business. The existence of these relationships is actually a common thing as in other service transactions. However, the problem becomes different since mass media has a basic function as a social control.

When covering one candidate, the public believes that the media can provide accurate information about problems at the local level. Unfortunately, instead of being a guardian of democracy at the local level, local media even play eyes with prospective power holders. Then, the report or news presented is not in accordance with the slogan: bad news is good news. As long as the candidate able to maintain "good relations" with media, he can determine what and how the news about him must be packaged.

Table 1. News aboutBanten Gubernatorial Election 2017 during the Campaign Period (November 2016 - February 2017)

No	News Title	Date Publish
1	Satu Tahun RK Pimpin Banten, Jalan bagus dan Anti Korupsi	01-11-16
2	Rano, Bikin Perubahan Berarti	01-11-16
3	RK Diyakini Gaet Kaum Perempuan	02-11-16
4	RK, Menang Tanpa Harus Memaksa	08-11-16
5	Iman (Walikota Cilegon) Saksikan Pengukuhan Dukungan untuk RK-Embay	09-11-16
6	Inilah Alasan Memilih EMS	10-11-16
7	Andika Peringati Hari Pahlawan	12-11-16
8	PDIP: akan Kuasai Basis WH	14-11-16
9	Mudah Mengenalkan RK-Embay	18-11-16
10	Spanduk Rano-Embay banyak Dirusak	19-11-17
11	Embay Serang WH	30-11-16
12	RK-Embay Teken Pakta Integritas, WH-Andika Tidak Hadir	05-12-16
13	Pemilih Pilgub Banten 7,8 Juta	09-12-16
14	RK, Minta Dukungan Warga Nahdliyin	15-12-16
15	Hinca Panjaitan: Wajib Menangkan WH –AA	
16	Embay, Minta Petuah Mantan Bupati Pandeglang	20-12-16
17	Dewan Pers, Radar Banten tidak Langgar Kode Etik	20-12-16
18	WH Serang Rano	28-12-16
19	Figur Cagub RK	02-01-17
20	JB (Mantan Bupati Lebak) Kampanyekan Rano-Embay	06-01-17
21	Dikawal Jawara, RK Kampanye	06-01-17
22	Kampanye Rano-Embay Membludak, Keberhasilan Bangun Jalan Dipamerkan	09-01-17
23	Wahidin Halim Dilaporkan ke KPK	27-01-17
24	WH Gratifkasi	27-01-17
25	Najwa Kuliti Program Cagub, Andika Berhalangan Hadir	02-02-17
26	Lapangan Sunburst "**Memerah**"	04-02-17
27	Mega: RK Pasti Menang	06-02-17
28	Rano-Embay, Kompak Tolak Komunisme	07-02-17
29	RK Sisi Pantura Rebut Suara	07-01-17
30	RK -Embay, Ajak Masyarakat Mulyakan Ulama	08-02-17
31	Dimyati (Mantan Bupati Pandeglang) Total Dukung (RK-Embay Kunjungi KH. Ma'ruf Amin)	08-02-17
32	Rano-Embay Unggul (Hasil Survei Indo Barometer)	10-02-17

Jack Snyder (in LSPP, 2005) sees the positive role that local media can play, such as educators, problem identifiers, forum providers, and sociocultural reinforcers for their communities. Robert Dahl (in LSPP, 2005) calls the role of the free press as the availability of alternative and independent sources of information. The main role is in synergy with the principles of good local governance such as participation, transparency, and accountability. Therefore, participation means the active role of the community in making a decision, while transparency is based on the existence of a guarantee mechanism for public access to decision making, and accountability states how much the influence of the governed party (object) on the government (subject). Keane (in LSPP, 2005) underlines the importance of the media as public servants who have a big contribution in a democratic country, especially regarding the availability of information that is useful for public life.

In addition to contributing to the democratization process, local media also has an ambivalent effect because of the strong primordialism and the proximity of media investors with regional stakeholders, which in turn raises a dilemma for local media, such as in covering Banten Gubernatorial Election (in LSPP, 2005). Synder (in LSPP, 2005) even concluded that the local press can sacrifice long-term interests because it has the potential to become a tool for power maniacs in maintaining their power.

That is, the local press sometimes fails to maintain distance and instead becomes emotionally involved with political dynamics at the local level. As a result, coverage becomes less balanced. On the other hand, the tight competition in the media business and public thirst for sensational news often confuse the process and face of local press coverage (LSPP, 2005). In the observations of researchers, Radar Banten shows a position that moves in political economy euphoria as explained in the previous analysis.

Radar Banten's Neutrality and Professionalism in the Banten Gubernatorial Election 2017

The prerequisite for the realization of the democratization process is freedom of expression and information. Therefore, a subsystem in the form of independent mass media is needed, starting from giving information that is correct, relevant, and objective for the community to the function of supervisor of power. Understanding of power in the context of democratic societies is not only oriented to government power, but includes political, social, economic and cultural activities. This is also in line with what was suggested by Schieck (2003) that the presence of independent media can lead to two roles, namely watchdog for the government and educating public on various issues that affect their lives.

In the context of elections, a report released by The Asia Foundation in 2004 revealed that more than 90 percent of the public used the media as information on elections. Therefore, there is the potential for misuse of media functions, such as agreements to

provide political advertising space, covering the inauguration of regional officials, or publication of election campaigns for certain regional head candidates. This condition can be even worse if the media owner is one of the candidates in the ongoing democratic party. In this position the press no longer represents the fourth pillar in a democratic society.

Interest between the media and the local elite and the misuse of the functions of local media in the process of regional head elections can be attributed to a number of things that stem from the lack of professionalism at the micro, meso and macro level.

At the micro level, where the text is the final product of the media, the unprofessionalism of the media can be seen in various reports regarding the implementation of regional head elections that are shown to be less balanced. As a local media, Radar Banten turned out to and This can be seen from the dominant news of certain candidate pairs (Rano and Embay) both in terms of quantity and in the construction of the text.

Theoretically, professionalism in the news requires objectivity. In this positivistic conception, the definition of objectivity is formulated in two principles: conformity with reality and impartiality. The first principle consists of truth and relevance. The true element is determined accuracy in describing the facts by considering all elements of the news: 5W + 1H. Meanwhile, the elements used to measure the level of relevance include: (1) psychography proximity; (2) geographical proximity; (3) timeliness; (4) significance; (5) prominence; and (6) magnitude. All of these elements are known as news values. The principle of impartiality also determines the level of objectivity; there are two elements that support impartiality: balance and neutral. Balanced is to give a fair place to different views or cover both, while neutral is the separation between facts and personal opinions of journalists (McQuaill, 1998).

If an event can be revealed with the elements mentioned above, the media will automatically become watchdog against fraud, both at the state and community level. In this situation, people will think and determine for themselves what is right and what is wrong. That is, the media does not need to dictate or direct, but rather express the facts as they are.

At the meso level, the most striking thing is the lack of management of local media where the human resources are less competent. This issue will have an impact on the low welfare of local journalists. In some cases, there are many journalists who receive salaries below the Minimum Wages (UMR) standard.

The lack of professionalism of local media can also be seen from the condition of journalists who do not have competence and idealism. As a result they only make the media institutions where they work as a place to look for profit. Meanwhile, mutualism collaboration between journalists and local governments leads to agreements that deviate

from journalistic idealism and ethics, such as the maintenance for Indonesia Journalist Association (PWI) building, coaching budgets, and other costs to sponsor journalists' fictional activities. Such cooperation can weaken the media as a supposedly independent institution.

At the macro level, indicators to see media professionalism can be seen based on the dynamics of socio-cultural, economic-political, historical contexts and also media regulation. The striking issue at this level is the unclear rules of the game for local media in articulating their functions. The lack of assertive journalistic ethics is also a separate note. This means that the enforcement of journalistic ethics can play an important role in guarding media functions that should be able to guarantee the public interest. In addition, the community also needs media literacy so they do not become media passive object.

CONCLUSION

Media can construct an event or fact when raising news, including Radar Banten. Political news, such as the campaign of Banten Gubernatorial Election 2017, is an interesting issue for the people of Banten. As the largest local media in Banten, Radar Banten has a strategic bargaining position. As a social and economic institution, media have the capacity to disseminate information both to fulfill their social functions and economic institutions to gain profit. As the largest media institution, Radar Banten has a bargaining position in the constellation of power (vis a vis bureaucrats and politicians) and the dynamics of local politics in Banten.

As a social institution, Radar Banten has the obligation to disseminate the truth through the news so that it can become a valuable reference for the community. But, in a political economy, Radar Banten needs income to maintain its business continuity. This research shows that media, especially Radar Banten, is not easy to place themselves in a neutral and independent position. In the context of the political economy of the media, it can be said that Radar Banten often drew framing on one candidate (Rano Karno and Embay) and at the same time made an agenda-setting for them. This later caused another candidate, Wahidin Halim and Andika Hazrumy, report Radar Banten to the Press Council because they were considered not neutral.

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