

Politicalainment in the Compartment Politic of *Republika*

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Abstract

Industrial era of mass media is signed by the change of the climate of information freedom, soon after the ruin of 'New Era'; mass media underwent a lot of changing. The most significant influence for mass media industrial change is the change of the format and contain of the political news. Through the Politicalainment research, the researcher wants to examine how the political information does is served pragmatically. This research is being used setting agenda strategy to examine the main issues which are constructed by political compartment of *Republika* daily newspaper. Qualitative approach is used to examine the reflection of press work deeply through political compartment of *Republika* daily newspaper. The climate of the industry, actually, creates the format of the news as the part of the changing rate of rupiah value, takes place comodification practice of political news in this kind of situation. Basically, politic news is an effort to build powerful social realization and political knowledge.

Key words: comodification, agenda setting, political compartment.

Background of the research

After the reformation era, our political climate became more democratically, it was followed by mass media behaviors which are more transparent and more compromise with the market of mass media. This indication can be shown from some news which existed before general Election of the District Head and Legislative General Election. Some national mass media were very unceasing to promote the power of political candidates which had celebrities as the partner. The discourse of celebrities who became politician is more popular because the role of mass media for constructing their image.

In this transparent system, popularity becomes the most important pre- criteria who want to be the candidate of the public politician or the member of legislature house. In this context, public figures are believed having big popularity. Celebrities here consist of all of the public figures who exist in the mass media, such as actors, actresses, singers, or popular models.

Rano Karno and Dede Yusuf who won the General election of the District Head, they became

the vice of the Head Regent of Tangerang and the Vice of West Java Governor, prove the thesis. Popularity and protagonist roles both of them in many films and cinema electronic obviously can carry on the citizens for them. The citizen's belief is higher because there are many people who were desperate with the work of the previous district head from politicians, entrepreneurs, armies and governments who had fail to struggle the citizens aspiration.

The involving of mass media to construct the image of celebrities in political field is the part of the effort in superficial political information. From the result of surface analysis which is examined by the researcher, the involving national mass media to spread the information of political role of the celebrities are the part of commercialism political practice which must be educated. Political and economical problem in a country is not easy to be over come just only by popularity. To overcome this problem, it is needed a competency, credibility, and integrity of the capability of a politician.

The discourse of celebrities politician which inform by many of the national mass media, one of

them is *Republika*, become an interesting issue for the researcher to examine how far is the practice of politicalainment the political news in our press industry. Definitely, the result of this research is not able to result the generalization the role of the mass media. The small part of this research means to make the conscious the citizens of how big is the influence of mass media for public opinion. The power of mass media obviously can build the image of a celebrity to pull people's sympathy as its constituent. It proves by there are small number of celebrities who elected the general election during the period of 2009-2014.

Political Information Dynamic

A communication which is taken place through mass media generally has two important functions, that is the function toward the society and the function toward individual. Both of the functions influence each other and it can be spelled out in process of the formulation, sending and receiving the message of the mass media. Mass media publishes the information and the result of the publishing information. Mass media have four significant roles toward the society, that is becoming social superintendent, correlation of some parts in the society to assess its environment, socialization or heredity the social value and entertainment (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991: 24-25).

Successfulness of the celebrities who win in some general election or becoming the member of the parliament becomes a new interesting power for the celebrities recently. This step of the celebrities can be understood because there was a prelude from the previous celebrities. Most of the big parties surely put popular celebrities for their legislature list.

Nevertheless, this condition which arises recently because of the number of political parties and the legislative candidate who become the

member of political parties cause socialization process by the media blurred the value of political education. This phenomenon is signed by arousing the information of celebrities' information who becomes the member of political party which directs the journalism product to be more pragmatically.

Through this study, the researcher ant to examine some practices of the mass media using its transition function when serve the information of the process to strengthen somebody's image symbolically.

Even though, those media claim to be neutral (fair coverage) to serve the information and try to cover both side, practically, it is difficult to be applied. The ideology of each mass media is difficult to be ignored from the contain of the information which is served (Gurevitch, 1982: 263).

Besides its ability to witchcraft its readers, according to Gamson and Mondigliani (Sudibyo, 2001, p. 187), media can also become the application of truth worthiness standard, objectivity matrixes, and particular ethics limitation to cultivate and serve the information. The journalists are even able to limit or interpret some comments from the source of the information, and give different information among one source and other sources, furthermore, it packs a discourse by using a particular perspective, language style, rhetorical and common sense as they want to make. The journalists are commonly create their arguments by using their own language style, and distribute some rhetorical to strengthen their willing to support any public figure.

According to Sudibyo, the character of the journalists to report the process of general election which give some rules of the quality and it must have by a professional journalist. Every occupation which tends to link with journalistic activity must have a deep understanding toward general election. Critical

behavior becomes one of the characters of general election report; this character is anticipating and showing every potency of general election violation moreover toward political promises of the candidates. One of the other rules of the journalist in the general election is giving political education. To produce some information which have a good political education, a journalist must attain a broad knowledge about politic (Sudibyoy, 2004: 21-25).

Journalist's competency in general election is very significant, since general election of the year 2004 had used different system from the previous general election. Furthermore, there are many sides which have relationship with journalism occupation had not understood this new system. It can be proven by there are many law products which regulate the general election system. They are General Election Regulations, Political Parties Regulations, Regulation of the Role and Arrangement of Legislative Members, Regulation of president and Vice-president Election and some other regulation which have relationships with general election. A broad understanding of these matters will help the journalist to produce high quality information. Nevertheless, the condition which rises recently linked by the number of political parties and the candidates of the parliament causes socialization process through the media blurred the value of political education. This phenomena is signed by arouse of the celebrities information as the candidates of the parliament which makes the journalistic products into the information of politicalainment.

Through this study, the researcher wants to examine the process of the practices in mass media using its transmission function when serving the information to strengthen symbolic icon to somebody's figure. This study also examines how far

is the manifestation politicalainment role will be more interesting than the political information.

Compartment Politic in Comodification Theory

In the context of the relationship among countries and media institution, economic political communication perspective has board significance especially if it is linked by the possession and the control of mass media, both internally and externally. Generally, these matters are linked by consolidation process; diversification, commercialization and internalization upon the process of earning great advantage and searching the advertisement, so it becomes the consideration of political economy and media becomes the main factor to get the appropriate contain and practice of the media (Barret, 1995:186).

Recently, mass media is able to serve itself as a significant discourse which also influences social dynamic, politics and culture both locally and globally. Mass media is also able to be an important mediator among countries and their citizens. It is obvious that media does not only run its social function but also brings economical function and even political ideology. Because of that, it is not too abundant if Golding and Murdock (Sudibyoy, 2004: 2) stood that for doing the analysis toward mass media does not only need economical approach but also political approach.

In the first of the building era mass media only run its function as a social institution which had a main role to serve public interests. During its change, mass media institution brought many changing of idealism, so there is some opinions that mass media has changed its function, it does not only become social institution but also become economical and political institution.

The change of its function is caused by mass media business needs great capital. The high of the

capital which must be provided to run this business can be seen obviously from the first capital and the asset of some national mass media in Indonesia. The example is to publish *Republika* daily newspaper, at that time, had sold 1 million exemplar of the share and each of them is 4000 rupiahs, so the total income needed was 40 billion rupiah. It also happened with a weekly magazine *Tempo* which was closed by the government, when the liquidation process had value up to 200 billion rupiahs. It is more obvious in the broadcasting industry, to build a simple production house, the owner must have a half until a billion rupiahs, while for more modern production house needs about 25 billion up to 50 billion rupiahs. For broadcasting industry, the first investment which must be spent is up to more than one trillion (Siregar, 2001: 50).

Golding and Murdock as quoted by Barret and Newbold (1995: 203), the claim of high capital to build media industry takes place a lot in almost the whole of the country in the world. In England, for example, when private television begun to start in 1954, the capital needed was 3 million pound sterling and four years later it increased up to 8 million pound sterling.

The claim of high capital causes mass media both printed paper and broadcasting has become a particular entry barrier which limiting the entry of a new media runner. As the result, the owner of the media only concentrates toward a group of people who have a great support. When the need of capital has been fulfilled, so there will be some effort to search the biggest profit from the investment becomes the goal of the management. The competition among the media are difficult to be avoided, and the turn is the idealism of the media which is only for public service has bought only for the sake of profitability. Generally, the products of

the media will be metamorphosed become not more than a commodity which only measured by how much is the profit is gained. In this stage, all of the subject and topic from the news and information will become co modification.

As the result, the owner of the media is believed as the most important factor to influence for shaping and controlling the media. A certainty that ownership has a significant role is not only just a Marxism theory but also becoming an normal axiom as becoming 'the second law journalism' which is stated by Altschull that is "the content of the media always reflect the interest of those who finance them" (McQuail's, 2000:198).

The use of the term "those finance them" can be articulated to be many stands. Considering the source of capital in a media generally from many sources, it can be private individual fund, government, political parties, public, conglomerations, institution or advertisements. Almost the entire owner of the capital stands from the profit of their investment.

As a result, editorial independence policy becomes a "luxurious" thing for the media. By the existence of the capital, the whole of the products and the symbols must be standardized, homogenized, co modify for mass consumption. (Lovell 1994: .467) states that "cultural production shares features with all capitalist commodity production, and the most appropriate starting point of a Marxist analysis of cultural production might be Marx's own categories for the analysis of capitalist commodity production. These are use-value, value exchange, surplus value and commodity fetishism.

Values from the commodity do not depend on the advantage but it is inherent by the number of working hour which has been used to produce it. The money which is used is a value measurement.

Capitalist commodity production is interested as only in the production of surplus value (Lovell, 1994: 468). The result which exists is media threat everything as commodities. Not only the popularity, loyalty, body and also great political value change into media commodities.

In addition, the pattern of ownership and control toward media can be the object of the study economic media and it also becomes the main focus of political economic approach. (Barret 1995:186) states that the term of political economics in the study of media has 'critical' understanding in the board context and it is often socialized by macro question of the ownership media and its control or another factors which involve media industry and another media that is between political economics factor and social elite.

Similar opinion also delivered by (McQuails, 2000: 218-221), states that political economics theory is an social critique approach which focuses to the relationship of economics structure and media industry dynamic and also the ideology of its content. The research which used political economics perspective generally gives its attention to empirical analysis to the structure of the ownership the capital and the control of the media by using the power of media operation.

Meanwhile, in order to explain the term of this political economics, Mosco (in Boyd Barret & Newbold 1995, p.186) defines using micro term that “political economy is the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption resources, including communication resources”, and its macro definition is “the study of control and survival in social life”.

By consider the whole of those theories, it can be concluded that political economy perspective

is a study which is used to reveal some social relationship, economy and politics, especially all matters that have link with the power which control, shape, and influence the media both of the production and distribution.

The effort to examine comodification practice is done by using political economy approach from Mosco's point of view. General comodification becomes the integrity part of the content of comodification to support the survival of media institution. The practice toward the value of certain culture and the relationship will strengthen the content so that the involvement becomes the consideration mutually. Social comodification aggregates some criteria for the main matter, which is the advantage to the media because the process places the media in the main purpose of its capital profit.

Content of co modification is understood as the process to change the message from a group of data to the system of meaning and its distribution becomes the focus of this study. To draw the line of content comodification in this study is based on exposure manifestation practice toward celebrities who change their role to be politicians only for commercialization in political education. As a result, the practice of mass media as pragmatic manifestation and actualization from commercial value which emphasize on the celebrities and the commodity can be understood as very strategic co modification process. Generally, the article of mass media is published as the same part as commercial advertisement in one sell-able package.

Research Method

Research method used in this study is qualitative method. According to Lindolf (1995: 21) this kind of research tries to explore human behavior and its content and tries to reveal the quality

inside. Behavior, in Lindolf perspective, is assumed as the behavior of mass communicator which involved in the construction process of political issues. The narration of the result of this study is served by using descriptive technique.

In order to be able to catch the relationship between media and politics, the study emphasizes on the frequency of the report during 12 February 2007 until 27 March 2009. Observation becomes part of data collection technique; while to dig the information, I used the content of the source that took place by seeing the agenda setting toward society that always changed during general election. There were some considerations that were taken. Technically, the period of campaign season has given political communication research based on some settings of the event. Firstly, political dynamics shows more obvious activity; this situation is more interesting to explore. Secondly, the competition among candidates - actor, politicians - and political power was more transparent. It would be easier to follow through mass media. Thirdly, media has intensive attention toward political activity; it causes the media to get involve in political activity toward one parts of the political power as information source.

Analysis

In order to obtain the desired analysis, the research was focused on political news compartment in 'Republika' daily newspaper which had relationship with politician celebrities. Text of the information is used as the analysis of the data because it is the reflection of the condition which is reconstructed by media.

The first stage was selecting the content sources. Content sources were selected by seeing agenda setting toward society that tended to change every time general election took place. Technically,

this period of time gives easier situation for conducting political communication research based on some event reasons. First, political dynamic shows real activity, this situation is more interesting to be investigated. Second, competition among the candidates, actors, politicians, and political power is more transparent so it is easier to follow through mass media. Third, media has intensive attention toward political activity; it causes potency of mass media to get involved in the political activity of one of the political power which actually becomes part of mass media reporting.

Selection of the content source from the first stage technically started from the first publication (1993). By investigating the documents, in this stage; the researcher did not find any articles suitable with the indicator, which is political news that creates celebrities as politicians. Starting from reformation era, I focused on investigating the data using the sample of news in the period 2007. During this year there were general elections to choose the head of District directly. The next stage is selecting the news from each political compartment the chosen year. Selection of the edition is caused by some consideration in the relation of the accurate of the matter.

'Republika' daily newspaper is chosen in this study due to its unique historical background. *Republika* daily newspaper was pioneered by Indonesian Moslem Scientist Organization. *Republika* defines himself as the only one Moslem newspaper in Indonesia. Based on the surface analysis, there is a pretention that involved with political activity toward one of the political power in the research of *Republika* daily newspaper.

Basically, in constructing political news which contained the role of celebrities, every media cannot be separated by its historical background, social culture, economy, and political factors which

had a relationship with previous tradition. Obviously, the information served by *Republika* daily newspaper recently creates many changing entering the change of the owner.

This change is also influenced by freedom of political situation and the development of national pres that on one side starts to take side for a particular political power. On another side, press industry era starts to change the ideology of the media and compromise to the market profit. This condition is reflected by some of the parties were started to advertize their parties in *Republika* daily newspaper. The proportion of the political news, actually, can be reflected during campaign season.

The change of Political News Compartment

According to the literature review and the observation toward some national mass media, during the season of general election, almost all of our mass media serve a particular rubric about politics. This particular rubric is served to give complete information about the development of

political candidates, campaign schedule, political parties' programs, coalition power, result of the interview, election polling, figure of politicians,

and most all of these news will always exist almost every day.

Besides of those report and particular package program which become the agenda of mass media, the society also gains the information of political parties and general election toward political advertisement. This political advertisement has the format of Social Advertisement Service and purely political advertisements. Generally, the advertisements are published by paper media. The cost of the big advertisement political advertisement is done by some big political parties (Golkar, Demokrat, PKS, PDIP and Gerindra). Mostly, these parties put the advertisement in the mass media; both published in the capital city (Jakarta) and local newspaper. Here it is the cost of the advertisement which is collected by Nielsen in 2008 -2009:

According to Nielsen Media Indonesia research, in 2008, there were 2.2 trillion rupiah of the fund for campaign party and the publication of government work obtainment. The cost of political advertisement and government rises significantly about 66% than in 2007 (1.32 trillion rupiahs). The cost of the advertisement is reflected by this table.

Advertisement cost for periode 2008-2009

Advertisement source	Total advertisement
Partai Demokrat	15,5 billion
Gerindra	8 billion
Golkar	5 billion
PKS	2 billion
PDIP	1,5 billion

Printed Mass Media	Television	Magazines
Advertisement cost for political purpose is 1.31 trillion rupiahs spread in 93 printed mass media both national and local.	Advertisement cost for political purpose is 862 billion rupiahs spread in 19 televisions both national and local	Advertisement cost for political purpose is 86 billion rupiahs spread in 151 national magazines

The released data from Business Development Nielsen Media Research in Jakarta on 20 January 2009 states that most of the allocation cost for mass media is 1.31 trillion rupiahs. This amount is greater than the cost of political advertisement and government advertisement through the television (which is only 862 million rupiahs). The rest, 86 million rupiahs is cost for magazine advertisement. Those data show that there are many local newspapers enjoy the political advertisement from the cost of the candidate of parliament members. The cost of the advertisement rises 181 percent from 64 billion (2007) to 180 billion rupiahs.

'Democrat' party cost about 15.5 billion rupiahs each month, and Gerindra (8 billion), Golkar (5 billion), PKS (2 billion), and PDIP (1.5 billion). There were 93 mass media, 19 television stations, and 151 magazines had enjoyed the cost of political advertisement and government advertisement. The cost of political advertisement will be more intensive similar with "Political year of 2009" by having two agendas of general election those are general election for the parliament and for the president. This situation causes sharper political advertisement battle.

The messages of the political advertisements are basically divided into two characteristics. This separation depends on who put those political advertisements. The research from 'Republika' daily newspaper states that if the institution/ person who

put the advertisement does not come from political party the political message includes (1) the description of general election as the part of democratic articulation, (2) political message to use the right to vote according to people's belief. If the advertisement put by a certain political party, there are two characterization of (1) socialization of strengthen the symbol and the number of the party, (2) persuasive message to the society to choose the party.

If it is carefully observed, in *Republika* daily newspaper contains the information of the number and the wide of the space to publish that political advertisement. Our national mass media mostly tell the readers about big political party meanwhile, the smaller political party only gat smaller portion for it. In the relation of the way and the quality, the researcher found some differences of appreciation for each political party moreover to the reported candidates. Politician celebrities figure, not all of them, are reported by *Republika*. Political party which has consonant ideology with *Republika* has a bigger portion to be reported. The result is only few celebrities who follow certain political party which has the same ideology as *Republika* will get the appreciation of their campaign.

According to the research, newspaper as the media by more space and time serves the euphoria of the event than the substantial purpose. Data shown that the popularity of someone or the figure of the party seems having more interest to *Republika* daily

newspaper to be the material of the news. Previously, the research had done an analysis of the surface to some of national newspaper. The result shows that political news report with celebrities is the news performed better by *Republika* than other mass media.

The Practice of Exchange Rate at Political Compartment

During the economic crisis in 1998, the circulation of *Republika* daily newspaper was 216.762 copies (IPPN Social Department). According to the result of the study by *Republika* daily newspaper and A. C. Nielsen in 1999/2000, there had been a decrease of circulation as well as the decrease of advertisement, especially during the period of January – September 1997.

During the campaign period of general election of head of districts, *Republika* directly gained significant improvement started from 2007 – 2009. From the analysis of the data, there were approximately 10 political parties that put their ads in *Republika* daily newspaper. Mostly put general colorful display. For instance was the advertisement of Golkar in the daily which published on 20 March 2009. The ad was nearly 1 full page and its cost was 3,196,800. The calculation assumption of one kind of the general display advertisement in minimum size 450 mmc (millimeter column) cost 48,000 rupiahs. A page of *Republika* newspaper is similar as 500 mm x 6 columns (30,000 mmc) it means that the cost that must be spent 30,000: 450 x 48,000 rupiahs so the advertisement cost by its political party is 3, 196,800 rupiahs.

There were about a hundred of similar advertisements during a year. From its calculation, it can be counted that the part of advertisement got 319, 680, 000 million rupiahs during a year, this value still increased until the campaign season of

president election. This number had not added by column of the advertisement of the legislative candidates black and white type it is about 200 advertisement columns a year which was publisher every day. The calculation of this advertisement is 200 pointed by the value of the advertisement 16,000 rupiahs so the total is 3,200,000 rupiahs. This value is pointed by the publish value during 365 days; the final result is 1, 168, 000, 000. The analysis of this surface calculation will still change when campaign season comes, so the demand of advertisement tends to increase. The market law is increasing the advertisement standard as the mechanism to balance editorial portion which publish advertized candidates. Proportionally mechanism between the management and the editorial sometimes needs polemical discussion between market economical demand and journalist idealism.

According to Lili Romli, a political researcher, the main cause of celebrities who becme politician is not a new thing in our democracy system. Moreover, the success of some previous actor and actress who become the member of government or member of parliament create a momentum for them to be politicians. This trend increased before 2009 General Election. The success of Dede Yusuf became the Vice Governor of West Java province and Rano Karno as the Vice of Head District of Tangerang motivated other celebrities to join the political arena.

The construction of politician celebrities figure cannot be separated from the role of mass media to grow the social sympathy; Romli states that the role of mass media in the society is very significant. Through mass media people can be so popular, but at the same time gain bad image. Mass media, obviously, creates an opinion and it is able to influence many people to lead their own choices. As

the result, Romli states it is very irony that mass media change its function as a partisan (LIPI, 29 May 2009).

According to Romli, it is a pragmatic for the political party to use the principles of commercialization of celebrities' figures. Romli argues that the shape of its instant recruitment, the shape of very bad recruitment for political party. These political parties choose a short cut to take the authority; they do not want to work hard; they do not want to spent bigger fund. They had taken advantage of popular figures to be the politicians. As a consequence, the result is immature politician (LIPI, 29 May 2009).

Popularity has become the biggest criteria to attract society. By using this figure strategy, artists can easily advertize themselves to the social service advertisement or implicit advertisement of political party. This arena is beneficial to be used in the political arena. Social activity has become a big momentum for artists to sell their popularity symbol and announce their political party affiliation to their constituents. Generally, this reality obtains some reports from mass media, especially for those who take place in political compartment.

Press and Industrial Sphere

Press relation with business field cannot be separated from the change of the Press Act No.11/1966 jo No. 4/1967 which later became the Press Act No.21/1982. This change signaled a new era of Indonesian press. The relationship of press industry was not only in the political field, but also in the business field as stated in the Pres Act. The act discussed issues such as pres license (chapter 13, 5th verse) and the regulation of advertisement (6th verse).

Management of the press in the business format was more condensed by the launch of the Decree of Minister of Information No. 1/Per/Menpen/1984.

This decree regulated how to obtain press license. The regulation was later strengthened by the letter of Minister of Information No. 214A/Kep/Menpen/1984. This was the early stage of press industry to manage its business in the industrial scale. The consequence of violating this verse was the ban of journalists who ignored the license of their industry.

After the change of Old Order era to New Order era which is more liberal, Indonesian press which was popular known as "political press" or "struggle press", quickly changed into "industrial press". Borrowing Dedi N. Hidayat's term (Democracy Journal and Human Rights, Vol.1, No.1, 2000); the press had changed into capitalist venture which had a function to increase the value of surplus commodity that was produced from some industrial factors, such as advertisement service. As a result, press is an important economic institution which directly gives the contribution toward the development of economy during the new era.

The long struggle of the press to become a business enterprise cannot be separated from the government role. Ironically, the change that the press experienced was from intellectual institution to production institution. The change of the New Order Era to Reformation Era did not give significant influence toward the structure of press industry. The fact that pres is more consolidated in the media conglomeration. The reformation creates the structure of press industry which is safer for the media institution. The erased of the business license by Social Minister Yunus Yosfiah during BJ Habibie era brings goodness to the entrepreneurs from the banned of the company.

More positive market mechanism toward the press occurred when President Abdurrahman Wahid disbanded Department of Information in 2000. The

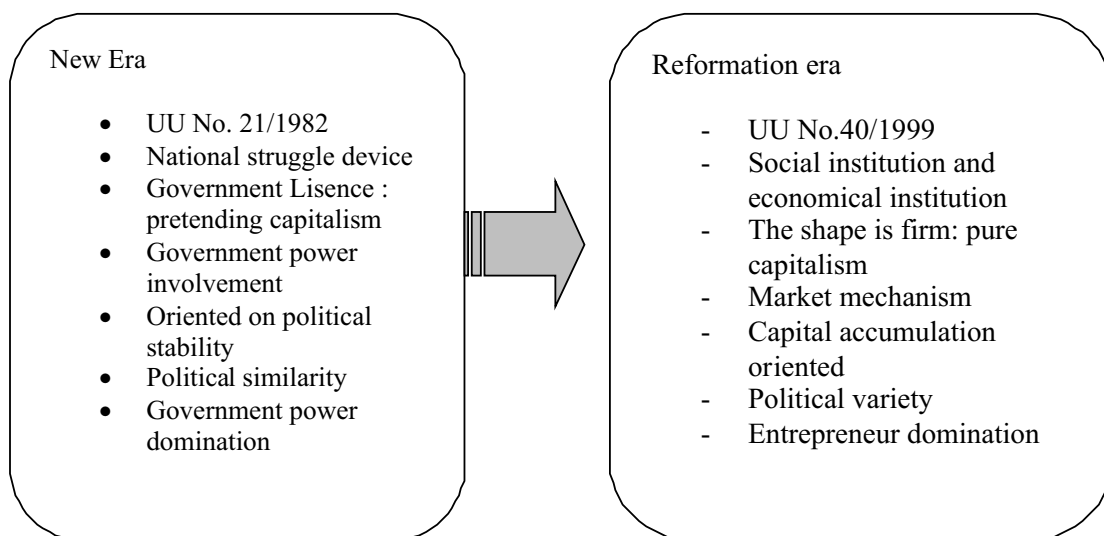
egalitarian behavior of Gus Dur government opened the transparent of the pres toward foreign capital. It is an irony for the society when communication industry tries to be dominant through capital expansion with the aim to consolidate the power and centralize the conglomerate capital. Public space for idealism dimension which has a lot of information of education and social control becomes drowning.

This nervousness was reflected by Sutrisno (1998:100) which portrays a big opportunity for Indonesian pres in the business area after obtaining its freedom from political shadows. Consequently, this condition had created a new problem that is the freedom from capital ownership. The effort of the pres upon political pressure had changed the press to become the printing machine of money to strengthen some media conglomerates.

The change of Press Act No.21/1982 to Press Act No.40/1999 completes the market system in national pres industry. Practically, this regulation only moves the center of press power, from powerful supremacy to entrepreneur will. In the deep structure and practically, the Act No.40/1999 gives an opportunity toward press industry. It can be examined from the verses proportion of the regulation. In the 1st verse, there are 5 verses that

include Press Company (2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, and 7th verses). Other parts also state those economic institutions which exist in 3rd chapter, 2nd verse. This label shows the change of those values (adapted from Hamad, 2004: 68): Reformation era pretends to open the freedom of information as the indicator of the growth of inherent democratic climate by stronger market demand in press industry. The regulation of the sub-chapter and its verses can be seen in Press Act No.40/1999. It can be interpreted as the formula which oriented to the economical aspect.

By examining eight celebrities who were able to take part in the parliament in the period of 2009-2014, Romli emphasized that media has a prominent role to make them go along to the election. In contrast, media as becoming imperative function for public market has to give its control of their work; Romli states that he saw the media started the issues. Media makes the celebrities very popular and hyperbole their figure. Because of this, if the media started to make them popular, finally media must give a criticism of the celebrities work and critiques toward what the celebrities have done. Media has to give a criticism, balance, must be responsible for it. Those are the morality roles of mass media, does not become lullaby to report



another issue. This is a warning that joining to the political field must be so serious (LIPI, 29 May 2009).

Romli saw that the superficial political information does not only exist in media industry but also become one of social point of view which developed within society. Moreover, it can occur because society does not have a high level of social rationalism. One of the cause is due to the condition of the society that still relates with poverty. Poverty creates low political point of view and literacy.

In the level of the media, Romli argues that practically, *Republika* discourse in political information remains the same as its real fact. The fact is that there is a pragmatic issue between political parties and mass media. The practice of *Republika* related to the demand of the market place, because its readers are mostly Moslem, moreover by the fact that Deddy Mizwar who delegates by Islamic party gets free advertisement by the publicity of *Republika*. Lately, this symptom creates negative response for the readers. Romly argues that there will be negative opinion of Islamic party which delegates celebrities to be the member of its party. The implication of these issues is anti-behavior toward the party. People will automatically select when they have to choose their delegation but the fact just only for the sake of popularity. Political issues by using the pattern of *Republika* create the disappointment of the society. People who remain keeping their idealism will be disappointed by these phenomena.

Conclusion

The real fact of our national mass media to construct the politician celebrities cannot be separated from the historical background of the pres which move from struggle mass media into industrial mass media. The fact that there are some celebrities who

can be able to join to the parliamentary member also cannot be separated by mass media construction. Probably, this symptom is never examined carefully. It happens because pres is usually seen as the construction of public opinion. On the other hands, the function of mass media in the society can be also seen as the indicator of social life. Generally, political index only stands to the relationship between pres media and the power of the government. But the real fact is there is a strong relationship between pres media and the capital owner. The capital owner can be defined as the one who put the advertisement, the owner of the capital and the founding father of the institution. When the economic logic mostly dictates to the work of journalism so the function of the pres in the society can be used as social indicator.

In a normal social life, the society uses mostly mass media to fulfill the political and social pragmatic effort. When the biggest role of the media just only fulfills the psychic effort, there will incomplete value in that social life. The issues of its politician celebrities become a starting point that there is a practice to push mass media to fulfill the interest of capital owner. In order to make it clear for the whole of the matter above, it can be concluded that:

1. *Republika* growth when the national pres industry was trying to overcome some national problems. Mostly related to the stuck of mass media circulation recently. Moreover, about the proportion of advertisement which is sucked by other media, especially private television and the invasion of international newspaper and magazine which produced by better technology (its speed and actualization). Furthermore, the price is depressed by global scale production.

2. Because that fact, journalists usually blame the society as the source. When the circulation of mass media decrease, the one which blamed is the low rate and low demand of the society, especially after the development of the television. Or apologetically, mass media stands that they are becoming paralytic because they keep their idealism. The idealism dimension often place in the position of diametric and commercial dimension. Actually, in a certain degree, idealism is a pre-requirement which is needed by commercial success.
3. The obstacles which also happen to *Republika* daily newspaper from the financial side can be reflection of *Republika* itself. There are some indications the decrease market demand recently brings a certain signal, means that the society is smarter and willing to get printed mass media from both of its content and the technique of the figure similar as what the society wants.
4. By talking about the content of printed mass media, it cannot be ignored the freedom of information access from the journalist toward social realization which arouse in the space and time where they, themselves, are involved and give their own perception. It means that a journalist id a researcher meanwhile the part of the society. By showing the fact, it can be said that partisan of the media cannot be ignored from the relationship of many demands, those are economically, politically, ideology of the media and the ideology of this personality.

Republika daily newspaper takes different behavior toward the culture of idealism which must not be a

partisan. The reason is significant and it is proven by the framing result which support positive construction figure of politician celebrities. During the party of the democratic, the content analysis of the advertisement also shows significant result of earning the advantage from political advertisement which put in *Republika* daily newspaper. It can be examined from its circulation, there is no significant improvement of the circulation but there is a fantastic improvement of the income from the political advertisement in *Republika* daily newspaper.

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