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COMMUNICATION IN CULTURE : WHOSE CULTURE ?



**Proceeding of Jogja International Conference on Communication (JICC)
"Communication in Culture: Whose Culture?"**

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Media as Theatrical Stage for Political Elites

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Abstract

The changing of general election mechanism after amendment of UUD 1945 (Indonesia Constitution 1945) has been influencing significantly to media co-opted by political elites in Indonesia. Mass media has been becoming as strategic instruments for political elites to express his thought to society. At this point, whatever and however elites do, people can see and watch the political image of the political actors through media. In fact, what elites wish and what the policy of media especially on media agenda took place frequently prevail in contrary or vice versa. Elites tend to locate a media as the stage for a political image. So, according to factors that was mentioned above, this research was to find that hailing prices of fuels made political elites did not properly for society. They did not support to what people need, they tend to support their groups. This implied to the trust. The lack of political messages organization created one issue that they are not credible and honor.

Keyword : media, political elites, political messages

Introduction

Government plan to raise fuel price was treated by mass media as sexy issue thus once it blow, media will report it all hollow. Media political stand point in publishing government policy, due to fuel issue, has do nothing wrong since public has right to informs and recognize the policy background.

News about fuel price raised and all its output is a common issue. In every authority period whether Old Order under Soekarno or New Order under Soeharto or even Reform Order under Habibie, Abdurahman Wahid, Megawati and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), fuel price dynamic is a constant issue we all have to face. Policy concerning fuel price, moreover, is not a populist one for people, the raise will drag goods price such food, cloth to transportation in the same direction.

Under Soekarno lead, fuel price had been raised twelve times. Under Soeharto, the issue hit eighteen times. President Habibie also raised the fuel price once within one year his leader. Gus Dur raised the fuel price once and Megawati twice plus seven time fuel price adjustments and SBY three times.
(<http://regional.kompasiana.com/2012/03/08/sejarah-kenaikan-bbm>; access time 7 September 2012).

SBY administrative realized precisely that raising the fuel price is not populist policy thus he put much concern and appeared as wary in making such decision. Subsidy fuel price within 2003-2004, Premium price was Rp 1,810 /litter, in 1 March 2005 it raised as Rp 2,400, and in 1 October 2005 it raised as RP 4,500/litter. The last time government raised the fuel price was in 24 Mei 2008 as Rp 6,000/litter. That price valid only several months before it went down as the administrators gradually cut it back and in 29 January 2009 till today as Rp 4,500. Fuel price is static within three years though world' oil price having turbulence. The government handle it by raising the Pertamina price to Rp 10,000/litter.

At the time the government throws an issue for plan to rise the subsidize fuel's price in April 2012 past and reimburse it for people-oriented programs. Government persuades was fail stemming the tide of demonstration,



refuse the policy. SBY administrator had anticipate this reaction by launched a statement on media.

"...I see there are protests by particular people circle. I hope all protests will occupy orderly, peace and do not harm anything specifically victim that will disadvantageous people..." (Kompas Daily Newspaper, 24 March 2012). President SBY also gave order on Defense Department to guard the demonstration action in persuasive way.

This problem of fuel price raise had been pass a hard discussion by the legislative assembly, start in November 2011 and validated through Plenary Assembly in 29 March 2012. During four months pro and cons above this plan had spread pervasively from small scale to demonstration sought to cancel the plan and heighten in 29 March 2009 by the Plenary Assembly. The demonstration had damaged the fence of Indonesian Legislative Assembly and triggers the defense apparatus sprayed lachrymator.

The Indonesian Legislative Assembly session discussed the fuel price raise last until late night and there is also walkout from PDI-P and Gerinda Party faction. The decision was made through voting with option that stunned public. It became a controvertion this raising subsidized fuel price whether it is because the action agitation or the government hesitantly makes a clear decision.

Conventional mass media (printed, electronic) and new media take part in reporting this process of the raising fuel price plan. The media involvement is not far from their function to tell what the public should know and what the public must know related to the the raising fuel price plan. As the Council Chairman of Press, BagirManan, said, the media involvement for reporting the existing fact and event in the society must give solution not getting involved in the conflict (during lecture in UPNVY, 2012).

Actually, the government and Indonesian Legislative Assembly doubtful attitude related to this raising fuel price influence their image in society. Fundamentally, their political statements will be indirectly sizing up their image to that person. When media frames their action during the session will be more reinforcing the society's perception of them and then will influence their image.

Related to that problem, it is interesting to see how media frames the government's plan to raise the subsidized fuel price by using framing devices developed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. The model developed by Pan and Kosicki assume that every news which has their frame is a representation of the journalist and news media's ideology. To this date, Pan and Kosicki's framing model is considered as quite complete model dan is widely used in framing analyzing research.

Framing Devices according to Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki:

STRUCTURE	FRAMING DEVICES	MONITORING UNIT
SYNTAX : how a journalist arranges the fact	1. News scheme	Headlines, lead, information background, source quotation, statements, closing.
SCRIPT: how a journalist tells the fact	2. News comprehensiveness	Element of 5W+1H (what, when, where, why, who, how).
THEMATIC : how a journalist writes the fact	1. Details 2. Coherence 3. The type of the sentence 4. Pronouns	Paragraph, proportion, sentence, inter sentence connection
RHETORIC: How a journalist emphasize the fact	1. Lexicon 2. Graphic 3. Metaphor	Words, idiom, picture/photo, graphic

Source: Eriyanto, 2002: 256

The news that will be observed are news of 24 March 2012, 26 March 2012, 28 March 2012 in Kompas

newspaper. In this period, news that discussed about the raising fuel price plan experience a quite big increase. News that will be analyzed are (1) Presiden: Silakan Unjuk Rasa (President: Demonstration, Go Ahead), (2) Bantrol dimana-mana (All Over Clash), (3) A lot Pembahasan Kenaikan Harga BBM (Difficult, The Discussion of Raising Fuel Price)

Discussion

Framing Analysis is a method that is used by media to frame an event to become news that will be presented to the public. During the framing, many factors are involved in it. Framing news of a mass-media will be determined by journalist evaluation and ideology that is used by the newspaper in evaluating the event.

Framing used by mass-media will greatly influence public opinion formation. Framing concept has a function for mass-media as a place where information is grabbed to get support from various public opinion related to an event. That public opinion is influenced from mass-media which they usually consumed. It is because every media has different opinion about a particular event accommodated to their ideology.

Generally, there are four aspects of the problem that are presented by press, which are economic problem related to the national economic, financial commerce, etc.; political issue related to the bureaucracy, political party, policy, parliament problems; social problem concerning about criminal, prosperity, law, health, and society life problems; cultural aspect related to the art, culture, sport (Siregar, 1996:26).

There are two dimensions in social science influencing the mass-media framing concept formation. Those two dimensions are psychological and sociological dimension. Psychologically, framing help someone to see and understand something in a cognitive way by using certain scheme. Psychologically, a person tends to simplify the reality and the complex world not only to make it more simple and easy to understand, but also to give certain perspective (Eriyanto, 2002:72).

This reality simplification is used by journalist in writing news to emphasize a message so that it will be easy to be understood by public. In a general way, people will see an event in a various view through certain points of view because they get an influence in a cognitive way based on the idea they have. According to research conducted by Daniel Kahneman and Tversky, public understanding and comprehend are not dependent on reality or fact, but on how reality and fact is presented (Eriyanto, 2002: 72). The way an event framed with certain understanding and packing is the cause of emerging certain understanding in public thought.

Psychology aspect of framing done by media will finally form a public opinion about the news. A strong influence caused by media cognitively will drive public to have perceptions of the news they are consumed. Although there are different understandings, public or society will slowly have the same perception pattern with that media.

Meanwhile according to sociological dimension, framing is considered as an effort to explain how mass-media as an organization creating and forming news. News is a product of a professional social institution to determine how an event is formed and reconstructed every day (Eriyanto, 2002:80). Framing is a reality building which is transformed subjectively by a mass-media organization. Sociological concept sees framing as a process of how someone classifying and interpreting their social experience to be understandable (Eriyanto, 2002: 253).

Media effort in construct news framing is a representation of that media opinion. Every news which is presented to the public can assuage or trigger a conflict, but media should split the difference that does not harm other party. As a third force in a government system, mass-media has a crucial role in policing and public composure. a socially strong mass-media influence can easily change individual, group, or society behavior as a whole, people who previously had good relationship may became enemies (Sobur, 2004:171).

Press freedom that has been raised in the world doesn't mean to make reporter and media to make and provide news as they want. There are no limitations to manage their behavior in reporting the news. Each press system that be prevailed in a country must have ethic codes and law rule in managing every news provided to the

society.

According to Abrar in Sobur (2004:173), there are three parts of news that can be framing object for a reporter, there are: news title, news focus, and news closing". Framing of news title is an "imaginary personal" creation in public emphatically to place themselves as written in the news title. News focus is public placement in association to bring public awareness and apply it in life. News is a packing, to make public as a weak object that cannot refuse the news persuasion because they cannot argue the validity of news reconstruction result.

Whatever the demand expected by reporter's job or media as while is a method to professionalism. Professional Reporter or media are expected to be the lance top towards change and take fair, honest, relevant and responsible information and also commitment to give service for public. In framing aspect, what will be seen is syntaxes structure in news program is word compositions and phrase in a sentence. Syntax is related to the way reporter arranges an event in news writing. The news arrangement can be taken from statement, opinion, quotation, or observation when the reporter covers an event. Syntaxes arrangement composition is reverse pyramid or same as general news composition (straight news/hardness).

News script is one of reporter's ways to apply 5W+1H element in the writing. Script gives explanation to news emphasis prioritized so that there are some hidden information. The hidden information is the reporter's attempts to prioritize information considered as important, not really important and less important. Generally information element hidden is put in the end part of the news to make impression that the information is less prominent.

Thematic element observed from proposition, sentence and relationship between sentences that forms the news as a whole. Thematic structure is very associated with how facts reconstructed and written. The precise conjunction word is a part of coherence between sentences, paragraph. Even the reported can try to make interpretation by relating facts in the field, although it doesn't have relationship before.

Rhetoric is the last element of framing based on Pan and Kosicki. This element concerning on the diction, photos, graphic, and idioms. The element use is useful to give emphasis and supporting material from the reporter's news writing: Element included in rhetoric structure is an image of how the reporter define the event and understand it with language style and photo and graphic selection that support the news of their writing result.

Based on the analysis of three analyzed news in Kompas daily newspaper as an established daily newspaper in Indonesia tries to position it as a neutral connection bridge. This media tries to explain that a cause-effect relationship of an event, especially related to the government's decision to increase refined fuel oil. Such position is taken by Kompas to clear its unsatisfaction to government's policy should be conducted with responsibility if there is no unexpected effect.

However this position also makes indirect effect on source image that becomes news source, especially if in arranging fact of cause-effect combination. The assertion of one of aspects will give a certain image. It appears in news framing entitled *Presiden: SilahkanUnjuk Rasa. Lakukanpendekatan persuasive*, published in Kompas daily newspaper on 24 March 2012.

Based on the title writing, the framing that wants to be designed by Kompas is the government's behavior that will not obstruct the society's desire to demonstrate. Sub-title "...Lakukanpendekatan persuasive" gives a meaning that since the beginning; the government (police-red) will make a persuasive approach, not the use of apparatus.

The syntaxes structure, this news is begun with *leadwhy* and *how* on the prediction of demonstrating enhancement in order to refuse the plan of refined fuel oil price escalation, and the government's attitudes in this case is President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). This structure places an attitude that SBY is not sensitive and doesn't want to listen to the citizens' aspiration concerning their refusal to Refined Fuel Oil increase plan is not true. The confirmation of this frame can be seen from the placement when SBY's statement is found.

President: Please Demonstrate Doing Persuasive Approach

JAKARTA, KOMPAS – Demonstrate escalation to refuse the plan of fuel's price increasing was predicted rising around 1 April 2012. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono asks people who disagree on fuel's price increasing to demonstrate so long as well regulated.

"I see there is protest from certain people. I hope these protests would take place peacefully and not cause unimportance breakage, even victim, which is torment the people," said President, Thursday (23/3), in press conference at Halim Perdana Kusuma Airport, Jakarta.

Press conference was held before the President and his group fled to China. Beside China, President and Mrs. Ani Yudhoyono are going to South Korea and Hong Kong also. The President group would come back to Jakarta next Thursday.

In the next paragraph, President SBY emphasizes his act to correctly demonstrate. In here SBY also gives statement about who would handle the administration during he's going abroad. This sort of syntax structure, frame was built by Kompas is government anticipated related to demonstrate possibility. This act also gives image that SBY is very tolerant to democracy, and in administration line there is clearly authority delegation. It does eliminate the assumption that government is insensitive to people desire.

Based on rhetorical aspect in this paragraph 1-6, there is emphasizing on words sharp increasing, escalation, demonstrate. This emphasizing shows that government actually realize the plan of fuel increasing would bring impact to community that is price increasing. This impact would cause reaction which is manifesting to demonstrate. Demonstrate means no agreement reached between government and community about one thing.

The government anticipation faced this community refusal was built by *Kompas* on news topic. News topic was built by Kompas in two themes that is the government act if escalation based on script unsure. Kompas daily newspaper arranges this news not only describing one occurrence, but also people minds on the incident and clarifying with the stage based on time about DPR consideration stage. Based on the written title, this media wants edging an act from government which is unbarring people desirability to demonstrate. Statement on sub-title "...Doing persuasive approach" gives the meaning that from the beginning government (policy-red) would do persuasive approach without arms.

On the news topic of *Kompas* formed frame about the plan of TNI positioning helps handling demonstrate. Based on journalist's way arranged the fact related to this positioning TNI, looks *Kompas* sets out more who aspect. Here who pleased for argument are politic figures from parties which are opposing with SBY all this time such PDIP, Gerindra figure. But the balancing unsure also did by *Kompas* by presenting source from TNI and public figure.

Combination of using source like this is the *Kompas* effort to case a problem based on cause and effect an activity forced to do. The construction of news reality was built on this news that is (1) assessment anticipation increases demonstrate escalation against the fuel would be increase, (b) TNI position to help if demonstrate escalation increasing (3) contravention of TNI positioning to help the police on demonstrate handling.

In this news topic, *Kompas* issued argument from PDI-P and Gerindra party figures. Both of opposition parties from government against using of TNI to handle demonstrate. In this news topic also gives opposing frame between government and DPR member. This matter could be seen from rhetorical aspect that is the journalist way on emphasizing fact, before get the DPR approval yet, threaten attack, refuse the responsibility. Those matters could be seen from the news topic citation below.

"The meaning of TNI positioning becomes government and DPR policy which is formulated from relation between those institutes. But today DPR never been invited to converse by government and gives approval related to TNI involvement," said Basarah (Vice Secretary General of PDI-P)

"TNI involvement means conduce the community with military. It shows that President refused to responsible on his policy related to the fuel increasing's plan." said politician from Keadilan Sejahtera Party, Vice Defense Ministry Sjafrie Sjamsoeddin, said, TNI on field isn't yet faced demonstrate. The presence of many soldiers in central city Jakarta is easing the mobilization.

He said, TNI would act if there is transfer of command on their hands. TNI would never use battle instrumentation on facing demonstrate.

Based on this citation, frame which is built by *Kompas* become very interesting. This media tries to build politic conflict between party figures in DPR and government. Syntaxes structure was built in paragraphs above actually DPR positioned as DPR, besides TNI positioned on neutral side. *Kompas* is successful enough to collect this politic conflict in the interest of community and government frame, the soldier would never use as long as community keeps demonstrate which is "approved" by government (SBY-red) correctly.

Next on the news titled: Energy Policy: Difficult, The Consideration of the Fuel Price Increasing (*Kompas*, March 26th 2012), *Kompas* tries to build the frame from DPR's meeting room, where is consideration of the fuel price increasing basically isn't simple problem. The fact which is built by journalist on this news shows that Senayan politicians are care a lot in the interest of community.

Based on syntaxes analysis that is how the journalist way to arrange fact from the title. The title was made by using tagline that is citation to explain the importance of problem discussed. This tag line also becomes trigger of writing. Afterward news lead, using where lead, that is place of news fact was wrote. In here, *Kompas* built this fuel problem from DPRD's meeting room. In here the journalist interpreted from the fact. This interpretation then firmed from source statement which is contained in news topic. This matter could be seen on citation below.

ENERGY POLICY:

Difficult, Consideration of the Fuel Price Increasing

JAKARTA, KOMPAS – Meeting of DPR and government budgeting team until Sunday night (25/3), still difficult. There is no agreement reached yet whether subsidized fuel price would be increase or not. The most possibility the decision of subsidized fuel price increasing would be done by voting at Thursday cause of budgeting team made two options.

President of DPR budgeting team from Golkar Melchias Marcus Mekeng finally suspended the meeting. From the presented government Financial Minister Agus Martowardojo and Minister of Energy and Mineral Source Jero Wacik.

Interpretation by *Kompas* on meeting in DPR budgeting team is tending to option aspect for energy subsidy. Rhetorical aspect of using this subsidized word as if image of both Senayan politicians and government gave thought of community.

Those options were suggested by DPR member from magisterial party and their coalition while another option brought by DPR member form party which is considering with government opposition. There is conflict on DPR budgeting team of this built syntaxes structure while brought the interest of the community. This matter could be seen in citation below.

First option, is the fuel subsidized as Rp 137 quintillion, electricity subsidized as Rp 65 quintillion, and fiscal risk reserves Rp 23 quintillion. This option gives space for government to increase the fuel price cause take section 7 subsections 6 Law No 11 in 2011 about APBN which is mentioning the selling price: retail price of fuel subsidized doesn't increase. This option carrier is Demokrat Party, Golkar Party, Keadilan Sejahtera Party, Amanat

Nasional Party, Persatuan Pembangunan Party and Kebangkitan Bangsa Party.

The second option, is the subsidized as Rp 178 quintillion, electricity subsidized as Rp 65 quintillion, fiscal risk reserves Rp 23 quintillion. This option prohibited the government to increase the retail price of fuel subsidized. This option carrier is Demokrasi Perjuangan Indonesia Party, Gerindra Party and Hanura Party.

Those two options were closed by Kompas with Financial Minister Agus's statement that the government is supporting the first option which is accommodating the fuel price increasing, without price increasing; the fuel subsidized would be bulge.

By this syntaxes structure combination, Kompas made a frame that the fuel problem isn't simple problem. Trade-offs this interest can be a trigger from demonstrates escalation increasing.

This matter then could be finding in the Kompas frame on news titled "Bentrok di Beberapa Tempat" (Kompas, March 28th 2012). In this news Kompas made a section based on place to give imaging of demonstrates held in several areas in the country.

Like the first news, Kompas interpreted to the fact related to demonstrate. Based on syntaxes structure how the journalist arranged the fact, starts from describing demonstrates with the quarrel between the demonstrators and security guard. Kompas is more emphasizing to quarrel in Gambir area, while the fence defacement act in DPR building by demonstrators only fixed on news topic. This built frame attracted to verified, cause Kompas is more emphasizing to how security guard handle the demonstrate. And on the news topic, explained that its break the HAM.

The news lead was built by using of what lead, follows by when, where, and who. Using of 5 W+1 H unsure and detailed in to two lead explanation paragraphs, after these, the journalist would deliver competent authority statement both from the government also institution who handling for strengthening the interpretation. The combination of syntaxes structure be done in order to readers can see the problem frame why the demonstrators feel angry, why the government in this matter security guard used the lachrymator.

And then Kompas shows that the security guard's act of using lachrymator is the breach of HAM. Emphasizing about these matters came from the using words, throwing stone, wood, picture combustion, Molotov bomb, and lachrymator shooting, camera and memory card robbery. Using of these words recurrently on the news topic shows the combination of cause-effect from both sides. The failure of persuasive effort by institution is the frame which is made out.

Critical Analysis

Mass media, in this matter the newspaper would always involve in community conflict. This media involvement isn't cause of the presence of media between the interest of politic infrastructure and suprastructure. The covered conflict by media would change their environment becomes national, regional, even international problems.

Besides that, covered politic activity in media would form politic image indirectly in peoples mind. Image, as the way of politic organization member on observing impression and image in peoples mind. Politic image was defined as construction for public representation and perception about a politic party or individual concern to the entire thing related to politic activity (Firmansyah, 2008: 230).

Related to the fuel problem, all Medias report them because the fuel is the problem where public need and must know these problems. The fuel policy would bring effect to the community life sectors.

The fuel issue, in other hand can be the arena of politic actors includes the government for imaging that they held a brief for community with their self-positions. If mass media doesn't careful would involve in imaging politic was done by politic actors by joining the fuel issue.

The newsletter Kompas as the media had biggest unraveled thread in Indonesia realized that matter so in

setting up the frame carefully related to the fuel issue. This newsletter tries to arrange the fuels fact by copying the combination of cause-effect, related to the fuel issue or demonstrate to refuse in fuel increasing.

This newsletter explained the section based on space and time. The using of this section as the effort to strengthen about community refusal frame related to the fuel increasing, and the difficult of government and DPR to agreement reached related to the fuel conflict. In these two big problems, politic actors tried with their image.

The statement of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, for instance, by Kompas was framed as the leader who is appreciating democracy, where in the democracy state gives a space argument and attitude difference. Maintenance for correctly demonstrate is a signal that the government persistently took the attitude or act if demonstrate doesn't correctly. Kompas newsletter from observed three news consistently setting up the fact about the fuel issue by combining the cause-effect with interpretation on fact and collaborating sociology and psychology orientation.

Conclusion

Based on explanation above, can be concluded:

1. Mass media as the connector always involves from one conflict to another conflict, including the issue of fuel increasing plan.
2. Politic actors, government would try to get image for fuel issue by their politic statements.
3. The built frame by Kompas from the report about fuel increasing plan by combining cause-effect for the present fact by interpreting of fact based on psychology and sociology orientation.

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