

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

The election will certainly not be separated from political parties, and the party does not escape the media spotlight. The mass media has the specific roles during the election period as well as during the campaign period. In this connection, the roles in question cover the two sides. At once that one side of the media are used by a political party, the political elite, the candidates, the cadres and sympathizers for the benefit of the campaign with the ultimate purpose of gaining support votes; and on the other side, the mass media are also used by the public (citizens of prospective voters) with the intensity, the pattern, the mixed motives as a form of political participation. To some degree, they at least may be influencing the opinions, attitudes as well as the decisions in determining the selection/the support (Mursito, 2014).

In the election activity of Yogyakarta city on the 15th February 2017, It is certainly expected to take place smoothly, neat, honest, fair, and democratic. However, the development of democracy often has to face the problems of dilemma between freedom on the one hand with the restriction on the other side. It also takes place in the practice of mass media.

It can be said that this time, the existence of mass media and politics is a symbiosis of mutualism because both of them are mutually beneficial. For example, due to mass media, the perpetrators and their political party can expose their activities through the mass media as well as the mass media they acquire materials for preaching.

The enactment of Law No. 4 of 1999 concerning the press has changed the political communication system during this time ;so that, the communication can take place more the balanced politics especially the relationship between government and the press, between the government and groups in society as well as among the various components of society with the media bridge. This atmosphere is much opposed to the reign of the previously highly repressive where the press merely becomes a tool of government, as a propaganda tool, and the organ which must approve any need. (Dhanurseto, 2009)

The study will analyze the contents of the news coverage in the local newspapers particularly the news coverage of the campaign contestants pair of candidates in the election of Yogyakarta in 2017 whether there are differences in the pattern of news coverage between the two candidates in the newspaper Kedaulatan Rakyat, Harian Jogja and Radar Jogja during the campaign election Yogyakarta 2017. If the three print media preference are against a pair of candidates in local elections in 2017 the city of Yogyakarta. As the issue is also related to the role of the local mass media, in this case, the

newspaper is as one of the agents of political communicator. The newspaper is given that role and then it shall have been able to give the correct news and the impartial pairs of candidates. I choose the three local printed media in Yogyakarta because i think those three media are Harian Jogja, Kedaulatan Rakyat and Radar Jogja are the oldest local printed media in Yogyakarta. Because I think the three print media can give more accurate and reliable news, and it is no doubt the readers of these three newspapers covers all ages, and in my opinion the news of these three print media can provide information to readers.

The attitude of "Politics" Media is also not only to political parties but also to the other interests related to ownership of the media because the background in the news media ownership affects the printed media. For example, if a media conglomerate that belongs to the definite color of the reports, will be different and may be more news about the owner on the contrary, if the negative publicity about the media owners will have the different reporting (Abdullah, 2000)

The truth of the information that is obtained must not be separated from the role of each media to the reposition of any news to be published. This will certainly lead to the differences of each media within the casting news delivered. These demands must also be adjusted to the needs of the community to obtain the truth on any information presented by the media and

the attempted political education through the mass media so that, the political education is expected to realize a democratic election.

In Yogyakarta city, the election has 2 candidates who follow while the rosters of the candidates and parties supporting their as follows:

Table 1.1
List of Candidate on the elections Yogyakarta 2017

No.	Name of Candidates	Supporting Party
1.	Imam Priyono Achmad Fadli	- PDI Perjuangan - Partai Nasdem Partai Kebangkitan bangsa
2.	Haryadi Suyuti Heroe Purwadi	- Partai Amanat Nasional - Partai Golongan Karya - Partai Gerindra - Partai Keadilan Sejahtera - Partai Demokrat - Partai Persatuan Pembangunan

Sources : KPU of Kota Yogyakarta 2016

B. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the differences of the printed media coverage among the two candidates in the printed media Kedaulatan Rakyat, Harian Jogja and Radar Jogja during the Yogyakarta City election campaign in 2017?
2. What is the tendency of the third printed media about the candidates during the campaign of the election of Yogyakarta city 2017?

C. THE OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

1. To analyze whether the differences of the printed media coverage among the two candidates in the printed media Kedaulatan Rakyat, Harian Jogja and Radar Jogja during the Yogyakarta City election campaign in 2017
2. To analyze whether the tendency of the third printed media about the candidates during the campaign of the election of Yogyakarta city 2017

D. THE BENEFIT OF RESEARCH

1. To understand whether the differences of the printed media coverage among the two candidates in the printed media Kedaulatan Rakyat, Harian Jogja and Radar Jogja during the Yogyakarta city election campaign in 2017
2. To Understand whether the tendency of the third printed media about the candidates during the campaign of the election of Yogyakarta city 2017
3. For candidates after this so that candidates after this can know what steps they will take based on the results of this study

E. LITERATURE REVIEW

In the literature review, the researcher tries to find and compare the other studies that talk about and will explain in details about the information

from the previous studies as a basis for comparison. In addition, the authors also seek the information about the theory associated with the title that was used to acquire the grounding scientific theories. This thesis is written based on the field of research and some references which are books , journal, thesis and report.

NO.	AUTHORS/TITLE	DESCRIPTION
1.	Dhanurseto, HP, S.IP., M.si (2009) “Print Media Coverage In 2009 Presidential Election Campaign (<i>Media Content Analysis Study On the Presidential Election Campaign in Mass Media Print Harian Jogja, Radar Jogja Jogja and Kedaulatan Rakyat</i>)	In this study, it analyzed the news coverage in the local newspapers particularly the news coverage of the campaign contestants presidential candidate in the 2009 election whether there were differences in the pattern of news coverage between candidates incumbent and non-incumbent on the newspaper Kedaulatan Rakyat, Daily Jogja and Radar Jogja during the campaign period president, 2009 in Yogyakarta. It was based on the analysis of research data that was news about the difference between news coverage of candidates and the incumbent President of the non-incumbent on the Kedaulatan Rakyat newspaper, Harian Jogja, Radar Jogja during the 2009 presidential candidates campaigns in DI.

		<p>Yogyakarta during a span of 9 June to 2 July 2009. It was obtained some overviews of the differences between the reporting patterns and non-incumbent incumbent candidate in news coverage presented. It could be said that the reality shown by the three newspapers reporting was strongly influenced by the editorial policy of each newspaper.</p>
2.	<p>Abia Tumiur and Mursito (2014), "Mass Media Coverage in Presidential Election Campaign (<i>Campaign News Framing Analysis Prabowo-Hatta pair and Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla in the presidential elections of Newspaper Kompas and Media Indonesia Period June 4 - July5 2014</i>)"</p>	<p>The purpose of this research is to dissect and review on how mass media construct the messages to be presented focusing when media construct the message about president and vice president candidates during president and vice president election campaign period, by Pan and Kosicki framing analysis model. Pan and Kosicki Framing analysis operate four structural dimensions of information text as framing tools: syntax, script, thematic, and rhetoric. This research takes sample on first page from Kompas and Media Indonesia newspaperstotally 11 (eleven) information with two large theme categories, "debate of president-vice</p>

		<p>president candidates” and “issues of president-vice president candidates” (sub theme “Jokowi’s negative issue in Obor Rakyat Newspaper” and “Prabowo’s violation of human right issue”).</p> <p>There are three main points as a result of this research. First, Media Indonesia tends not to be neutral and independent. Media Indonesia constructs a message in such a way that leads people to choose Jokowi-JK. Second, Kompas is more neutral and independent from Media Indonesia. Kompas can be said to be balanced in reporting both pairs of candidates. Third, it is difficult to be a pure neutral media, but media are trying to be independent.</p>
3.	<p>Ricky Alkat Seftiano (2014) "Framing Analysis Coverage East Kalimantan Governor Election 2013 In The Campaign"</p>	<p>These results indicate framing Kaltim Post through its news, it shows that there are still dominant nature still within reasonable limits to Awang Ishak Faroek by always giving positive news. It shows the power of the owners of media companies are very influential on the content. Framing Kaltim Tribune through his</p>

		preaching on the rubric election of the Governor of East Kalimantan in 2013 during the campaign showed impartial and not biased towards one of the candidates for governor of East Kalimantan in 2013, it looks Tribune Kaltim trying to build the actual reality.
4.	Farah Diba (2014) “Framing Analysis On Report of Hanura Party Politics in the Media Online Sindonews ”	These results indicate that Sindonews is the mainstream media predominantly against Hanura by always providing the positive press and none containing the negative news against Hanura. This shows that the power of the owners of media companies is very influential on the content.

F. THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory of function helps the authors in describing the social phenomena or the natural phenomena that become the center of attention. The theory is the set of concepts, definitions, and propositions that suggests a systematic view of symptoms with outlining the relationships between variables to explain and predict the symptoms (Kriyantoro, 2008).

As the theories that are considered relevant for use in this study including:

1. Mass Media

Mass media definitely are affecting the thinking and actions of the community. The media shape the public opinion to bring it on the significant changes. Media messages are not so casual, but they are made and created by the mass media with a purpose.

According to Tamburaka in Apriadi Arfian (2014), mass media are any object that can be manipulated, in view, in heard, read, or talk about with an instrument to be used with both for a process of channeling information " (Elva Retnawati, 2014).

According to Kustadi Suhandang, mass media are an art or a skill of searching for collecting, processing, compiling and presenting the news about events that occur in daily life in order to meet all the needs of the public conscience. (Suhandang, 2012)

According to William Kusumaningrat (2010), Understanding coverages is something speaking correctly and impartially from the fact that qualitatively is new and important case that can attract the attention of readers of newspapers that contain it. Indirectly in the sense of this, mass media should act in accordance with the rules of journalism news coverage.

The media should be neutral with no frills of a political expediency, or by elites of the political power (Purnama Kusumaningrat, 2005).

According to a number of types of Romly news, the kinds of news coverage of the Mass Media are known in the world of journalism, the most popular and become the home of mass media such are:

a. Direct news

The direct news (straight news) is a report of events that are written shortly, solidly. It is written in the style of exposing events in the State. It is without explanation especially couple with the interpretation. The news immediately are divided into two types: hard news or warm (hard news) and soft news or mild (soft news).

b. News opinion

The news of opinion (opinion news) are the news regarding opinions, statements, or the idea of a person, They are usually the opinions of scholars, experts, or officers, about an event.

c. Interpretive news

The news interpretation (interpretative news) is the news developed by comment or assessment of journalists or competent resource of person over news that appear. So, it is a mix of fact and interpretation. It is starting from the information perceived less clearly or the incomplete meaning and significance.

d. News in depth

The news in depth (deep news) are the news which are development of the news that has emerged with the depth of the existing things under a surface. They are starting from a news story that has still not been completed and could be resumed (follow up system). The study is done by seeking the additional information from the speaker or the related news.

e. News explanation

The news explanation (explanatory news) are the news which are explained by outlining a complete, full event data. The facts that are obtained are explained in detail with some arguments or opinions of its author. This kind of news usually is long so that it shall be presented serially and glowingly.

f. Investigation news

The news of the investigation (investigative news) is the news which are acquired and developed based on research or investigation from the different sources. Also they are called excavation because journalists are digging for information from the various parties. Even they are the direct investigations into the field starting from the raw data or the brief news. The general news of investigation are presented in formatting feature (Syamsul, 2003).

As the types of media as follow:

1). The Printed Media

The mass media first appeared in the world in the 1920 's. At a time, it was originally used by the Government to the news media suggesting to the society, so it brought the people of the reader towards a particular goal. It was like the theory of the syringe on the theory of mass communication. But now it is very press freedom like the feedback from the audience. Here, they are examples of print media such as newspapers, magazines and tabloids.

2).Electronic Mass Media

This type of mass media is disseminated through sound or image using electro technology, such as radio, television, and film.

3). Media Online

This is the mass media that we can find on the internet (web sites). Recently,it was the popular media in the 21st century such as the google that was born in 1997. The internet media exceeds the ability of the print and electronic media. Both the electronic and printed media can be got in the internet through the website. There are many advantages of the internet media than the other media (Triawan, 2015).

2. Framing Analysis

The analysis of framing according Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki in Farah Diba (2014) Framing is defined as the process of making the message that is more prominent putting the more information than others so, the public is more focused on the message. According to Pan and Kosicki, there are two conceptions of the interrelated framing. First, it is the concept of psychology. The Framing concept is more emphasized on how to process information in itself. Framing is related to the structure and cognitive processes, how people process the information and the amount that indicates in the certain schemes. Framing here is seen as the placement of the information in a context that is unique special and particular in the place elements of an issue that has become more important in influencing consideration in making a decision about reality (Diba, 2014).

According to Pan & Kosicki in Eriyanto (2012) entitled Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse, it operationalized four structural dimensions of the news text as a framing device namely:

- a. Syntax (How the journalists arrange the events, statements, opinions, quotes, observation of the events in the form of the general news).
- b. Structure of script (It is dealing with reporters who narrate or tell how events in the form of news).

- c. Thematic structure (It is associated with how the journalists express their views on the events into propositions, sentences, or the relationship between sentences that make up the text as a whole).
- d. Rhetorical structure (It is associated with how the reporters are emphasizing some senses into the news)(Eriyanto, 2012).

Robert N. Entman in Panuju (2003), the notion of framing that is laying the groundwork for framing analysis for the study of media content. It defines framing as a selection of the the various aspects of reality that is acceptable and makes it more prominent events in a text communication. In many ways,It is like a special present to the problem definition, the causal interpretation,the moral evaluation and the settlement of deals as the problem described. Entman looksthe great framing in two dimensions, namely the selection of issues suppression or the protrusion certain aspects of reality or issues(Panuju, 2003).

To observe and analyze the attitude of the media, it can be seen by:

- a. How does each media offer the news such as the frequency of news, short and long columns, titles, placement, size of the columns.
- b. The projection media agenda is influenced by the editorial aspects, the ideological pressure of the authorities, media owners and sponsors.
- c. The semantic analysis of the content of media

3. Freedom of Press

The press and freedom is something that is highly related and can not be separated in carrying out its functions to meet the wishes of the community in the work of journalism as a public need for information continues to move with the times. The existence of the press becomes a part of life today. The press and the public and the government are the interest that interacts in complementary and corrects in the communication process that takes place amid the flow of the power of the communication which is important at this time.

According to Danis McQuail in *Poti Jamhur*, freedom of the media or the press shall be directed in order to deliver the real benefits for society and the audience not just to liberate the mass media and their owners from the liability expectations and the demands of society (Poti, 2011).

The freedom of the press or communication Indonesia is in searching, processing, and writing news distributed or published through the print media. The meaning of freedom of the press is named the absence of intervention powers to curb the freedom of the press which is manifested in the form. It is free of the necessity having License Publishing (SIT) or a form of license others, free of censorship, free of bans, free from government interference and any party to the press activities (Junaedi, 2013)

As the freedom of the press is guaranteed by the State through the legislation and the state apparatus. A free press is based on the principle of freedom of expression that is upheld by the state of the nation. The regulations of the state that guarantee the independence and freedom of the press are:

- a. Article 28 UUD 1945, it reads the freedom of association and assembly, is issued the verbal and written thoughts and is set by the Act.
- b. Article 28 F UUD 1945 Constitution, it states that everyone has the right to communicate and obtain the information to develop the personal and social environment and the right to seek, obtain, possess, store, process and convey the information by using all the available channels.
- c. Tap MPR No. XVII/MPR/1998 on Human Rights in Article 20 and 21.
They are:
- d. Article 20: Everyone has the right to communicate and obtain the information for the personal development in their social environment
- e. Article 21: Everyone has the right to seek, obtain, possess, store, process and convey the information by using all available channels.
- f. UU no. 40 of 1999 on the press article 2 and article 4, paragraph 1:
- g. Article 2 : Freedom of the press is one manifestation of the principles of sovereignty of the people that have the principles of the democracy, the justice, and the rule of law.
- h. Article 4, paragraph 1: Freedom of the press is guaranteed as a basic right of citizens.

The History of The Press Freedom in Indonesia, the reforms in Indonesia that occurred in 1998, changed a democratic transition from authoritarian to liberatarian. The democracy in Indonesia in the era of 1968-1998 tended toward authoritarian systems that the mass media and press freedom is restricted by laws and regulations under the control of the new order, so mass media is subordinate to government power. Once the size of government control over the media at the time stated that the press freedom is shuted by the government. As a result, the press can not provide the accurate information and open (transparancy) to the public.

The media can not criticize the government policies that are distorted, the criticism is silenced and the system opposition is prohibited by the irregularities by the government as increasingly the cronyism result of corruption, collusion, nepotism in the development of the increasing social inequality when the mass media are not free to convey the information of public knowledge about the actual information marginalized (Poti, 2011).

At that time, the role of the press of independence can not be ignored that it played an important role. At the same time, the press is an instrument of the struggle to educate the public about the importance of freedom. Likewise, the phenomenon of partisan press in the old order is also for the

history of the Indonesian press as a political actor that is attached with the overriding political parties (Junaedi, 2013).

G. CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION

The conceptual definition is the way to explain the limitations of the definition concept between the other concepts. The conceptual definition will define the theory of research used by researcher to understand the dynamic of the research object.

a. Mass Media

The mass media is a means to convey the information from the source to the audience or the recipient information by using communication tools such as for example, television, newspapers, radio, online social media.

b. Framing Analysis

A selection of a particular issue ignores the other issues, and highlight aspects of these issues by using the various strategies discourse, the conspicuous placement (headline front or rear), repetition, the use of specific labels when describing people or events that are reported.

c. Freedom of Press

The freedom of the media or the press should be directed in order to deliver the real benefits for society and the audience not just to liberate the mass media and their owners from the liability expectations and demands of society

H. OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

The operational definitions are instructions or how to collect all the necessary data for ongoing research that tells how to measure variables. The operational definition is used in order to know which indicators are the basis of measuring research variables. The variables that are used in this research are theory of implementation. The content of this operational definition is some variables that are going to be investigated, and the some variable i take from Framing analyze :

1. Syntax (How the journalists arrange events, statements, opinions, quotes, observation of the events in the form of the general news).
2. Structure of Script (It is dealing with reporters who narrate or tell how events in the form of news).
3. Thematic Structure (It is associated with how the journalists express their views on the events into propositions, sentences, or the relationship between sentences that make up the text as a whole).
4. Rhetorical Structure (It is associated with how reporters are emphasizing some senses into the news)(Eriyanto, 2012).

I. RESEARCH METHOD

a. Type of the research

This type of research is conducted by researchers descriptive qualitative analysis method framing. The reseracher chooses a qualitative

approach to a framing analysis method. Researchers chose a qualitative approach based on the consideration that the data are collected by the researchers in this study of the writings that are summarized in political news in social media account that do not emphasize the figures. Because the research will be emphasized in terms of the meaning. The results of this research is descriptive, ie to describe and summarize the various conditions or many variables that arise in the mass media of the research object in Yogyakarta election that the election news are in the printed media: Radar Yogya, Harian Jogja and Kedaulatan Rakyat.

b. Research Location

The location of this research is in Yogyakarta that includes the print media coverage in the city of Yogyakarta 2017 election campaign. The news are in the print media Harian Jogja, Kedaulatan Rakyat and Radar Jogja during the campaign period of candidates in the elections of Yogyakarta 2017. They chose this medium because it has a circulation of large marketing.

c. Research Object

As for the reason, the researcher will analyze this study about the print media coverage Harian Jogja, Kedaulatan Rakyat, Radar Jogja that will preach about the candidates in the elections in the city of Yogyakarta that was held on February 15, 2017.

d. Data Collection Technique

The data resources are data collected from the various sources and required to answer the research questions. The kinds of data used in this research are as follows :

1) Primary Data

Primary Data is data obtained of the subject of the direct research. In the primary data, there is no other party in the research. Primary data is done through the direct observartion of researcher. Primary data is done through the interview directly with supporting object.

2) Secondary Data

Secondary data are data that are used to support of primary data. Secondary data that are used in this research are book, journal , websites , and the Ministry of Public Works

e. Data Collection Technique

Data collection technique is the used way of researcher in a research to collect a data required to answer a research question.

1) In- depth Interview

The researcher explainesabout data collection with in–depth interview. In-depth interview makethe researcher more detail to know about the differences of the printed media coverage between the two candidates in the printed media Kedaulatan Rakyat, Harian Jogja and Radar Jogja during the Yogyakarta City election campaign in 2017.

2) Documentation

The documentation is a technique of collecting data to support this research. Documentation of this research is from documents , books, scientific journals, article, newspaper, and the Ministry of Public Works and Housing field reports. Documentation makes the researcher more detail to know about the differences of the printed media coverage between the two candidates in the printed media Kedaulatan Rakyat, Harian Jogja and Radar Jogja during the Yogyakarta City election campaign in 2017.

f. Technique of Data Analysis

This research uses the descriptive qualitative research. The descriptive research is research conducted simply to describe a situation or event without finding out or explaining the relationship. It is not test hypotheses or making predictions. Meanwhile, it is a method of qualitative research. The researcher does not hold a calculation or quantitative data. The method of data analysis in this research is the analysis of framing of Zhongdan Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. This analysis is divided into four large structures namely: the syntactic structure, the structure of the script, thematic structure and rhetorical structure.