

Analysis of Ahok-Djarot News Framing After the 2017 Jakarta Regional Head Elections at Kompas and Tempo

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ABSTRACT

Kompas and Tempo were one of the national newspapers which highlighted the process of the Governor's Election of DKI Jakarta on 2017. Those both newspapers were doing the framing for the news about the Governor's Election of DKI Jakarta on 2017 to the readers. This research would focused on the framing analysis for every news about Ahok-Djarot on Kompas and Tempo after the election period, which would be specific for the certain period April 20-May 20 2017. The aim of the research is to conclude about what kind of framing that Kompas and Tempo did for Ahok-Djarot's news after the election at that period, to find out about the social construction which Kompas and Tempo designed and made. This research will use the qualitative research method; specifically use the framing analysis model by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. The result of this research would show the framing that Kompas and Tempo did is done by choosing the interviewees, choosing the quotes of the interviewees and choosing of the angle of photos which will support the news framing process. The social construction that Kompas made directing the opinions that Ahok is guilty and intentionally defaming religion by his words, it could be seen by the quotes that Kompas chose. In another side, the social construction that Tempo made tried to be neutral and directing the readers there were also another factors that make Ahok verdicted guilty as a defamer of religion and got two years in jail.

Keywords: *Framing Analysis, The Governor's Election of DKI Jakarta on 2017, Newspapers, The Social Reality Construction*

Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Ahok-Djarot Pasca Pilkada DKI Jakarta Tahun 2017 Di Kompas Dan Tempo

ABSTRAK

Kompas dan Tempo merupakan salah satu surat kabar yang memuat pemberitaan tentang proses jalannya Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2017. Kedua media tersebut dinilai telah melakukan pembingkaihan atas pemberitaannya tentang Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2017 yang disampaikan kepada pembaca. Penelitian ini membahas tentang analisis framing atas pemberitaan Ahok-Djarot pasca Pilkada DKI Jakarta tahun 2017 di Koran Kompas dan Koran Tempo periode 20 April 2017 s.d 20 Mei 2017. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui pembingkaihan seperti apa atas pemberitaan Ahok-Djarot Pasca Pilkada DKI Jakarta tahun 2017, untuk mengetahui konstruksi sosial yang dibentuk dan arah pemberitaan dari kedua media tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dengan analisis framing model Zhongdang Pan dan Gerald M. Kosicki. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa framing yang dilakukan Kompas dan Tempo dilakukan dengan cara pemilihan sumber berita, pemilihan kutipan dari sumber berita dan menempatkan gambar yang mendukung framing pemberitaan. Konstruksi sosial yang dibentuk Kompas mengarahkan Ahok yang bersalah dan sengaja menistakan agama lewat ucapannya, hal ini dilihat dari pemilihan kutipan sumber berita yang dimuat Kompas. Konstruksi sosial

yang dibentuk Tempo berusaha netral dan mengarahkan bahwa ada faktor lain juga membuat Ahok bersalah sebagai penista agama dan divonis dua tahun penjara.

Kata Kunci: Analisis Framing, Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2017, Surat Kabar, Konstruksi Realitas Sosial

INTRODUCTION

The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) is a country with a democratic government system based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. This is evident from the holding of regional head elections or what is known as "PILKADA or PEMILUKADA". The general election for regional heads and deputy regional heads, or often called Pilkada or Pemilukada, is a general election to elect the Regional Head and Deputy Regional Head directly in Indonesia by local residents who meet the requirements. Previously, regional heads and deputy regional heads were elected by the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD). The legal basis for organizing the Pilkada is Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government. In this law, Pilkada has not been included in the general election regime (election). The first Pilkada was held in June 2005 ("History and Implementation of Regional Head Elections in Indonesia", n.d.).

Elections for regional heads and deputy regional heads or the so-called Pilkada are held by the Provincial General Election Commission (KPU) or Regency/Municipal KPU under the supervision of the Provincial Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu) and Regency/Municipal Panwaslu. Since June 2005 the Pilkada have been directly elected by the people through the process of selecting regional heads or often abbreviated as direct Pilkada. Direct elections are regulated in Law number 32 of 2004 concerning regional government, election procedures, ratification, appointment, dismissal of regional heads and deputy regional heads ("History and Implementation of Regional Head Elections in Indonesia", n.d.).

2007 was the first year for DKI Jakarta to hold direct Pilkada. In that year, 2 pairs of candidates for governor and deputy governor were joined, namely Adang Daradjatun paired with Dani Anwar and Fauzi Bowo paired with Prijanto. Each of the cagub and cawagub pairs is supported by a different political party. The 2007 DKI Jakarta Pilkada was won by the Fauzi Bowo-Prijanto pair with a total of 57.9% of the votes ("2007 DKI Jakarta Election", n.d.).

In 2012 DKI Jakarta again held a second direct election which was participated by six pairs of candidates for governor and deputy governor namely Fauzi Bowo (Foke)-Nachrowi Ramli, Hendarji Soepandji-Ahmad Riza Patria, Joko Widodo-Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), Hidayat Nur Wahid -Didik J Rachbini, Faisal Basri-Biem Triani Benjamin and Alex Noerdin-Nono Sampono. The 2012 DKI Jakarta Pilkada was held in 2 rounds, where the first round was attended by the six cagub and cawagub pairs, while the second round was followed by Fauzi Bowo-Nachrowi Ramli and Joko Widodo-Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok). After going through 2 rounds, the 2012 DKI Jakarta election was won by the gubernatorial candidate pair Joko Widodo with his running mate for the deputy governor candidate Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) with a total vote of 53.82% ("2012 DKI Jakarta Election", n.d.).

2017 was the third direct election for regional heads and deputy regional heads for DKI Jakarta. This year, simultaneous regional elections were also held nationally for the second time in 101 regions consisting of 7 provincial levels, 76 regencies and 18 cities in Indonesia, where simultaneous regional elections were held in 2015 for the first time in several provinces in Indonesia. The 2017 Pilkada was held in 2 rounds, where in the first round 3 pairs of candidates participated, namely Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono-Sylviana Murni, pair number 1, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama-Djarot Saiful Hidayat pair number 2 & Anies Rasyid Baswedan-Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno pair number serial 3. In the first round, none of the pairs of candidates received votes above 50%, so that the Pilkada still had to be continued for the second round, which was followed by pair number 2 Ahok-Djarot and pair number 3 Anies-Sandi. The 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada was won by pair number 3 Anies-Sandi with a total vote of 57.95% (“2017 DKI Jakarta Election”, n.d.).

The atmosphere of the 2017 Pilkada is different from the previous Pilkada. Where the role of the mass media is very influential in the 2017 Pilkada. The mass media, both print and electronic, contain news about the 2017 Pilkada, ranging from news about the campaigns carried out by the three pairs of candidates to the appearance of oblique news aimed at one of the pairs of candidates for governor and deputy governor. DKI Jakarta 2017. Newspapers are one of the most effective mass media in reporting on the process of the 2017 Pilkada. Similar to news on television, the news published in the columns in newspapers also has an influence in shaping public opinion and can mobilizing the public to vote or not to vote for the candidate for governor and deputy governor of DKI Jakarta in 2017.

Of all the mass media that reported on the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada, Koran Kompas and Koran Tempo were the newspapers that participated in reporting on the process of the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada starting from the campaign period, election process, results and post-election reporting. Kompas and Koran Tempo reported that the Pilkada process started from the first round, which was attended by 3 pairs of candidates, namely Agus-Sylvi, Ahok-Djarot and Anies-Sandi, until the second round, which was only attended by 2 pairs of candidates, namely Ahok-Djarot and Anies-Sandi. The reports published by the two media have different directions, especially in reporting on the Ahok-Djarot candidate pair after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada.

In the delivery of news and information published by the print media, especially newspapers, it is often influenced by internal and external factors. The internal factors referred to include certain editorial policies regarding political power, political interests of media managers, media relations with a certain political power. External factors in question are in the form of market pressures for readers or viewers, the prevailing political system and other external forces. The existence of internal and external forces requires the media to continue to move dynamically between these interests. This causes the mass media, especially newspapers, to find it difficult to avoid things that result in irregularities in the delivery of news.

The news about the pair number 2 Ahok-Djarot was widely published by Kompas and Tempo newspapers, starting from the campaign period, the election process, results and post-election reporting. The Ahok-Djarot couple is a couple who gets a lot of bad news in several mass media. Kompas newspaper and Tempo newspaper have readers throughout DKI Jakarta. The two newspapers packaged Ahok-Djarot's coverage in different directions. It can be seen in the post-election Ahok-Djarot news coverage, Tempo newspaper puts the Ahok-Djarot report as the main story which is published in a large special column on the first page. Meanwhile, in the Kompas newspaper, Ahok-Djarot reports are placed in a special column for political news. The language of delivery published in the Kompas newspaper is different from the Tempo newspaper.

Based on the background of the problem described, the authors formulate the problem as follows: "How do Kompas and Tempo frame the coverage of Ahok-Djarot post-Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2017 period 20 April 2017 to 20 May 2017 based on Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing analysis?".

Framing Analysis

Framing analysis (Eriyanto, 2002, p.4) is one of the text analysis methods in the category of constructionist research. Framing analysis can simply be described as an analysis to find out how reality (events, actors, groups or whatever) is framed by the media. The framing is of course through the construction process. Social reality is interpreted and constructed with a certain meaning. Events are understood with a certain form. The result is media coverage on a certain side or interviews with certain people. All of these elements are not only part of technical journalism, but signify how events are interpreted and presented. Framing analysis is understood and widely used in research as a content analysis technique. But in subsequent developments, framing analysis has turned into a set of theories that a number of communication experts understand as an approach to see how the domain behind media texts constructs messages.

According to Frank D. Durham et al, (in Eriyanto, 2002, p.77) say there are several definitions of framing. These various definitions can be summarized as follows:

1. Robert N. Entman: The process of selecting from various aspects of reality so that certain parts of the event are more prominent than other aspects.
2. William A. Gamson: A way of telling a story or a group of ideas organized in such a way and presenting the construction of the meaning of events related to the object of a discourse. The way of storytelling is formed in a package (package). Packaging is a kind of schema or structure of understanding that is used by individuals to construct the meaning of the messages that he conveys, as well as to interpret the meaning of the messages he receives.
3. Todd Gitlin: The strategy of how reality/world is shaped and simplified in such a way as to be presented to the audience. Events are displayed in the news to make them stand out and attract the attention of the readers. It is done by selecting, repeating, emphasizing and presenting certain aspects of reality.

4. David E. Snow and Robert Benford: Giving meaning to interpret relevant events and conditions. Frames organize belief systems and are manifested in certain keywords, clauses, certain images, sources of information, and certain sentences.
5. Amy Binder: An interpretation scheme used by individuals to locate, interpret, identify and label events directly or indirectly. Frames organize complex events into forms and patterns that are easy to understand and help individuals to understand the meaning of events.
6. Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki: Construction strategy in news processing. Cognitive devices that are used to encode information, interpret events and are associated with news-forming routines and conventions.

Media Reality

Media has a reality called media reality. The media compose the reality of various events that occur to become a meaningful story or discourse (Hamad, 2004, p.11). The reality displayed by the media is not understood as a set of facts, but the result of a certain view of the formation of reality (Eriyanto, 2001, p.29). The media plays a special role in influencing certain cultures through the dissemination of information. Volosihov said that "whenever a sign is present, ideology is present too" (Sobur, 2002, p.93), thus it is clear that the media cannot be considered neutral in providing information and entertainment services to the audience. Walter Lippman mentions the function of the media as a form of meaning in which the mass media's interpretation of various events can radically change people's interpretation of a reality and their pattern of action (Ruben, 1992, p.14). Lippmann realizes that the function of the media as forming a picture of reality is very influential on the audience (Lippman, 1998, p.3-28).

News is a meaningful story that consists of various elements of language (Hartley, 1982, p.11). It must also be understood that an event is a reality and news is a construction of reality. When there is coverage, including shooting and filming, a construction has already taken place (Pareno, 2005, p.3). According to Tuchman, news is basically a constructed reality (Sudiby, Hamad, Qodari, 2001, p.65). News provides a concept of a reality, therefore news sees reality as a result of human construction (Hartley, 1982, p.12).

According to Hartley (1982, p.36), what needs to be understood about news is that news is not just information. We must understand that in the process of forming the news there are various aspects that affect the context of the news. Second, meaning is the result of interaction. This means that a news does not mean anything when it is broadcast or printed, news is already meaningful when the news is read by the audience. Therefore, there is a social context in a news story so that the news can be read and understood by the audience. Media content is indeed based on events in the real world, but media content displays and emphasizes certain elements and the structural logic of the media is used in highlighting these elements. In fact, certain media tend to limit and select news sources, interpret the comments of news sources, and give different portions to other perspectives. What then happens is a certain protrusion of the meaning of a reality (Sudiby, 2001, p.31).

According to Anthony Smith, the messages conveyed by the mass media in the production process will undergo reconstruction (reconstruction) based on the policies and ideologies carried by the mass media concerned (Andersen and Strate, 2000, p.77).

According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996, p.223), media texts are influenced by individual media workers, media routines, media organizations themselves, institutions outside the media, and by ideology. The individual factors of media workers influence the text in a function that is determined by the routine of the media. The functions that the media routine performs must fall within the functions defined by the media organization. Likewise, the policies taken by media organizations are largely determined by institutions outside the media. And at the top level, all of these factors are influenced by the ideology that exists in society.

Construction of Social Reality

A social reality does not stand alone without the presence of individuals, both inside and outside that reality. Social reality has meaning when social reality is subjectively constructed and interpreted by other individuals so as to stabilize that reality objectively. Individuals construct social reality and construct it in the world of reality, establishing that reality based on the subjectivity of other individuals in their social institutions (Sobur, 2002, p.90). Language is one of the basic tools in constructing a social reality. According to Hartley (1982, p.36), the social structure will not exist if there is no interaction by the people involved in it through the process of using language. Because of this, there are many cases where groups that have the power to control meaning in the midst of social interactions use language. Language clearly has implications for the emergence of certain meanings (Sobur, 2002, p.90). According to Halliday, language is controlled by certain social structures, and these social structures are maintained and transmitted through language (Hartley, 1982, p.61). Even according to Hamad (in Sobur, 2002, p.90), language is not only able to reflect reality but at the same time create reality. Language does not merely describe reality but can determine a picture of a reality that appears in the minds of the audience (Hamad, 2004, p.12). Through the use of language as the most important symbol, journalists are able to create, maintain, develop, and even destroy a reality (Eriyanto, 2002, p.xi).

Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann in 1966 through their book "The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise In The Sociological of Knowledge" explained that individuals intensely create a reality that is shared and experienced subjectively. Berger and Luckmann begin the explanation of social reality by separating the understanding between "reality" and "knowledge" (Sobur, 2002, p.91). They interpret reality as causality contained in realities that are recognized as having an existence independent of our own will. Meanwhile, knowledge is defined as the certainty that the realities are real and have specific characteristics (Sobur, 2002, p.91). Social reality, according to the constructivist view, is at least partly a human production, the result of cultural processes, including the use of language (Eriyanto, 2002, p.xi).

According to Berger and Luckmann, social reality is constructed through a process of externalization, objectification, and internalization. Social construction does not take place in a vacuum but is full of interests (Sobur, 2002, p.91). The construction of a certain social reality

cannot be separated from the provisions of political, social, or economic power possessed by the actors (Nugroho, Eriyanto, Surdiarsis, 1999, p.viii).

This research uses the framing analysis of the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki model in this study entitled "Framing Analysis of Ahok-Djarot News Reporting Post-Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2017 in Kompas and Koran Tempo for the period 20 April 2017 to 20 May 2017". In the framing analysis developed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, it consists of 4 structures, namely, Syntax, Script, Thematic and Rhetorical. After analyzing the 4 structures, the researcher will get the research results and conclusions from this research.

METHOD

The approach used in this research is a qualitative approach and uses the constructivism paradigm. The analytical method used in this research is framing analysis with the model approach of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. This study focuses on framing analysis of Ahok-Djarot coverage after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Head Elections in Koran Kompas and Koran Tempo for the period 20 April 2017 to 20 May 2017. after the 2017 DKI Jakarta election in Koran Kompas and Koran Tempo for the period 20 April 2017 to 20 May 2017.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Kompas

1. Syntax: It can be seen from a syntactic structure, the coverage of Ahok & Djarot after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada in Kompas Newspaper, which includes the preparation of facts by the author. The writer or journalist compiles the facts on the ground about Ahok-Djarot after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada and is included in each paragraph in the news article. The compilation of facts carried out by Kompas writers is commonly referred to as the pyramid form. In writing, Kompas starts from the news title and news lead where the author presents the overall conclusion of the news. The next paragraph contains background information and source citations containing information that supports the headline and news lead. At the end of the news, the author usually closes with a quote from the source or an opinion / statement from the author.

2. Script: The structure of the script or the author's way of telling the facts on the news according to the completeness of the news, namely 5W+1H. In the Ahok-Djarot reporting after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada in the Kompas newspaper, the writer or journalist did not pay attention to the element of completeness of the news. Of the five news articles analyzed by the researcher, four news articles fulfill the elements of a news article, while one news article is incomplete, which includes the how element.

3. Thematic: The thematic structure of the Kompas newspaper regarding the Ahok-Djarot coverage after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada can be seen from the details of the news published by the author. The news details are very simple because the supporting data such as source citations are few and the author places more emphasis on the many themes in one news article

than the news details, in one news the author contains two themes. In addition, the coherence used by the author in writing facts uses causal, explanatory and distinguishing coherence.

4. Rhetoric: The rhetorical structure of Ahok-Djarot's reporting after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada published by Kompas, uses a lexical style in which the author emphasizes facts on the ground with certain words that he wants to convey to the reader. In addition, the author also installs pictures to convey to the reader the atmosphere of the paragraphs contained in the news article.

Tempo

1. Syntax: Similar to Kompas, syntactically the coverage of Ahok & Djarot after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada in Koran Tempo includes the compilation of facts by the author. The author compiles the facts on the ground about Ahok-Djarot after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada and is included in every paragraph in the news article. The compilation of facts carried out by the Tempo writer is commonly referred to as the pyramid form. In writing, Tempo starts with the news title, background information, source quotes and closing. The author places important facts in the form of conclusions at the beginning of the paragraph and in the next paragraph explains the explanation and strengthening of facts from the background information at the beginning of the paragraph.

2. Script: Similar to Kompas, the structure of the Ahok-Djarot reporting script after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada in the Tempo newspaper, also did not pay attention to the element of completeness of the news, namely 5W+1H by the author. Of the five news articles analyzed by the researcher, four news articles meet the 5W+1H news completeness element, while one news article is incomplete, which includes the why element (why).

3. Thematic: Tempo newspaper's thematic structure regarding Ahok-Djarot coverage after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada can be seen from the factual writing with sufficient details, because the author contains a large number of sources. There are sources that support the news title and some do not support the news title. The author also includes two themes in several news articles analyzed by the researcher. In addition, the coherence used by the author in writing facts uses causal, explanatory and distinguishing coherence.

4. Rhetoric: The rhetorical structure of Ahok-Djarot's news coverage after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada published by Tempo, uses a lexical style in which the author emphasizes facts on the ground with certain words that he wants to convey to the reader. In addition, the author also installs pictures to convey to the reader the atmosphere of the paragraphs contained in the news article.

For a journalist, in writing news the thing that must be considered is the element of completeness of the news, namely 5W + 1H. Often found in every news article, whether in print or online media, writers or journalists ignore the rules for writing complete news articles, for example, the lack of completing the 5W+1H elements which are the requirements for completeness in writing news articles. From the overall results of the framing analysis of the Ahok-Djarot coverage after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada in Koran Kompas and Koran Tempo

for the period 20 April 2017 to 20 May 2017, the researcher found that the news articles published in the two media also ignored the 5W+1H news completeness element.

Of all the news articles that discuss this issue, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) is the only source used as a reference for writing news articles. Researchers see that there is a partiality in choosing the point of view of delivering news, ranging from news that seems to support Ahok-Djarot to news that seems to bring down Ahok-Djarot. This reinforces the fact that the media is not a neutral sphere where the various interests and meanings of various groups will receive equal and balanced treatment.

Researchers consider that writers or journalists from Kompas and Tempo try to play in a neutral realm in their news writing. The author conveys more than one theme in his news article, such as the first theme of news that supports Ahok or vice versa and the author adds another theme that raises facts that confirm Ahok's innocence or vice versa, facts that support the judge in giving a sentence of two years in prison to Ahok.

If viewed from the theory of media reality, Kompas makes the construction of media reality which is already far from the real reality. In reporting on Ahok's two-year prison sentence that was published in the Kompas newspaper, the author did not convey the reality or other actual facts on the ground. The real reality regarding Ahok's blasphemy case is the role of a third person, namely Buni Yani, which Kompas should have discussed in its news article. Buni Yani uploaded a video fragment of the speech of the then Governor of DKI Jakarta Basuki Tjahaja Purnama alias Ahok regarding a speech that alluded to Surah Al-Maidah verse 51 and was considered a blasphemy against Islam.

If viewed from the theory of political communication, the formation of media reality carried out by Kompas can be translated as an attempt to build public opinion about Ahok who blasphemed religion. In its reporting, Kompas tried to build public attitudes and actions regarding Ahok as a religious blasphemer by taking the point of view of Ahok's mistakes only.

Thus, it can also be said that Kompas, through its reporting, tries to influence the construction of social reality in society that it is Ahok who is guilty and deliberately blaspheming religion through his words in the Thousand Islands which cites Surah Al-Maidah verse 51. This can be seen from the quotations of sources that published by the author in his news article.

In contrast to Kompas, after analyzing the framing, Tempo presents the facts or actual reality in news articles. Tempo uses other sources as a counterweight in writing its news articles. Tempo mentioned the role of Buni Yani who was involved in triggering unrest in the community in uploading a video fragment of Ahok's speech in the Thousand Islands. By looking at the reality of the media, Tempo seems to be trying to build a construction that is closer to the actual reality.

From observations through framing analysis, the researcher found that Tempo tried to invite readers to more closely see the actual reality. As a result, the construction of social reality in society will be closer to the real reality. In terms of political communication, Tempo seems to be more capable of building public opinion that is not based on one person's point of view, as was done by Kompas.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of research on Ahok-Djarot's reporting after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada in Kompas and Koran Tempo for the period 20 April 2017 to 20 May 2017 the following conclusions can be drawn as news framing for Kompas and Tempo is carried out by selecting news sources, selecting quotes from news sources, and placing images that support news framing.

Based on the results of the framing analysis, Kompas and Tempo try to be neutral in their news writing. The two media present more than one theme in one news article, namely the first theme of news that supports Ahok-Djarot or vice versa and the author adds another theme that raises facts that confirm Ahok's innocence or vice versa facts that support the judge in passing the sentence. two years in prison for Ahok. The reality of the media formed by Kompas is not close to the real reality. Meanwhile, Tempo is trying to build constructions that are closer to the actual reality.

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