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 Achmad Janil

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*by* Dr. Ari Sulistyanto, M.i.kom

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**1**  
**PUBLIC COLUMN AND REPRESENTATION IN DISCOURSE FIGHT CAMPAIGN NEWS OF INDONESIA PRESIDENT ELECTION IN 2014**

**7**  
(A critical discourse analysis of campaign news in front page of Seputar Indonesia and Media Indonesia newspapers)

**Ari Sulistyanto, Noldy Pelenkahu, Fredy Marentek**

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**1**  
**Abstract**

This study aims to describe the discourse fight campaign of Indonesia President election in 2014 and the impact of the mass media as the public column. The unit analysis of the study is the campaign news headline of Indonesia President election in 2014 of Seputar Indonesia and Media Indonesia newspapers. Van Dijk discourse analysis model was applied in the study. The research result showed that in the construction process, when the news goes to reductor level which had been done by the journalists was always changed and suit to the character and media policy including the policy of the title statement and the language used. The newspapers have become different and provocative. So, in the discourse fight in Indonesia President election in 2014, there were representations to the candidates which was done by both of the mass media, and then went to the actors' character assassination and the distortion of the public column become not authentic. This was because of the mass media in their news had taken sides the candidate who is being the prominent figure.

**1**  
**Keywords: public column and representation, discourse fight campaign news, Indonesia President election in 2014**

**Rationale**

In last July 2014, Indonesia did an election for President and vice President. According to the regulation, before doing campaign by the candidates for gathering the supporting from the constituent, campaign act is being the afford to form the political image. The situation pushes the candidates to communicate various ideas and programs in order to form their image. Campaign act in communication study is to make and affect the symbol which significantly through communication (Nimmo, 2000, p. 173). Campaign combines the active participation who campaign and giving their voices/votes. The candidates afford to manage messages of voters about them by stating the symbols and hopes to invite voters. In this context, the mass media roles is being very important as the means in sharing the candidate's ideas and programs. But in practice, the mass media, especially the newspapers as the path of messages (in stating the realities) are not as being. Golding & Murdock (1997, p. 90) states there are various ways of the mass media effect the language and the meaning in order to develop new words together with their associative meaning, to large the meaning from the expressions, to change meaning of the expression with the new one, and to make good conversion meaning which had been in a language system.

According to Jorgensen & Philips (2007, p. 26), in the political discourse, mass media obey to give support through framing strategy. And so, there are many evidences in vocabulary and expression which in eufemis (politely words game) to be political jargon by the authority in

gathering the reality construction. Campaign in the political context is being the discourse practice. Holmes (2012, p. 26) stated that candidate afford to construct new ideas and also straitening the constituent hopes. In discourse practice, Jhon (1990, p. 134) stated that in verbal communication modus the speaker position seen clearly, and so the number of discourse can compile to be an ideology concept accumulation which supporting by tradition, authority, institution, and various modus of knowledge sharing. In other words, discourse construction which will be developed by the candidate do not be as they are.

Candidate discourses is the speaker objective reality. To mass media, the reality must be arranged again before they were shared to be systemic until to form a discourse or story understandable (Hall, 1997, p. 213). That is why, the reality had been ficsation to be written form which was shared from the speaker position. Mosco (1996, p. 12) stated that discourse constructs meaning in social world and because the language is not stable, the meaning can not be fix and permanent. There is not discourse which is being close entity, but it always experienced transformations because of it contacts to other discourse, so in this context, it needs struggle discourse.

The interesting thing in mass media news in Indonesia President and Vice President election in 2014 is the problems representation. The representation expression refers to how a man, group or ideas will be stated in the news. Eriyanto (2008, p. 113) stated that through texts, how a reality is constructed by various certain stressing, and also to marjinalize the other reality. Representation which had been constructed by different mass media with the true reality is being the other reality (Hamad, 2010, p. 32). In this context, the first reality experienced structure adjustment and meaning related to the character and motive by who they are constructed. Reality construction which making new discourse as other reality is because mass media has certain interest (e.g. political economic interest, ideology, content, texts, and so on) (McNair, 2004, p. 213).

According to Fiske (1990, p. 33), when doing representation, it can not avoid the ideology effect. When to perform object or reality, at least there is a process faces by journalist. In the first level, there is evidence which symbolized as reality and how is the evidence constructed as reality by media. In the second level, it is to figure the reality into representational code which to fill among how the object is figured, character, naration, setting, dialog, and so on. In the third level, all realities are organized into conversions which can be recieved as an ideology. This ideology factor caused the representation practices, such as how a man, group, ideas or certain argument are performed. So that, representation is important in both things: (1) a man in the group is performed as be or to perform negatively, or is there any certain stressing (maybe negative or positive); (2) the representation is performed with words, sentences, accentualization, and maybe by supporting with photos of the one in the group, or the idea is performed in the community news.

In media economic political approach, the content is more determined by economic and political authorities out of the media operation. In this factor, the media owner, capital, and media income are considered more determine the content. And these factors determine what evidences which can or can not be performed in the news and then to what path the news tend to be performed (Sudiby, 2001, p. 2). The belonging of media is being the wrost of the community. This is because of it is a kind of dominant certain program and certain media performing and then the other are discredited (Jhon, 2009, p. 432).

In this study, the investigation focus is to get Seputar Indonesia and Media Indonesia representations. Seputar Indonesia is a part of MNC Group which the big stock is belong to Hary

Tanoesudibyo who is known as Merah Putih coalition activist supporting Prabowo-Hatta as the candidate. In other side, Media Indonesia which is in Metro Group which head by Surya Paloh, known as Indonesia Hebat activist who supporting Jokowi-JK as the candidate. From this approach, it is assumed that the newspaper belonging effects to representation of what is performed. Seputar Indonesia orientate to Prabowo-Hatta will perform its candidate with certain representation and other marjinalization candidate. In other side, this is done in Media Indonesia.

By this reality, the final one is to distort the newspaper as the public column. The ideal function, the place of articulation objectively towards its surrounding reality, so it can motivate understanding. Public column is being functional element in political area has normative status as an organ which being media of self articulation of civil community in the nation authority related to its needs. This means that the public column which the newspaper as mass media can be formed as new understanding in interpreting life problems as cause of hegemony authority. Start from the ratio that newspaper as mass media which can realize in the form of critical communication to dialog realities dominantly, this study is focus on the problem statements as the following: how is the reality construction in the text level constructed by the newspaper as mass media of Seputar Indonesia and Media Indonesia? Is there any effect of media economic politic informing representation? How is the representation which was done in both mass media distort public column?

The important things of the study is to see the relation between the media owner political activities, representation, and public column. The media belonging personally or institutionally which attend to political activities is only making it as the means for gethering political objectives. That is why, this study will be the input to stakeholders, especially to the executives and legislatives in formulizing a regulation about media belonging and political activities. The relevant research of the study is done by Mekki Beshir Mustafa Elbadri (2010) in the title of "News on the Web in Arabic and English: A discourse analysis of CNN's Websides". The study objects to analyze the news performed by CNN in its webside in Saudi Arabia comparing with the webside in English news. This was based on the hypothesis that CNN as the news production modified the news content and presented suitable with the audiences which it was handled (<http://www.othes.univie.ac.at/8727/1/2010-01-03-024779.pdf>), retrived at 10 : 25 am, 12 August 2014. The other research was done by Mahdi Yaghoobi (2013) Tabriz University, Iran: Islamic Azad University in the title of "A critical discourse analysis of the selected Iranian and American printed media on the representations of Hizbullah-Israel War". This research objects to investigate the correlation between language and ideology and how the relationship represented in the texts analysis. The result showed that the news structure is the public servants who are ideology worked and save meaning which was not always clear to the readers (<http://www.immi.se/intercultural/nr21/yaghoobi.htm>), retrived at 14:40 pm. 12 August 2014.

### Research Design

The study focus on the representation which Seputar Indonesia and Media Indonesia mass media had done in discourse fight on Indonesia Presedent election in 2014. The data which was being the research analysis objection is the news of campaign which was written in the front page of Seputar Indonesia and Media Indonesia. The research time was 2 June until 27 June 2014. The important things of the study was focused on the self for knowing the diversity and particularity of the study objective which was being the research focus. And for the text analysis, it was applied the Van Dijk analysis model which was not based on the text analysis only, but to how a text can be produced, because of the texts were only the result of a production result



which must be watched too. Here, it must be seen also how can a text be produced, so it can get the knowledge of what the text can be. In the text dimension studied, it was the text structure in order to explain and to stating the meaning of the text. Social cognition is a dimension to explain how a text produced by individual or group and the social analysis was the dimension of how the texts correlated more far to social structure and the knowledge which developed in the community of a discourse (Eriyanto, 2008, p. 221). These are described in the following figure 1 and 2.

Figure 1. Van Dijk Research Analysis Model



Figure 2. Van Dijk Discourse Structure Analysis

Discourse structure	Matter which was kept track of	Ellement
Macro structure	Thematic Theme/Topic which talked in a news	Topic
Superstructure	Schematic How the part and arragement of the news be schemed in full news text	Schema
Micro structure	Semantic The meaning which want to be pressured in the news text, e.g. with giving details to a side or making explicit of a side and minus the details on the other side	Latar, Detail, Purpose, pre-opinion, norminalization

There are four themes as being the investigation along the campaign time of Indonesia President election in 2014. They are about the leadership, work program, supporting, and the problem of human basic right. The themes were analyzed in the side of linguistics, text production background, and stating the meaning related to social structure developed in the community. Based on the critical approach, in the interpretation stage, it was done a dialog about the analysis result and theoretical framework in order to get the new understanding of the phenomenon. In the stage, it was applied the inductive thinking and then the theoretical conception was used to analyze the facts while going to more abstract for generalization. And finally, it was being the theory through new conception forming process (conceptual formation) and grounded theorizing (Hamad, 2004, p. 46).

### Research result and discussion

The leadership theme of Seputar Indonesia mass media presenting Prabowo-Hatta has firm attitude, directly and structurally in decision making. Representation which was done by Seputar Indonesia mass media is not separated to Prabowo-Hatta as the candidate (Seputar Indonesia, 6/6/2014). Prabowo with military background and Hatta is a bureaucrat (Seputar Indonesia, 4/4/2014). Combination both of them presents ideal leadership. In community social context, Indonesia in reformation era has complexity problems faced needs that model of leadership. What was performed by Seputar Indonesia is also being the antithesis towards before leadership, that is President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono which his leadership was valued melancholic and had performed much image. To take side by Seputar Indonesia had been started prior to the campaign with the headline of "Prabowo number one, Jokowi number two" (Seputar Indonesia 2/6/2014). This was only the news announcement about contestant number arrangement by Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU). But with the provocative title, the mass media afford to play the community psychology that Prabowo is the number one candidate. And then for the news presentation related to Jokowi, for leadership theme almost it was not stated. With the stressing done by Seputar Indonesia towards Prabowo-Hatta candidate, representation of leadership Jokowi as the candidate was not stated and tended to marginalize. As the reaction of this representation done by Seputar Indonesia mass media, Media Indonesia stated "*Jokowi Bisa Tegas*" (Media Indonesia, 23/6/2016). This presentation was being the afford to dump up the representation done by Seputar Indonesia newspaper which was always stressing that Prabowo as the leader with military background, and it was idem to discipline and clear. That is why, Media Indonesia in the third candidate President debate with the theme of "International Politics and National defence" wrote the detail answer and it was not repeatedly being Jokowi surpass. He was also success to prove himself which can be clear.

The afford to marginalize Prabowo-Hatta candidate in leadership problem, Media Indonesia presented news in the title of "*Prabowo Rezim Otoriter*" (Media Indonesia, 27/6/2014). The used of "*Otoriter*" expression by Media Indonesia reminded the community memory about Orde Baru government era which was militaristic and otoriter, and Prabowo included in the government part. This was written in the headline, "*Tolak Pemimpin Otoriter*" (Media Indonesia, 28/6/2014). This was correlated with Prabowo stated that Indonesia needed docile authoritative rezim when interviewed by foremost journalist from USA, Allan Nairn. The

statement which truly of the record got rejected reaction from various sides, because of that statement was valued being very contradiction to the democracy values.

For the work program theme in the debate of President, Seputar Indonesia mass media presenting the news with the headline “*Program Prabowo realistis*” (Prabowo Program was realistic). The media informed that Prabowo-Hatta programs were not only promises, but they were realistic. Each program stated had been measured rationally and ready to implement (Seputar Indonesia, 8/6/2014). In other side, Media Indonesia wrote the headline of “*Jokowi-JK Unggul Telak*” in the debate section one with the theme of “*Pembangunan demokrasi, pemerintahan bersih, dan kepastian hukum*” (Media Indonesia, 10/6/2014). The mass media was also presenting President candidate Jokowi-JK with the program which was inovative suitable with Indonesia geographic condition, “*Jokowi-JK was ready Lindungi Negeri maritim*” (Media Indonesia, 24/6/2014). With this news, Media Indonesia wanted to present Jokowi-JK as leader who wanted to back Indonesia last time glorious. Sriwijaya empire/kingdom and Majapahit kingdom were big because of known as maritime kingdom.

Related to the people supporting, Seputar Indonesia mass media afford to exploitate the announcement of polling institution which supported Prabowo-Hatta President candidate and to write: “*Jokowi kehilangan pamor di Jakarta*” (Jokowi miss of luster in Jakarta) (Seputar Indonesia, 5/6/2014). And “*Prabowo Paling Di Sukai*” (Seputar Indonesia, 11.6/2014). While, Media Indonesia wrote, “*Jokowi-JK Unggul Telak*” (Media Indonesia, 10/6/2014). The supporting war from polling institution were not independent which being comodity to both mass media news.

In the problem of human basic right, Prabowo-Hatta President candidate was being marginalization forum. The news of Media Indonesia which was being weak point to Prabowo as the candidate and it was being also the black footstep record when he was in military staff. In the headline, Media Indonesia wrote “*Prabowo Inisiator Penculikan*”. With to record the former “Pangab ABRI and defence ministry, Wiranto who stated that the action of kidnapping was initiated by the former Pangkostrad, Prabowo Subianto (Media Indonesia, 20/6/2014). And related the prediction Prabowo involvement in the riot in Mei 1998, Seputar Indonesia wrote in the headline “*Prabowo Di Korban Para Jenderal*” (Seputar Indonesia, 28/6/2014). Through the diction, setting, and naration, Seputar Indonesia wanted to perform that Prabowo was only the actor who did not have effect towards the riot evidence. The evident was being because of there was conspiracy from general ellites. The objection of this news was to presenting Prabowo as the President candidate as the clear figure and he was only being the sacrifice the people and also being the elite playing.

In the other fenomenon related to leadership problem, Prabowo as the President candidate, because of his background was military, he was personaficated as a clear figure, brave and strategic in decision making. It was different with Jokowi, because of his background was enterpreneur, he was personaficated not clear figure. That is why, Media Indonesia in the third debate section with the theme of “*Politik Internasional dan Ketahanan Nasional*”, wrote in the headline, “*Jokowi Bisa Tegas*”. In its news, Media Indonesia wrote, “*Jawaban terperinci dan tidak berulang-ulang menjadi keunggulan Jokowi*”. He was also success to perform himself that he can be clear figure. And in Prabowo-Hatta successive group he was represented as the authoritative leader. This was written in the headline, “*Tolak Pemimpin Otoriter*” (Media Indonesia, 28/6/2014). This was related to Prabowo statement that Indonesia needs “*Rezim otoriter jinak*” when he was interviewed by famous journalist Allan Nairn from USA. The next fenomenon related to human basic right, Media Indonesia was very masive presenting the news

about Prabowo involvement in human basic right transgressor. In the headline, Media Indonesia wrote "*Prabowo Inisiator penculikan*". This was based on former Pangab ABRI and ministry defence, General Wiranto who stated that the kidnapping action was initiated by the former Pangkostrad Prabowo Subianto.

In the context of mass media belonging, especially to the newspapers belong to the actors involved in politic, in certain political situation such as Indonesia President election will more performing to take side and making discredit to other political actor. This is of course not conducive to forming public column. The newspaper in its ideal function is to develop democracy vision. With comodification made by political actor, it had made distortion the idealism column. Mass media start from public column, so its being must related to the public interest (Maryani, 2011, p. 44). But by technological development and establishing of economic power, the public sphere more and more experienced serious erosion (Titscher, Wodak & Vetter, 2009, pp. 15-30).

Capitalism system had changed idealistic side of the mass media to be the part of industry which to get profit only. Social reality which firstly function as enlightenment and forming community opinion, in the hand of the mass media become different. Social reality is comodificated and explotated to get business profit, politic, and so on. Finally, mass media according to Hebermas in Maryani (2011) is the communication which distortion for economic interest. It lost of critical action because of rationality which developed in the domination of instrumental rationality and ignored morality and esthetical rationality (Maryani, 2011, p. 46).

There are two types of public column, they are authentical and unauthentical public column. Authentical public column is the forum which formed from communication process which was done by non formal institution and manage by itself. Communication which was gone dialogism, horizontal, inclusive, and discursive. The next is unauthentical public column. It is formed because of there was the power which effect to the voter decision, consumption, and client for mobilizing loyalty, the power to buy and their attitudes through mass media (Maryani, 2011, p. 46).

Related to Indonesia President election in 2014, the public column which was made is unauthentical. This was seen when the newspaper of Seputar Indonesia presenting news in its headline "*Program Prabowo Realistis*". It informed that Prabowo-Hatta Programs were not only promising but realistic. Each program offers had been very rationally measurable and ready to implemented (Seputar Indonesia, 8/6/2014). In other side, Media Indonesia wrote the headline "*Jokowi-JK Unggul Telak*" in the debate section one with the theme of "*Pembangunan demokrasi, pemerintahan bersih, dan kepastian hukum*" (Media Indonesia, 10/6/2014) and it performed more about human basic right problem based on Prabowo background from military.

DeVito (1997, p. 68) stated that comodification fenomenon political actor in mass media in theoretical action communication perspective is being the pathological form which was being in social community system. Comodification economy and politic which was done by political actors had caused public column crisis or distortion of public column. In action communication theory, there are two level (1) system level and (2) lifeworld level. In system level involved external perspective which to see community from researcher perspective about one who did not involve. But in lifeworld level, it is being the transedental arena as place for speaker and listener face for making claim that their statements suitable with the world and it is being the place where they can make critics and validate the claims, state not to agree, and making comitment. They are actors who formed interactively through communication action for developing reproduction culture and it is the communication action resources. Lifeworld in culture reproduction develops

evolutionerly for getting social integration and also to get system integration. Slow but sure, evolutionerly the system grows over lifeworld and then the structures in this system grows to be independent. When the system is in the authority, it will finally has the power to control lifeworld. A system can get social arrangement through functional integration, consequently the anonim individual actions base on abstract media (Ritzer, 2005, p. 411).

Here, lifewrold investigation as public column is the newspaper and its audience. Idealistic interaction formes lifeworld with the ability to culture reproduction. And then the political actor is representation from capitalism structure of according to Habermas (1987) is the system. But by comodification and economic interest, media which was done by actor for controlling and in order to hold the power make the mass media newspaper which firstly it is a harmonist lifeworld slow but sure evolutionerly differeciately in capitalization system which is not rational. Complexity with structure development with various rationalization which was done, structured or system grows bigger and then it can control lifeworld. This is said by Habermas (1987, p. 126) with lifeworld colonialism. This colonialism in certain time grows to be pathology in life system. The step to prevent in order not to become the colonialism is the law rationalization. By law, it can form norms which can give limitation of lifeworld development and system. And if both community level is not limited, it will develop by itself logic.

### Conclusion

Related to discourse fighting in the news of Indonesia President election in 2014, in liberal political economic perspective, the campaign arena is masive comodities which finally results representation to each candidate and to marginalize other candidate, and then it can be what is said “character assassination” towards each candidate. This condition can cause distortion or colonialization towards mass media public column, especially the newspaper which must be the instrument for democracy development to get emancipation life but tend to be the power which discourse hegemony. This becomes because of politic actors involvement in mass media business so the comodification as one which can not be limited. That is why, it needs regulation for controlling mass media belonging related to its active involvement in politic. By this regulation the mass media can be independent which is free from politic and it can be able to be public column to brighten up the community and be able to run its function as cultural reproduction instrument in improving the community lifeworld.

### Implication

The Indonesian nation execution (executive, legislative, and yudicative) must pay strong attention of how to run good democracy in the context of President election. The executive must know exactly the candidate tract record for making people of Indonesia can vote for her/him. The legislative must be in regorous control the system of ellection in order to develop good democracy process. The law arrangement must be good for the system and lifeworld level of the community.

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