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## **MEDIA CONSTRUCTION ON INDONESIA POLITICAL CONFLICT: A FRAMING ANALYSIS OF KPK VS POLRI CASE**

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### **Abstract**

*The same event can be reported different by different media. That is what we called media framing. As disclosed Gamson et al. (1992), this time we are surrounded by a world of visualization displayed by the media. The visualization of constructing meaning about various things, including political and social issues the message that we receive is not neutral but shows the power and angle of view of political and economic elite behind the news. The system is built with so genius that the whole process seems so normal and natural that most of the audience is not aware if they had been constructed only see reality, not real. Metro TV and TV one are two national televisions which are opposition in 2014 election. Metro TV, which owned by Surya Palo, supported Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla, while TV one, which part of Bakrie Group, supported Prabowo-Hatta. This research aimed to know those two televisions framing of Jokowi in Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) vs. Indonesia's Police Force (Polri) matter. Framing model which used to analyze is Gamson-and-Modigliani. There are two tools in this model, which are framing devices that comprise metaphors, catchphrases, exemplar, depiction, and visualimages; and reasoning devices that comprises roots, appeals to principle, and consequences.*

*The research resulted that the framing of those two televisions are different in the matter mentioned above.*

## **Keywords**

Framing analysis, Media construction, Political conflict, Indonesia

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## **1. Introduction**

Budi Gunawan appointment by President Jokowi as the one and only candidate for Chief of Indonesia's Police Force (Chief of Polio) in early 2015 reaped a lot of criticism. In regard, Budi Gunawan was mentioned as one of the suspects of police official's bribery while he served in 2003-2006. Some thoughts that this decision was influenced by Megawati Soekarnoputri, the chief of Partai Democrats' Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) which ran Jokowi presidential 2014-2019 candidacy.

Budi Gunawan was Megawati's adjutant while she served as the fifth president of Indonesia. KPK vs. Polri case in 2015 was not the first time in the history. There were two conflicts beforehand in the era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). Back then, President SBY demanded to be a mediator for the conflicts between the two organizations. But the difference for the situation in Jokowi's era is that the conflict so called is from President Jokowi's decision. This conflict attracted Indonesia national media's attention.

In the BBC Indonesia news portal's chronological summary, this third conflict of KPK vs. Polri started in January 10 when President Jokowi announced the name of the one and only Chief of Polri. The President, who was a media darling before, became media spotlight. Framing can be influenced by the affiliation of the media owner.

## **2. Literature Review**

Tuchman (Eriyanto, 2012, p. 4) likens the news as a window to the world. Audiences able know the events happening across the world through news. The same event can be reported differently by different media. The angle, emphasizes, the obscured and the person who gets interviewed are parts of reality construction by media. Media frame modulates the reality, and the frame becomes the reality that understood by audiences.

Gamson & Modigliani (Schaufele, 1999, p. 106) defined media frame as a tool to modulate idea or the meaning of series of stories happen. Problem arises when a construction by the media created bias to the real story, while the content of the media is the starting point of the effect (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p.27). Media content, whether we like it or not, effecting audience understanding of reality and the manifestation, which is actions followed afterward. As Gamson stated (1992), that right now we are surrounded by world visualization showed by media. It constructed the meaning of everything, including political and social issues. The messages we received are not neutral, yet shown the power and perspective of political and economy elite behind the news. This system were made geniously so the whole process seems so normal and natural and most of the audiences do not aware if they only see constructed reality instead of the 'real' reality.

The highest decision maker of a media organization is, of course, the owner (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 163). The decision making is not only about human resource, finance, and distribution, but also the policy of media content. Altschull (1984, p. 254) said that media content is correlated directly with the interest of the funder. Bagdikian (Rossman, 2011) also stated almost the same thing as Altschull, that media content reflects economy and political value of the owner.

In this research, media owners who are focused to be examined each and every one of them affiliated with opposite political figure. TV one owned Bakrie Group with Amanda Bakrie as the owner (who is Aburizal Bakrie's son, the Chief of Golkar party) While Metro TV owned by Surya Paloh who is the Chief of Nasdem Party.

### **3. Methods**

#### **3.1 Data collection**

Researchers downloaded the news footage of TV One and Metro TV, regarding KPK vs POLRI which involved President Jokowi, from YouTube and other video sharing sites. Unfortunately not all news footage of case available in YouTube, and not all the news presenter statements are recorded. This is the weakness of this research, because the researchers could not recorded the news footage directly from the television broadcasts, therefore the source of this

research is secondary source. Yet from the video collected, it is very obvious that there are different frames of Jokowi in KPK vs. POLRI case.

The type of news selected for this research is hard news. It emphasizes 5W+1H elements and filled with the value of novelty and significant. That is why researchers chose the Prime Time News & Metro Hari Inn program of Metro TV, and Kabar Pagi, Kabar Siang, Kabar Petang, and Kabar Malam of TV One.

### 3.2 Data Analysis Method

Researchers used framing tool shown below to do the data analysis:

**Table 3.1:** *Gamson and Modigliani Model*

<b>Frame = central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issues</b>	
<i>Framing Devices</i>	<i>Reasoning Devices</i>
Metaphors	Roots
Catchphrases	Appeals to principle
Exemplar	Consequences
Depiction Visual images	

The core of framing is about how a media deliver the facts. Reality construction is not just about inserting the elements of narration which delivered by the reporter or footage of pictures, but also other complementary elements such as the explanation of the pictures shown, the non-verbal language of the reporter, music illustration and visual effects (Salim, 2013, p. 78). In TV media, facts delivered through presenter statements in the opening and closing of the news broadcasted, visual effects of pictures and graphics, statements of the source, and the news ticker.

**Table 3.2:** News Footages Being Examined

Metro TV	TV One
President Jokowi press conference after Budi Gunawan stipulated as a suspect by KPK (14 January 2015)	
President Jokowi's statement in Bogor Palace after Bambang Widjojanto, Vice Chief of KPK, being arrested (23 January 2015)	President Jokowi's statement in Bogor Palace after Bambang Widjojanto, Vice Chief of KPK, being arrested (23 January 2015)
	News report from outside of KPK building after Bambang Widjojanto being arrested and President Jokowi press conference in Bogor Palace (23 January 2015)
President Jokowi's statement to the press in National Palace regarding KPK vs POLRI (25 January 2015)	President Jokowi's statement to the press in National Palace regarding KPK vs POLRI (25 January 2015)
Jokowi's promise to settle KPK vs POLRI case after his presidential trip abroad (4 February 2015)	

#### 4. Findings and Discussion

In the news report of President Jokowi press conference after Budi Gunawan stipulated as a suspect by KPK which is broadcasted by Metro TV on 14 Januari 2015, there were news ticker running in the bottom of the news footage, which are: "Steps of procedures had been through by the government, there are several options conveyed by Kompolnas", "I had confirmed to Kompolnas about BG bank account, the result is equitable", and "We respect law enforcement process in KPK, but we also respect the political process in DPR".

Three of the news tickers are quotations of Jokowi's statement in his press conference. Researchers highlighted and elaborated several key sentences that emphasized by Metro TV:

- “Steps of procedures had been through by the government”. This statement emphasized that government had done the proper actions and did not break any rules. Thus, the government's decision through those procedures supposed to be a good one.
- “I had confirmed to Kompolnas about BG bank account, the result is equitable”. This statement reinforced the president's initiative to confirm the suspicion toward the Budi Guinean's bank account, the one who ran for Chief of POLRI. As known that the “fat” bank account of BG which caused the controversy of his candidacy as Chief of POLRI. This sentence is like an answer for BG's controversy. Metro TV accentuate that the examination of BG's bank account shown an equitable result. Thus, the controversy not necessarily continued since the president himself did the confirmation and found no irregularity within the account.
- “We respect law enforcement process in KPK, but we also respect the political process in DPR”. This statement shown Jokowi's effort to stay neutral without any tendency for either sides. BG's case brought up by KPK, while the appointment of POLRI Chief is by DPR. Metro TV seems wanted to frame Jokowi as a wise and unreckless person in making decision. Metro TV emphasized that Jacobi's decision will consider the law enforcement process in KPK and political process in DPR.

The following news is about Jokowi's statement in Bogor Palace after arrestment of Vice Chief of KPK, Bambang Widjojanto (23 January 2015). Both of TV station broadcasted the president's statement live from Bogor Palace. The news presenter only gave short introductory with repeating the president's statement.

On the same day, TV one reported the situation at KPK Building after the arrest of Bambang Widjojanto. Within the news, the researchers examine the statements from the presenter and the correspondents. A moment before the correspondence began, the TV one presenter asked: “How is it going at KPK, how you felt about waiting the arrest deferment which wished by the people there?” That statement accentuate the hope of people who gathered outside of KPK building since morning, wished for BW arrest deferred. BW as one of the KPK leaders framed impossible to get suspected in law violation.

That question responded by the TV one correspondent, Zanier Arifin Mochtar (Uceng). He is the Director of UGM Center of study of Anti-Corruption, who once the moderator of presidential debate between Jokowi-JK with Prabowo-Hatta for presidential election 2014. Uceng stated: "...the people along with their figures came in turn to show the support to KPK". This sentence pointed out that people supports KPK. Why KPK needs to be supported? This sentence frame KPK as the victim after the arrest of one of its leader, BW.

Afterward, the presenter asked Uceng commentary on President Jokowi's statement in Bogor Palace. He quoted Jokowi's wish for KPK and POLRI conflict stopped. Uceng responded the question with bare answer:

"I think that what Jokowi said is really outdated, as he said to wish no conflict arises. Actually it they are already collapsed. It is not about whether there is conflict or not, **but it is real already**. What seems from Jokowi was he tried to be in the middle, **while he impossible to be in the middle**, because the fact is the unpleasant process already happened..."

Source selection is one among the ways of media to frame an event. So the source statement can be said as a representation of media frame. TV one framed Jokowi as president who late to act because he gave the instruction after the conflict happened. Also, it is impossible for him to be the mediator of KPK and POLRI.

Before Uceng finished the sentence, the TV one presenter cut the statement, "Wait a second, you are saying from the speech Joko Widodo is already pick a side, instead of in the middle?" The presenter questions lead Uceng to give more comments on Jokowi's position in this particular case. Uceng answered:

"Actually I have no idea of him, **he tried to be in the middle, but he does not show anything about anti-corruption enforcement**. The language showed, for example, clearly said that do not conflict each other, but in fact this is already happened. You can imagine the police now is used by particular persons to obstruct corruption eradication. **However, President is the superior of Indonesia Police Office, so if POLRI in the future obstructs corruption eradication, we can conclude that Jokowi agreed to it**. That is what we demand, therefore we said that **Jokowi's speech is sucks**. Practically **does not solve** anything, practically does not fulfilled what is wished for."

Uren’s statement, which broadcasted by TV one, loaded of critics toward Jokowi. Through the source, TV one framed Jokowi as fake, and does not show any goodwill to enforce anti-corruption Jokowi also framed suck in giving speech. The speech considered not solving any problem.

The following news to be examined is President Jokowi’s statement to the press in National Palace regarding KPK vs. POLRI (25 January 2015). In this press conference, besides stating himself as the president regarding KPK vs. POLRI, he also gave opportunity to legal law experts whom invited to give any inputs of this matter. Both Metro TV and TV one broadcasted it live. Herewith the news ticker of both medias:

**Table 4.1:** *News Ticker*

Metro TV	TV One
No criminalization in legal process proceeding and all of the legal processes have to be transparent	President Press Conference: KPK-POLRI have to be shoulder to shoulder
	KPK-Polri acted procedurally
	Jimly: We give inputs to solve the problem
We will hold a communication with Police Office and KPK, the team is independent and formed informally	We are independent and unformal
This is a good will of the President in responding of demand of independent team formulation	Inputs to improve KPK-POLRI
	Jokowi demand to avoid criminalization

Most of the news ticker sentence is quoted from the statement of the President and Jimly Asshidique as the representative of the legal experts who invited the president. Interestingly, one © 2015 The author and GRDS Publishing. All rights reserved. Available Online at: <http://grdspublishing.org/PEOPLE/people.html>



of the news tickers Metro framing Jokowi as president who has in good faith to respond to inputs on the establishment of an independent team. The statement quoted from Jimly Asshidique, wants to emphasize Jokowi not yet have a president who ignored the actions to respond to the input of many parties. On the other hand TV One more emphasis on the function of the president invited a team of experts to give consideration related cases vs Police Commission.

The last news being analyzed is about promise Jokowi analyzed resolve cases vs Police Commission after a trip abroad (February 4, 2015). In this news Jokowi appear surrounded by reporters who asked related actions polemic vs Police Commission. Metro framed Jokowi as the president who did not stay silent on the issue within the country and abroad. Jokowi also framed as a president with impartial priority (foreign affairs & domestic).

From the news that researcher's analysis, researchers concluded frame Metro TV and TV One in case vs. Police Commission as follows:

**Table 4.2:** Framing of MetroTV and TV One

Metro TV	TV One
Jokowi framed as a presidential run properly in the nomination procedure police chief.	Jokowi framed as a slow acting president.
Jokowi framed as president to respect the legal process the Commission and the political process in the House.	Jokowi framed as a president who is not strict in combating corruption.
Jokowi framed as president to consider and respond to feedback given to him.	Jokowi framed as a presidential speech does not solve the problem as expected.
Jokowi framed as a president who had a balance priority to the problems in the country and abroad.	

## 5. Conclusion

Overall, Metro TV in the case Police vs KPK framing Jokowi as a president who behaved correctly. While framing Jokowi TV one not has the capability to act as president for being slow and indecisive.

As stated Altschull (1984, p. 254), media content correlated directly with the interests of those who finance the media.

Jokowi is known as a media darling in Indonesia. A media darling and the media raised really helped media. One was built through the process of framing that are part of the media production (Wulandari, 2014, p. 49). Metro TV through positive framing that is displayed in the news according to researchers helped Jokowi especially in moments of crisis. Positive news about Jokowi break the negative news that other media do.

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