

IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION OF POWER IN MEDIA CONVERGENCE

(Critical Discourse Analysis of Norman Fairclough in News Campaign 2014 Presidential Election in Kompas Group, Media Group, and MNC Group)

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia presidential election campaign, June 5-July 5 2014 was the most crucial period of the practice of journalism and media organizations in Indonesia. Almost all the media outlets involved in supporting the contesting candidates, Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla and Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa. Reports of three media groups (Kompas Group, Media Group, and MNC Group) during the 2014 presidential election campaign is the focus of this study. This paper is the first stage of research results (text) of three planned phases. Three phases of the study based on the method used, critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough, consisting of a micro level (text), meso (discourse practice) and macro (socio-cultural). Based on the results of research on Kompas, Media Indonesia, and Koran Sindo newspaper headlines show several discourses. First, the issue of human rights violations conducted by Prabowo. The second, presidential debate. Third, the military's involvement in the campaign through Babinsa. Fourth, money politics campaign. Fifth, *Obor Rakyat* tabloid which attacked Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. Sixth, alignments of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Seventh, *Slank* music concert to support Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. The conclusion are first, there is no independent media group in 2014 presidential campaign. Second, all media organizations under a media group are directed to publish same reports about favored candidate pairs. Third, the three media groups have common ideology, which is market-based ideology (capitalism) and power relations.

Key words : media convergence, news, power, ideology

A. Research Background

The media undergone several stages of change and transformation (Roger Fidler defines it as metamorphosis).² It starts from newspapers, books, films, radio, television and then internet. The most advanced media is the Internet or commonly known as new media. Internet presence then changes drastically and dramatic development of media. Internet triggers at least two fundamental changes in the media. First, the substance of the media, the journalistic process. Second, the form or format of media organizations. Previously, any kind of media is a stand-alone and self-management organization, but now they join in a single entity known as media convergence. Today, almost all print and electronic media are getting along together with news, online, e-paper, and live streaming.

Fundamental changes in media journalism prompted an appalling terminology called crisis of journalism despite 'crisis' is deemed excessive. Todd Gitlin,³ argued in the current conditions the term 'crisis' is very appropriate. Gitlin shows the crisis of journalism by identifying five indicators : (i) the fall of the circulation; (ii) the fall of advertising revenue; (iii) diffusion of attention; (iv) crisis authorized; and (v) the inability or unwillingness of journalism to question the power structure all contributes to deep crisis of journalism. Crisis of journalism includes a series of problems, namely, with regard to time, money, autonomy, and cultural changes.

Meanwhile, changes in the organizational forms of media creates media convergence. Media convergence means an integration or unification of several conventional media with the advancement of information technology under one roof or company. Convergence is not only news content which can appear in various media within one company, but also the unification of the parent company in the media. In Indonesia, besides MNC Group (RCTI, Koran Sindo newspaper, and sindonews.com) which has done a complete convergence (print, electronic, and online), there are also Kompas Group and Media Group. Kompas Group consists of Kompas newspaper, Kompas.com, and KompasTV. Media Group consist of Media Indonesia newspaper, Metro TV, and MetroTVnews.com.

Convergence is also an application of digital technology, integration of text, sounds, numbers, and pictures; how news is produced, distributed and consumed. Dailey, Demo and Spillman explain media convergence activities include, among others, cross-promotion, cloning, "coopetition," content sharing, and full convergence. With the convergence of media, news that

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² Roger Fidler. 2003. *Mediamorfosis; Understanding New Media*, translator Hartono Hadikusomo. Yogyakarta. Benteng Pustaka.

³ Eugenia Siapera. 2012. *Understanding New Media*. California, USA. SAGE Publications : 127

formerly reported events that had occurred, the definition has now turned into event is happening.⁴ Even if we use the paradigm of interpretive journalism, news can also events that will occur.

Convergence of media does not only affect changes made in the journalistic process, but also about all the various aspects of life. It will have an impact on the consumption of the public media, public perception, information dissemination, and media literacy, for example. In short, media convergence will bring new media social construction that has never happened before.⁵

Impressions, writing, and broadcasting was brought up and become the talk of the audience called discourse. The greater the discourse generated through the media, the more opportunities for the audience to produce meaning. Many ways in which the media in producing discourse. Among other things, the strategy of signing, framing, and priming. Signing is the use of sign language, both verbal and non-verbal. Framing is a discourse based on the selection of partiality in various aspects of discourse. While priming means organizing space or time to publish in public discourse.⁶

These three strategies were also implemented by MNC Group, Media Group and Kompas Group when producing discourse on the presidential election campaign, June 5 to July 5, 2014. Not only news, but framing construction, signing, priming, and also almost all events, footages, and running text appear on television. In a written message delivered through all sections. So also in online media that requires immediacy. Quotations, interviews, events, and activities undertaken by interest party simultaneously disseminated via news sites. Thus, three of the above strategies increasingly amplify the effect, influence, and also the meaning of the broadcast, impressions, and writing that produced the convergence of media on society.

During the period of the presidential campaign, June 5 to July 5, 2014, Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa pair dan Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla pair campaigned in MNC Group, Kompas Group, and Media Group. The support of these media groups were massively structured and systematic. Giving slot and stage for opponent candidates is apparently designed to meet the standards of the code of journalistic ethics, not as a noble obligation of journalism according to Bill Kovach and Tom Rosentiel.

However, 2014 presidential election emphasizes the obvious fact that the media belongs to a few people. It also divide the affective, cognitive, and psychomotor of the society. Media Group and Kompas Group chose at Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla's side, and the opposing side is MNC Group which favored Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa. Media Group justifies its support to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla because Nasdem Party, owned by Surya Paloh, the big boss Media Group, is one of members of coalition parties with Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) and the National Awakening Party (PKB), and the People's Conscience Party (Hanura). Kompas Group leant to Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla due to similar ideology with coalition party, especially PDIP-rooted PDI-- which is a fusion of the national political parties and Christian in 1972. On the other hand, MNC Group is owned by Hary Tanoesoedibja. After a failed run for vice president of Hanura paired with Wiranto, Chairman of Hanura, Hary Tanoesoedibja switched side to Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa, who was supported by the Greater Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), the Golkar Party, the National Mandate Party (PAN), and Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the Democratic Party also supports silently.

A. Literature Review

Journalism and Media Representation Meaning

News is constructed by journalists and mass media as an institution based on an event. News is not a reality because it is the result of reality construction. News became the second artificial reality or second-hand reality.⁷ Burhan Bungin⁸ refer it as the shadow reality. Shadow reality means that reality offered to the public is actually shadow of an event instead of the actual event. So, news and reality very different.

News is one of the forms of representation of an event. Representation is an act to replace something that can not happen or could not present by itself. Representation according to Graeme Burton, related to ideological expression. Representation reveals different types of power in society. The expression of this ideological representation can be seen from several points. Among other things, anyone who has power and who does not; how power is applied; values that dominate the way we think about society and social relations.⁹

The term refers to the representation of those explanations that help define the peculiarities of groups and also refers to the depiction of various institutions. Representation is also not only refers to the surface, he might have regarding the meaning-which are constructed. Thus the representation is closely related to the meaning of the meaning of the world; meaning on how to understand the world.

Representation in the report text means showing how a person, a group, or ideas displayed. There are two forms of representation in the report text. First, whether a person, a group, and one of the ideas displayed properly. Second, how the representation of a

⁴ Ignatius Haryanto. 2014. *Jurnalisme Era Digital; Tantangan Industri Media Abad 21*. Jakarta. Kompas Media Nusantara : 212

⁵ Rahma Sugihartati. 2014. *Perkembangan Masyarakat Informasi dan Teori Sosial Kontemporer*. Jakarta. Kencana Prenadamedia Group: 89.

⁶ Ibn Hamad. 2010. *Komunikasi sebagai Wacana*. Jakarta. La Tofi Enterprise: 49-71

⁷ Anwar Arifin. 2006. *Pencitraan dalam Politik*. Jakarta. Pustaka Indonesia : 5

⁸ Burhan Bungin. 2008. *Sosiologi Komunikasi*. Jakarta. Kencana Prenada Media Group.

⁹ Graeme Burton. 2003. *Pengantar untuk Memahami Media dan Budaya Populer*. Yogyakarta. Jalasutra : 134

person, a group, or the ideas displayed through words, photos, and accentuation.¹⁰ As such, journalism as discourse allows the deployment of the view of news production and disseminating results such as making shapes power as a new form of access to representation.¹¹

As noted above, highly ideological representation. Burton explained that the ideology defining the system of representation. The act of representation became the embodiment of the power relations in society. Because of that representation becomes an expression of ideology and discourse expression. And it concerns power.¹²

Ideology and Power Relations

Ideology, said Raymond Williams quoted by John Fiske¹³ used in three sets. First, the system marks the assurance that a particular class. Second, a illusioner the assurance system, and third, the general process of production of meaning and ideas. As an implication of ideology¹⁴ have two things : the ideology is inherently social nature and is not only used as a coordinative function and cohesive, but also to establish the identity of the social group that differentiate with other groups

John B. Thompson¹⁵ explained the concept of ideology is used to refer to how meaning is used in certain cases. He exists and is used to build and maintain relationships systematically asymmetrical power. So ideology is what is used to power. In his study of ideology shows how meaning is constructed and communicated through symbols in different variations, both in day-to-day expression or with complex language. Ideology also demands that we use symbols to uncover the structure of social relations in the absorption, distribution, support and develop the relation. Following such use, ideology has a specific characteristic the assurance that their idea, a particular group, a holistic view, political, and public. Because of that ideology often propped up by certain political and cultural power.

Expression of social projection for workers in the world of journalism is broadcast, display, and news stories. Accordingly, each broadcast, display, and contains news stories ideology writer, camera person or editor. Writing is then build the social relations between workers in the media with the surrounding community. Social relations, Marx said Schulman, for a journalist with others in the media aim is uncover the truth.¹⁶ For broadcast, impressions and news stories for audiences, either sold or shared for free which will form a specific meaning.

Therefore, every broadcast, impressions, and writing news or potentially contain certain media bias or bias of news. This condition is very difficult to avoid if it is not something that is given. For broadcast, impressions and news stories are not in a vacuum. He is always in a social context and in particular struggle. Because it is commonplace when broadcast, impressions and news stories have always been in a situation and alignments on certain parties.

A broadcast, impressions and news stories in the media is not just a series of facts which are arranged into a sentence and paragraph. He is also a representation of the thoughts and attitudes of journalists. Minimal any cultural background, social, and educational reporters strongly influence how facts are constructed in a broadcast, display, and news stories. The fact that only is broadcasted and written word what their style will be dry and uncomfortable to read. Style presentation, search, find, and constructing fact, reporters have been constructed with a variety of things that are not neutral and independent. This is where ideology play a role in the formation of the news.

Historically Michel Foucault¹⁷ which became the initial drafter terms of discourse. The terms of this discourse does not stand alone. He intertwined with other distinctive terms such as episteme Foucault, archeology and genealogy. This is where the emergence of the theory of knowledge and power relations or power and knowledge. Knowledge/power working through language.¹⁸

Foucault gives the definition of power is different from other scientists. Specialists on the other powers focus on the country as the royal power, while Foucault examined more power for the individual, small subject. Power does not work because of repression but occurred under normal conditions and with the regulations. The presence of the composition, rules, regulation systems, necessitates a power there. He does not come from outside but from within. So Foucault power is diffused in all aspects

¹⁰ Eriyanto. 2001. Analisis Wacana. Yogyakarta. LKiS : 113

¹¹ Martin Conboy. 2004. Journalism; A Critical History. London. Sage Publications Ltd: 4

¹² Graeme Burton. 2003. Pengantar untuk Memahami Media dan Budaya Populer. Yogyakarta. Jalasutra : 134

¹³ John Fiske. 2007. Cultural and Communication Studies. An Introduction to the Most Comprehensive. Second printing. Translators Subandy Ibrahim and Yosol Iriantara. Yogyakarta. Jalasutra : 228

¹⁴ Eriyanto. 2001. Analisis Wacana. Yogyakarta. LKiS: 13-14.

¹⁵ John B. Thompson. 2015. Kritik Ideologi Global; Teori Sosial Kritis tentang Relasi Ideologi dan Komunikasi Massa. Translator Haqqul Yakin. Yogyakarta. IRCiSod : 16-17

¹⁶ Eriyanto. 2001. Analisis Wacana. Yogyakarta. LKiS : 42

¹⁷ Ideas and knowledge and power relations explored Foucault in his two books : Foucault Michel Foucault. 1979. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Harmondsworth. Penguin Books and The History of Sexuality (Vol I). Introduction. 1978. Harmondsworth. Penguin Books.

¹⁸ Akhyar Yusuf Lubis. 2014. Teori dan Metodologi Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial Budaya Kontemporer. Jakarta. Rajagrafindo Persada: 177

of life. Power is the power mechanisms of social plurality, productive and appear at peripheral level and built not by repression but stimulus.¹⁹

According to him, power and knowledge are a couple who express closely dependent discourse and expression of power production capacity of creating discourse. Knowledge and truth, knowledge and facts always have a relationship that is systemic.²⁰ A convergence of knowledge and power is not mutually exclusive but rather mutually reinforcing.²¹

Thus according to Foucault, power is always actualized through knowledge and knowledge always has the effect of power.²² Operation of power always produce knowledge as a base power. While knowledge is power in Foucault's concept is a powerful institution that made the definition, structure, rules, norms, and truth in society.

Knowledge reveals not vague on the relation of power, but knowledge itself is within its power relations.²³ In the view of Foucault, knowledge is not just a reflection of reality. Truth is the construction of power and knowledge of different regimes that define right and wrong.²⁴

Public setting by power is not done with the suppression of a physical nature. In the modern era of capitalism, power is channeled through social interaction and discipline through discourse. Power who hold other forms of categorization; True False; good bad. This is done as part of the control public behavior. Social relationships that bring more forms of subjectivity and behavior described as a form of restriction.

B. Research Methods

The method used is critical discourse analysis model of Norman Fairclough. Method departed from the statement how the connections between the text of micro and macro socio culture. Hence, critical discourse analysis model of Norman Fairclough does not only consist of text, but also the media environment that produces text, and macro social environment in which the media operate. He himself calls his theory the model name of social change.²⁵

According to Jorgensen and Phillips, Fairclough brings together three traditions. First, a detailed textual analysis in the field of linguistics. Second, macro-sociological analysis of social practices. Third, the interpretative tradition and micro-sociological in sociology where life is treated as a product a person's actions. Fairclough made of three-dimensional models for the analysis of discourse. (text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice). According to discourse contributes social construction identity, social relationships, and systems of knowledge or meaning.

The core of critical discourse analysis model of Norman Fairclough is eager to see language as the exercise of power.²⁶ A power may not be present without ideology. Ideology, said Norman Fairclough, is the meaning of the serving of power.²⁷ Michel Foucault argued, there is always present in the language of power. Means the language analysis by Norman Fairclough is to dismantle the power of representation in the media. According to Norman Fairclough,²⁸ to dismantle the language practices at three levels there are three stages of analysis that must be passed.

C. Findings

The final goal of this research is to find, discover, and describe the construction of discourse, ideology representation of power, and epistemological implications of the construction of the discourse of the Kompas Group, Media Group, and MNC Group during the 2014 Presidential Election campaign. But in the early stages, the researcher want to find, discover, and describe the construction of discourse of Kompas, Media Indonesia, and Koran Sindo newspaper headlines during the 2014 Presidential Election campaign.

Therefore based on Kompas, Media Indonesia, and Koran Sindo newspaper headlines during the 2014 presidential campaign, earned some points.

First, the issue of human rights violations conducted by Prabowo. Kompas and Media Indonesia, in particular, exploited human rights violations that actually had been settled in internal of TNI in order to destroy Prabowo's reputation. Alleged abduction of 13 pro-democracy activists ahead of the leadership transition, May 21, 1998, was used by both newspapers to convince the

¹⁹ Yasraf Amir Piliang. 2011. *Dunia Yang Dilipat*. Bandung. Matahari : 23.

²⁰ Robinow, Paul Aesthetic. 2009. *Method, and Epistemology; Essential Work of Foucault 1954-1984*. Translator Arief. Yogyakarta. Jalasutra : 17.

²¹ Robinow, Paul Aesthetic. 2009. *Method, and Epistemology; Essential Work of Foucault 1954-1984*. Translator Arief. Yogyakarta. Jalasutra : 23.

²² Ali Maksum. 2008. *Pengantar Filsafat*. Yogyakarta. Ar Ruzz Media: 213

²³ Eriyanto. 2001. *Analisis Wacana*. Yogyakarta. LKIS: 67

²⁴ Marianne W. Jorgensen and Louise J. Phillips. 2007. *Analisis Wacana; Teori dan Wacana*. Translator Imam Suyitno et. al. Yogyakarta. Pustaka Pelajar : 24

²⁵ Norman Fairclough. 1992 *Discourse and Social Change*, Polity Press, Cambridge: 63-64

²⁶ Eriyanto. 2001. *Analisis Wacana*. Yogyakarta. LKIS : 285

²⁷ Norman Fairclough. 1995. *Social Discourse*. London. Edward Arnold : 14

²⁸ Norman Fairclough. 1992. *Critical Language Awareness*. New York. Longman : 12

public that Prabowo did not deserve replacing President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Charges of kidnapping of 13 activists addressed by Media Indonesia and Kompas were aimed to affirm their support for Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla.

On the other hand, the same issue of human rights violations was exploited by Koran Sindo to clear the name of Prabowo. It was said that Commander of Kopassus TNI Prabowo, at that time, was part of TNI's chain of command under Gen. (Ret) Wiranto, who supported camp Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla through his party, People's Conscience Party (Hanura). Koran Sindo asserted that Wiranto should have taken the responsibility as a Commander of TNI at that time. Prabowo was only a small part of the military institution. Thus, the human rights issue can be used as a weapon by both sides through their respective media.

Second, the presidential debate. Presidential debate broadcasted live by television was exploited by the three newspapers to promote the favored candidates but criticize the opponent at the same time. Debate of presidential candidates was essentially a stage for both candidates to socialize programs and a tool to build and tear down the image of the candidate promoted by each newspaper.

Third, the military's involvement in the campaign through Babinsa. This issue was brought to attack Prabowo who has military background. Babinsa which is a security guard at the village allegedly involved in vote rigging in favor for particular candidate. Kompas and Media Indonesia exploited news to convince the audience that Prabowo's campaign team violated the rules since military personnel should be neutral as mandated by the Law.

Fourth, money politics. Prabowo-Hatta were considered richer than Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla and this issue was exploited by Kompas and Media Indonesia. Both media were proclaiming their concern that rampant money politics to win Prabowo-Hatta. On the other hand, money politics was detrimental for Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. By using comments from community leaders and other news sources, each media made money politic as a smear campaign to attack the other camp.

Fifth, Obor Rakyat Tabloid. Towards the end of the presidential campaign a tabloid named Obor Rakyat was published. Its contents were defaming Jokowi Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. That, on the other hand, benefitted Prabowo-Hatta camp. Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla was irritated. They reported it to the police. Kompas and Media Indonesia put this issue as headlines. Meanwhile, Koran Sindo let alone the issue because it benefits the favored candidates.

Sixth, alignments of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Since the beginning, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's camp and Democrat Party were not decided on certain candidate, although eventually it tends to support Prabowo-Hatta camp. The alignment related with family ties since Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Hatta became a relative after their children got married (Edhi Baskoro Yudhoyono and Siti Ruby Aliya Rajasa). Until the end of the campaign, Koran Sindo published the news and photos that Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono approved the nomination Prabowo-Hatta. Meanwhile, Kompas and Media Indonesia did not put it on the publication.

Seventh, Slank music concerts. Kompas and Media Indonesia made Slank music concert at the Bung Karno Stadium as a major event that deserved headlines news. Instead, Koran Sindo ignored that event. Construction of the event in Kompas and Media Indonesia was extraordinary. Both media exploited the concert that was initiated by Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla's supporters as something important. On the contrary, Koran Sindo brushed it aside.

D. Conclusion

Based on a research to construction of the discourse of Kompas, Media Indonesia, and Koran Sindo newspaper headlines during the 2014 presidential election campaign, it can be concluded, there is no neutral newspapers in 2014 presidential election campaign. It is showed by content in the text of headlines which supports one candidate for president-vice president. Kompas and Media Indonesia newspapers is for Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla, while Koran Sindo newspaper supports Prabowo-Hatta Rajasa. The partiality is reflected in the choice of discourse, words, sentences, and title during the 2014 presidential election campaign. The political support given by each newspaper to the candidates is not free. It demanded power sharing once the candidate win the 2014 presidential election.

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