

Partisan Journalism: Review of the Behavior of Mass Media in Legislative Election and Indonesia Presidential Election of 2014

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Abstract

In the political process preceding the election of legislative members, president, and vice president in 2014, there has been exploitation of the use of the media to win the candidates in print media (newspapers and magazines), electronic media (radio and television), as well as online media (social media networks). It can be seen that capitalism of media through the framing of news and information has generated a new phenomenon in the world of broadcasting and press. Many stories are neither appropriate nor newsworthy yet forced to be aired in order to fulfill the lust for power. Studies on the role of TV station in disseminating information preceding, during, and succeeding the presidential election in July 9, 2014 are important to conduct to see the motives underlying the behavior that violates the applicable laws and code of ethics and code of conduct. This study analyzes and tries to understand the phenomenon of partisanship in mass media, particularly television, towards one faction of the candidates for president and vice president in the presidential election in 2014, reviewed by the Theory of Phenomenology by Edmund Husserl or Alfred Schutz as well as other relevant theories.

Keywords: *Partisan journalism; News framing; Violations; Principles of journalism; Code of ethics*

1. Introduction

For Indonesians, 2014 is said to be a political year, due to the two events of national importance, namely the election for legislative candidates (*Pileg*) for the central level (DPR and DPD) and local level (DPRD of Province and District/City), and the election for President and Vice President for the period of 2014-2019. Community activities related to the elections, whether committed by individuals (independently or by cadres of political parties) or by a group of leaders of political parties, have emerged since two years ago. The procedures and regulations concerning Political/Electoral Campaign, Campaign Material, Campaign Strategy, Prohibition in Campaign, and Sanctions for Violation of the Prohibition of Campaign are regulated in Law No. 10 Year 2008 on Election of Representatives to the DPR, DPD, and DPRD in Article 76 through Article 88; while the News Coverage, Broadcasting and Advertising Campaign are regulated in Article 89 through Article 99. Even though the rules, the election organizers, surveillance devices, and sanctions for committed violations have been established, there are many violations of the existing regulations, leading to a bad political education for the community. The violations are committed not only by the participants of the election, but also by the election organizers as well as by printed and electronic media. The uses of mass media by a person or group of political parties for political campaign activities are often not in accordance with

applicable regulations. Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties does not regulate the ownership of mass media by the founders or the leaders of a political party. Mass media in Indonesia, owned largely by the cadres of political party, eventually play an important role in supporting the activities of political campaigns of their owners. The strong influence of the owners of mass media makes the mass media no longer neutral in reporting/broadcasting campaign issue. There is a tendency of partisanship by the media's business actors, so that "partisan journalism" emerges and strengthens itself in the political arena in Indonesia, particularly in 2014.

In the political process towards the election of legislative members, president, and vice president in 2014, there has been exploitation of the use of the media to win the candidates in print media (newspapers and magazines), electronic media (radio and television), as well as online media (social media networks). Based on the direct observation of the situation in the field, particularly preceding the election of President and Vice President for 2014-2019 with the two factions of candidates, the condition of mass media in Indonesia was also divided according to the political affiliation of the owners. The partisanship towards a faction of the candidates also affects the implementation of quick count. Of the 12 Survey Institutes for the quick count of the results of the presidential election for 2014-2019 period, four of them favor the candidate number 1 (Prabowo - Hatta), namely: Survey Institute of Puskaptis (Center for Policy Studies and Strategic Development), JSI (Indonesian Voice Network), LSN (National Survey Institute) and IRC (Indonesian Research Centre). These four institutions provide points between 50.14 to 52.05% for the victory of Prabowo-Hatta. The result of the quick count by these four institutions was continuously broadcasted by TV One, AnTV and TV stations under MNC Group. Meanwhile, the eight other Survey Institutes are Kompas R&D, RRI (Radio Republik Indonesia), SMRC (Syaiful Mujani Research & Consulting), CSIS-Cyrus, LSI (Indonesian Survey Circle), IPI (Indonesian Political Indicator), Poltracking Institute, and Populi Center. These eight institutions generate a quick count of 50.95 up to 53.37% for the victory of Jokowi-JK. The result was primarily broadcasted by Metro TV and several other TV stations.

The problem that will be examined is "Partisan Journalism, Review of the Behavior of Mass Media in Legislative Election and Presidential Election of 2014". What are the underlying motives of such behavior that violates the applicable laws and code of ethics and code of conduct?

The rest of this paper is organized as follow. Section 2 describes the concept of framing and television news. Section 3 describes results and discussion. Finally, the conclusion of this work is presented in Section 4.

2. The Concept of Framing and Television News

This study applies phenomenological philosophy of Edmund Husserl and Alfred Schutz, as well as Martin Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Max Scheler, Max Weber, and Peter Berger. Phenomenology is the study of life and social condition of society, describing social reality. According to Husserl, phenomenon is an intentional object of a conscious action of a subject. Phenomenology classifies every undertaken conscious action as well as to predict further actions. The source is how someone interprets an object in his/her

experience. Therefore, phenomenology is also defined as the study of meaning in a broader sense or knowledge that comes from the consciousness in daily life (Kuswarno, 2009: 6-10).

The concept of framing by Robert M. Entman describes the selection process and highlights certain aspects of the real condition of the media, as well as places information in a typical context so that a particular issue gets a bigger allocation than other issues. Entman defines the concept of framing as a selection process of various aspects of existing reality to make an event or an issue more prominent in a text of communication. Thus, in many ways, it means particularly presenting the definition of the problem, interpreting the causality, evaluating the moral, and offering a solution to the said problem (Nugroho, *et. al.*, 1999: 20). The selection process of news or topic by each broadcasting station will differ from one another in accordance with the underlying objectives and motives. In other words, it is in accordance with the ideological interest of its owner.

The rules in the press world, both in the narrow and broad sense, have been stipulated by the Law, Government Regulations, and other related regulations, including the journalistic code of ethics and code of conduct as well as P3SPS (Code of Conduct of Broadcasting and Broadcasting Program Standards) established by the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI). However, in reality, there are violations of applicable regulations by the broadcasting media, particularly television. The trend or lifestyle of the society, national political system, and the social and cultural condition of the society that are changing continuously as a result of advances in information and communication technology and other technologies, also influence the occurrence of such phenomenon.

Mass media are tools of political and economic information, including television exploited by politicians, businessmen, and media intellectuals. Laswell, cited by Tabroni (2012: 96), identifies the main function of mass media as follows:

- 1) The function of surveillance, referring to the activities of mass media in monitoring and reporting important events to the public and then the public respond to them.
- 2) The function of correlation, referring to the role of mass media as a means to discuss as well as exchange ideas and aspirations for all communities.
- 3) The function of transmission of social heritage, that is, the role of mass media in the process of socialization of values, norms, and a growing consensus in the society for the sake of the integrity and maintenance of social rules and education for the society.

Tabroni also cites the opinion of Dye and Zeigler, as cited by Pawito (2008) that identifies the political function of mass media as follows:

- 1) The function of information. In this case, mass media observe what is happening in the society and then report it. This function is called the function of surveillance according to Laswell.
- 2) The function of interpretation. It refers to the role of mass media as an interpreter of reality in the form of information to the public. Mass media do not only observe the scene then report it to the public, but also try systematic measures. Mass media usually place an event in a particular context, choose the frame of news, select specific sources, and propose particular analyses and interpretations.
- 3) The function of

socialization. Mass media disseminate and establish any efforts to transmit values and norms in the society. This function is basically similar to the function of transmission of social heritage as stated by Laswell. 4) The function of persuasion. This function will be evident towards the time of campaign. At the request of the political parties, mass media will air campaign advertising to seek and increase support. The persuasion or propaganda delivered is more motivated by the interests of political parties or candidates instead of public interest. 5) The function of agenda setting. This function can be observed, for example, when the media add a certain quality to the reported events or issues. Adding this quality can be done with the allocation of particular space or time, the placement of the news on a particular page or the order of the news (Tabroni, 2012: 97).

From the aforementioned opinions, we can see that television as a part of mass media performs its functions in accordance with the political attitudes and orientation of the managers and the owners of media. The show's producer or editor in charge has the discretion to sort and choose the material of news or talk show to the fullest extent of applicable political attitudes. Therefore, it can be seen how the events are presented in respective perspective or version. Similar thing is applied in determining who will be the guest speakers at the talk show or an interview, in order to remain in the corridor of the outlined policies or to strengthen any necessary justification.

Furthermore, Tabroni also cites Curran (1991) as cited by Pawito (2008) who identifies six functions of the press in an effort to develop democracy, namely:

- 1) To provide a forum for public debate.
- 2) To articulate public opinion.
- 3) To force the government to consider what is thought and desired by the people.
- 4) To educate the citizens to be able to have adequate information for decision making in general election.
- 5) To provide public channel of political communication between various groups of people who have different interests.
- 6) To defend individuals against abuse of power committed by the executive and other powers (Tabroni, 2012: 97-98).

Later Curran revises his opinion on six main functions of mass media into three functions, namely: 1) The function information; 2) The function of representation; 3) The function to help achieve the common goal of the society. The functions as presented by Curran are the real conditions of political society in Indonesia and also the real conditions of how mass media, particularly television, present themselves as the mouthpiece of particular political parties. For the case of Presidential and Vice Presidential electoral process in 2014, the theories stated by the experts are correct and even carried out consciously by the business actors of mass media and media intellectuals who take advantage of the existence of broadcasting media as much as possible, whether for the personal or other purposes.

Regarding the function of mass media, Ardianto further explains that television as a mass medium has three main functions: 1) Television is a medium capable to broadcast satisfying information. This is due to two factors: "Immediacy and Realism". Immediacy includes the notion of being direct and close. Broadcasting events on television can be seen and heard by audiences at the time of the events,

as if they were in the location where the events take place. Realism implies reality, where a television broadcasts audio-visual information in accordance with the facts based on reality. By carrying out its function as a means of information, in addition to broadcast information in the form of audio-visual programs or news, television also presents them with factual supporting pictures. In case of repetition, the news will be stale. 2) The function of education. As a mass medium, television is a powerful tool to simultaneously broadcast educational programs to audiences. The function of education, *i.e.*, public knowledge and reasoning, explains that television broadcasts particular occasions containing education implicitly such as films, quizzes, *etc.*, called Educational Television (ETV): an educational program inserted in the general program. Due to its potency, the function of education contained on television is often considered long-range educational means called Instruction Television. 3) The function of entertainment, inherent and dominant in television programs. Most of broadcasting time is filled by entertainment programs. This is understandable because television can display live images and sounds, and can be enjoyed even by audiences who do not understand a foreign language, or even illiterate audiences.

The concept of the function of television as a mass media is later clarified with the concept of news as a tool of analysis in this study, given the quite close relationship with the coverage in television in the election in 2014 as the research object. News is the fastest report of the latest and correct facts or ideas, interesting or important for most audiences, through periodic media such as newspapers, radio, television, internet or online media. Meanwhile, according to Deddy Iskandar Muda, news is an actual fact or idea or opinion that is interesting and accurate and is considered important for a large number of readers, listeners and viewers (Muda, 2003e: 21-22).

Meanwhile, the flow of news and information on television is the message sent by the communicators (senders), in this case the producers, directors, news reader, editors, reporters, cameramen, and other relatives, to the receivers such as large audience, through broadcast aired in accordance with the schedules or patterns of each broadcasting station.

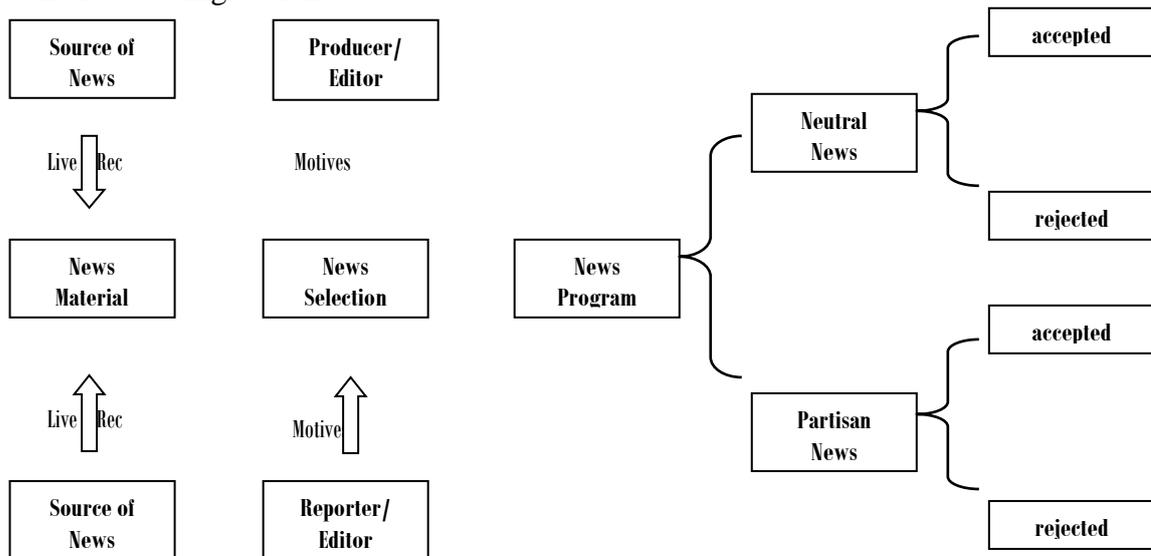


Figure 1. The Flow of News and Information

The determination of the research object is based on the purpose of this study, associated with the infotainment show on television, particularly in cases of alleged partiality or partisan journalism in television broadcasts today. Therefore, there are three research objects in this study. *First*, the object of this study is the phenomenon of the rise of partisan journalism by the press and broadcasting in Indonesia in the general election for President and Vice President in 2014, resulting in a violation of journalistic guidelines and applicable regulations. *Second*, the role of media observers and the society in assessing the reality of the matter in the press and broadcasting in Indonesia, particularly in 2014, leading to the differences even disunity and social conflict. *Third*, the role of institutions authorized to regulate the press and broadcasting regarding the violations so that the war of information is a representation of a political war between the factions of competing candidates.

Regarding the elaboration of the concept of framing and news on television as the mass media, the basic hypotheses of this study are as follows: 1) The violation and negligence of journalistic guidelines have encouraged television as mass media to carry out the concept of partisan journalism in the electoral process for President and Vice President in 2014, due to the motives of political interests as well as economic interests of politicians who own the TV station to achieve the ambition of power and the existence of particular parties, 2) media observers and society interpret the messages conveyed through television supporting particular candidates of president and vice president as a form of partiality that is not neutral. There is a tendency to accentuate one party and corner the other parties. This has led to dissatisfactions of particular audience and it is an unfavorable political education for the public. Thus, the press does not perform its functions as mandated by law, and 3) The institutions in the field of press and broadcasting, authorized to perform actions/give sanctions for violations committed by the broadcasting station in accordance with the Law, have been trying to give sanctions and even threat not to give a renewal of broadcast license for the station committing the violence.

3. Results and Discussion

Based on the field observations carried out, the findings are then categorized into four elements in observing partisan journalism in the election in 2014 in Indonesia. 1) Based on the ownership of the television station. 2) Telepolitics and partisan journalism. 3) Based on the response of the public and non-partisan observers against the partial attitude of the mass media. 4) Based on the attitude of authorized institution and sanctions for violations committed.

3.1. The Ownership of Television as Mass Medium

In 1989, President Soeharto gave the opportunity to allow the establishment of television stations with restricted broadcast channels (SST), namely Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI) owned by Bambang Trihatmodjo and Surya Citra Televisi (SCTV) whose license was given to H. M. Noer with "scramble" system. Therefore, people should pay to see the broadcasts of the private TVs. Since they were always suffered from losses, the system was finally removed and replaced with free broadcasts over the air. Later, in the period of 1990-1993, new private TV stations emerged respectively, Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia (TPI), owned by

Mrs. Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, Andalas TV (AnTV) owned by the Bakrie Group, and Indosiar Visual Mandiri (Indosiar) owned by Salim Sudono.

The reform in 1998-1999 had led to the emergence of five new private TV broadcasting stations, namely TransTV (formerly known as Mega TV, then transformed into Transformation TV), Lativi (Abdul Latif TV, later acquired by the Bakrie Group and changed into TV One), and DVN TV (Duta Visual Nusantara) as a result of the acquisition by Gramedia Group and changed into TV7. However, TV7 was taken over by Para Group and changed into Trans7. In addition, there are Global TV and Metro TV (owned by Surya Paloh, Media Indonesia Group). In many areas, there are also local TV stations. In Jakarta, there are Jak TV, O'Channel, and Spacetone TV (later taken over by the other party and changed into NetTV), and Kompas TV. In Bandung, there is Bandung TV. In Denpasar, there is Bali TV. In Yogyakarta, there are Jogja TV, RB TV, *etc.*, In other cities, particularly in the provincial capital, there are many local broadcasting stations.

Since the television media market is oligopolistic in nature, nowadays, TV media in Indonesia has been owned by large groups. MNC Business Group owned by Hary Tanoesoedibjo creates MNC TVs: former TPI, RCTI and Global TV. The group also owns Koran Sindo. Elang Mahkota Business Group owns Indosiar and SCTV. Viva News Business Group owned by Bakrie Group creates AnTV and TV One. Transcorp Business Group owned by Chairul Tanjung creates Trans TV and Trans7. The ownership of television stations by several business groups has led to respective journalistic behavior in accordance with the political ideology of the owners, leading to partisan journalism in the presidential election in June-July 2014.

3.2. Telepolitics and Partisan Journalism

Saur Hutabarat in his writing "Challenges in Maintaining and Developing Freedom of Press" (Kippas Medan Foundation September 24-25 1999 <http://kippas.wordpress.com>) writes that:

The era of reform has generated at least two important changes, namely freedom of political party and freedom of press. The result of both freedoms is partisan press. Therefore, the party should stand and may publish the press. Then, what's wrong with partisan press? Is partisan press a dilemma for the freedom of press? The answer is not simple because it is related to another freedom called free market, where people are free to buy the partisan press or not.

Mass media in Indonesia, owned largely by the cadres of political party, eventually play an important role in supporting the activities of political campaigns of its owners. The strong influence of owners of mass media makes mass media no longer neutral in reporting/broadcasting campaign issue. There is a tendency or partisanship or partisan by the business actors of media, so that "partisan journalism" resurfaces and strengthens in the political arena in Indonesia, particularly in 2014. There has been a "telepolitics" or the use of the mass media of television as a tool in politics (political machine) by politicians (owner), and also by the relatives of the editorial work who automatically share the same ideology with the owners who employ and pay them. Telepolitics can also be

interpreted as a long-distance politics, meaning a political process using television as its means.

It is important for journalists to know which areas are categorized as a violation of the coverage. The frequent violations are related to the code of ethics and code of conduct, in addition to other applicable rules in Laws and government regulations. The collection of news materials and selection processes of news or information to be displayed is a potential area for the occurrence of the violation. The conflicts of interpretation and motivation on the right of freedom of speech and press with the purpose and function of the press in a responsible free press will continue because both are related to the interests of individuals, groups and societies, influenced by political and economic interests of the media.

On the one hand, O'Brien (1979) states that people can still demand for freedom of belief (religion), speech, organization, and freedom from government oversight and public intrusion. On the other hand, according to Clancy (1976), the press has enjoyed "an almost unchecked expansion of its freedom to publish the truth or even the untruth". Mass media has enjoyed much freedom in publishing the truth or even the untruth.

Based on the observation on the situation directly, particularly preceding the election of President and Vice President for 2014-2019 with the two factions of candidates, the condition of mass media in Indonesia is also divided according to the political affiliation of the owners. Many things are considered as truth by one party, but untruth by the other party or faction of political opponents.

Meanwhile, long before the broadcasting media of television and print media are adorned with the frenzied competition of candidates for President and Vice President, Prabowo-Hatta and Jokowi-JK, the owners of the TV One and AnTV under Viva News Group, Abu Rizal Bakri, known as ARB, had also been bombarding the public through political advertisements in the form of advertising spots, public service announcements, or news that introduce themselves and their programs to the seat of RI-1. However, although the television station run by his family has been "all out" used as a political machine, with almost no day without ARB's face on the screen, it had not been able to actualize the desired target. Even so, the election result shows that Golkar Party under his lead was the second winner after PDI-P.

Referring to the opinion of Dye and Zeigler as well as Curran, the television station owned by a politician has acted as a communication tool, a discussion forum, a means of socialization and interpretation for public, political observers (read: political commentator or media intellectual), and broadcasters (the main producer, interviewer, reporter, and owner). However, it will still be partisan because as the political machine, there will be a strict selection of materials or topics to be aired, guest speakers who will be invited/talk, commentators who will be asked for opinion, host/interviewer who will guide the program, *etc.*,

The inability to reach the main target as the presidential candidate of the Golkar Party is due to the incapability to get a coalition partner leading to a transfer of support from his media to one faction of existing candidates for President and Vice President, who are considered able to receive his political orientation. Finally, the candidates of President and Vice President number 1 (Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa) obtain the support of five (5) TV stations, namely: TV One, AnTV, RCTI, MNC TV and Global TV, and newspaper *Sindo*, online media MNC Group, and the new tabloid *Obor Rakyat* containing the black campaign

against the candidates of President and Vice President number 2 (Jokowi - JK). In the other hand, the candidates of President and Vice President number 2 (Joko Widodo or Jokowi and Mohammad Jusuf Kalla or JK) are supported by Metro TV and newspaper *Media Indonesia*, *Koran Tempo*, *The Jakarta Post*, and *etc.*,

Partisan journalism also allows the estrangement between citizens in an area, RT or RW. Actual problems or issues related to the corruption of officials of political parties, human rights violation, characterization of the candidates, family conditions and biographies of the candidates, as well as the party system in Indonesia have become a broadcasting commodity as well as a political commodity. Supervision by the owner or the manager of the broadcasting media on broadcasting content and behavior of its members is quite strict. Even particular sanctions are applied. The managers of the broadcasting media are not aware that they only get the right to use regarding the frequencies that become the public domain. This means that the quite limited number of frequencies is used for the greater benefit of society, not just for the benefit of particular individuals or groups.

Observed from the marketing side or rating and shared acquisition, the television station has actually limited the reach of audience only to the supported political partisan. The managers of the media are not aware that the balance of news and information is a major concern, because the frequencies used for broadcasting are public property. The public means all citizens, not only the political public. Thus, the telepolitics accompanied by the attitude of partisan journalism undertaken by broadcasting media has large impact, so that in reality, the public has participated in each faction of political orientation.

3.3. The Response of Public and Non-Partisan Observers Against the Partial Attitude of Mass Media

Public response via interactive television broadcasting, radio broadcasting, and printed media, as well as online media and social media were quite diverse. However, since not all of audiences agree with the attitude of partisan journalism carried out vulgarly by both television stations, the response generally corrects the actions considered violating the rules. Public anxiety over the political behavior and partisan journalism of the mass media, particularly TV One and Metro TV reached its peak. There was a petition with signatures for the revocation of broadcast licenses of two television stations broadcasting information about the election in 2014 via the website [change.org](http://www.change.org). ([Http://www.republika.co.id/berita/pemilu/hot-politic/14/07/13](http://www.republika.co.id/berita/pemilu/hot-politic/14/07/13)). Teuku Kemal Fasya, a resident of Lhokseumawe, Aceh, filed a petition asking KPI and Kemenkominfo (Minister of Communication and Informatics) to revoke the broadcast license of TV One, while Indonesian Transformation Community proposes revocation of broadcast license of Metro TV.

According to Teuku, TV One does not only violate the terms of broadcasting, but also offends the main principles of the election by giving a false report about Gallup survey. He said that the television owned by Aburizal Bakrie has created troubling opinion about the danger of communism that discredits presidential candidate number 2, Joko Widodo. TV One is also accused of broadcasting a quick count of presidential election in July 9, 2014 from an institution of unaccountable methodology.

There is a large number of feedback and public opinion as well as organizations and associations of the press and the broadcasting regarding the political attitudes and faction of the two television stations, including the MNC Group. Some said "Save TV One and Metro TV", some asked KPI and the Ministry of Communications to revoke the broadcast license. Since 2009, reform has led to the liberalization of the market. Competition becomes unhealthy. The war of framing between the broadcasting media presented vulgarly and without guilt has violated the code of ethics and code of conduct of broadcasting.

According to Ashadi Siregar, the presidential election in 2014 has led to the crisis of two professions, namely journalists and researchers. According to him (*Kompas*, August 11, 2014: 6), basically journalists and researchers have epistemic similarity, namely objectivity, trust-based objectivity (credibility). Politicians have pragmatically taken advantage of the work of journalists and researchers for their respective interests. Media partisanship is gradual instead of absolute. Nevertheless, the condition of political year in 2014 is regarded as a greatly critical time for journalists and researchers.

On several occasions, the author conducted a dialogue with some of the residents, two of whom is Informant 1 (Mr. Rusni) as a cadre and supporter of candidates number 1 Prabowo - Hatta and Informant 2 (Mr. Suherli) as a supporter of candidates number 2 Jokowi-JK. In principle, their assessment of the candidates whom they support is different. Informant 1 mentions many positive aspects and abilities of Prabowo-Hatta if elected as President and Vice President. On the other hand, he mentions many downsides and less positive aspects of Jokowi-JK and consider they are not suitable to be President and Vice President. However, Informant 2 states otherwise. The candidate number 1 has violated human rights. They are temperament and incompetent in taking care of their families, leading to a question of their ability in ruling a country. They adopt a model of the New Order, and so on. Meanwhile, the candidates number 2 are considered honest, simple, populist, capable to bring changes, and so on.

In terms of watching the news or talk shows on television, Informant 1 prefers to watch TV One, RCTI, Global TV and MNC TV. Meanwhile, Informant 2 says that broadcasts of TV One are too one-sided and only presents negative news about Jokowi-JK. In other hand, Metro TV broadcasts positive news about Jokowi-JK. Therefore, he prefers to watch Metro TV than TV One. However, they state that sometimes they get bored with both TV stations and prefer to watch entertainment such as singing contests, movies or soap operas.

3.4. The Attitude of Authorized Institute and Sanctions for Violations Committed

Based on the results of monitoring and the number of complaints from citizens, either directly to the KPI or through the internet and social media, KPI has given a warning in particular to TV One and Metro TV to not violate the applicable laws, government regulations, P3SPS, as well as regulations by KPU. Both stations are asked to be neutral instead of siding with one of candidates for President and Vice President. KPI regards that the partisanship of the TV stations has crossed the limit. KPI suggests that the accumulation of sanctions for violations committed by TV One and Metro TV should make the government, in this case the Ministry of Communications and Informatics (Kemen-Kominfo), consider not renewing the broadcast licenses of the two broadcasting stations. The partiality of television

stations owned by politicians of political party has occurred since 2011, particularly in the elections of legislative members, local government, president and vice president.

The KPI states that the violation or interference by media owners or other particular parties may be subjected to criminal sanctions in accordance with Article 18 of the Law concerning the Press, namely a maximum imprisonment of two years and a maximum fine of IDR 500 million (*Koran Tempo*, July 9, 2014: 10). On June 9, 2014, KPI explained that KPI had given a warning to Metro TV and TV One related to the violation of the protection of the public interest and neutrality in the content of the broadcast of journalistic program at news about the candidates of President and Vice President in Presidential Election in 2014. KPI evaluated both violations based on total duration, number of frequencies and tone (tendency) of the news to find out the implementation of principles of broadcast of journalistic program, in particular the principle of equitable and balanced reporting on the object (RG; <http://www.kpi.go.id/index.php/10/06/2014>).

According to Judha, KPI has sent a warning letter No.1225/K/KPI/05/14 on May 30, 2014 to broadcasting stations including TV One and Metro TV so that they pay attention to the neutrality of broadcast content stipulated in Article 36 paragraph (4) of Law on Broadcasting, Article 14 paragraph (4) PP 50 of 2005 and the principles of journalism stipulated in P3 and SPS. In addition, on June 2, 2014, KPI and Indonesian Press Council had submitted a joint statement about the independence of the broadcasting media, in which conveys their findings of indicated violations of the principles of independence and tendency to take advantage of the news for the interests of particular groups in the television station. KPI asks Metro TV and TV One not to commit violation given that KPI has made every effort so that all broadcast ring stations comply with the legislation and P3 and SPS, particularly in terms of maintaining the protection of public interest and neutrality of the broadcast content. It is also confirmed in a letter of reprimand to both television stations that KPI will recommend to the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology to evaluate the respective Broadcast License (IPP) in case the similar violation is committed.

Since both stations are considered still commit violation, the call to the editor in chief is carried out for dialogue in order to find solutions so that no violations of the public sphere and applicable regulations will occur again. Although it is evident that their broadcast content contains violation, they deny it. They state that what has been done is in accordance with the regulations and they have tried to be neutral. KPI has given twice written notice, but both the stations in question still ignore the notice. KPI considers that TV One and Metro TV are not worthy to be called as a television station. Partiality in broadcasting can lead to conflicts in society, particularly for the partisan fanatic on political choices. Therefore, KPI has sent recommendation to the Ministry of Communications so that the broadcast licenses of both TV stations will not be renewed.

Due to warnings and recommendations by KPI as well as the decision by Constitutional Court that Jokowi-JK are the elected President and Vice President, Metro TV and TV One start to relent in the coverage. It can be seen that informants from opposite faction are invited in the discussions presented by both stations. News about Jokowi-JK has been presented positively though still punctuated with partisan attitude.

4. Conclusion

Looking at the description of the research findings, it can be concluded that the theory of phenomenology and framing are suitable to be applied in the discussion of research findings. What happened in the past Pileg and Pilpres in 2014 is a reflection of the condition of the society, particularly political parties and politicians, portraying how power is greatly important. Lust for power and position as the ruler has made each political faction uses the mass media as a political machine. It shows that the freedom of media, expression, speech or comment, and the market has enlightened the society but also has disturbed social and cultural life of the society.

It can be seen that capitalism of media through the framing of news and information has generated a new phenomenon in the world of broadcasting and press. Many things are neither appropriate nor newsworthy yet forced to be aired in order to fulfill the lust for power. Many idle boasts and political charades appear on television, delivered by faces that want to exist yet do not have sufficient capacity and competence. Life of media has become a phenomenon, where they have been held hostage by framing that they make, limiting themselves to few truths and a large number of untruths, and often confusing the society.

The number of complaints given by citizens to KPI and Indonesian Press Council directly or through a network of social media is a reflection of public disapproval and rejection of the partisan attitude of the broadcasting media. However, the managers and owners of the media will stick to their principle, despite the fact that they have been controlled by the new capitalist system and they have been a means of propaganda violating applicable regulations.

However, when this political phenomenon will last? Changes in the political situation and the attitude of the society will always be dynamic, but the society can develop skepticism and apathy due to the boredom of political shows all this time. This study then formulates some suggestions to address this issue.

- a. First, every broadcasting institution should comply with applicable rules and regulations particularly regarding the impartial and unbiased news, and does not violate the code of ethics and code of conduct as contained in P3 & SPS.
- b. Second, the authorized institutions should give strict sanctions for violations against the applicable regulations, be responsive, and do not depend on the emergence of the society's anxiety.
- c. Third, the society can file a complaint together, in coordinated and massive manner, through all means particularly social media, to urge the concerned station to improve the journalistic behavior or to urge the government to impose sanctions in accordance with the level of violation.
- d. Fourth, a seminar or workshop is necessary to conduct on a regular basis to be attended by the business actors of media to constantly remind them about the regulations and the code of ethics and code of conduct of broadcasting.
- e. Fifth, the managers of the mass media should be aware of the functions of mass media as a means of enlightenment to the society to improve living standards and maintain integrity of Indonesia.

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