

How Indonesian Newspapers Covering Political Parties

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Abstrak

Using a critical discourse analysis method, this research aims to find out pattern and background of 10 newspaper national wide covering 9 political parties in 1999 General Election Campaign. There is a similar way to construct the parties as a music group rather than a broker of the clearinghouse of ideas. They represent the political actors as famous celebrities. For the media, they have different interests with one another in the news making for each political parties, such as ideological, idealism, political, and economic or market factors.

I. Introduction

In the year of 1999, at least there are four important momentum that correspond with the political news or political coverage, especially with reference to the 1999's General Election. The four circumstances, as describe on **Item A**, are (1) Free political system with multitude number of parties (48 from 141 parties take part in 1999's General Election) in addition to the numerous party's principles: Islam, Christian, Nationalist, Socialist, and Pancasila¹. A political reality that reminds us about the liberal era in the year of 1955-1959 (Budiardjo, 1998; Feith, 1999; Litbang Kompas 1999).

(2) The General Election in the year 1999 was therefore free, in the sense that the public role increase greatly and nearly eliminates the government's role. Various people consider 1999 General Election have the equal democratic level as the 1955 General Election (Benedanto, 1999).

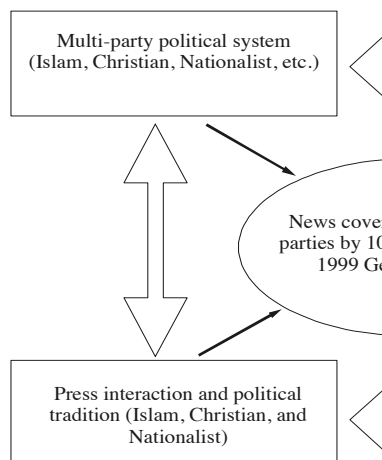
(3) In the 1999 General Election, the press interaction tradition and multitude political parties that grow in the liberal era of the 1955-1959 are reviving. National newspapers by then put their viewpoint in one or more parties based on similarity with the fundamental of the party or similarity on the interest that coincide (Said, 1988; Hanazaki, 1998). **(Footnotes)**

¹ Pancasila is Indonesian state philosophy. It consist five principles. (1) Beleiving in One God, (2) Human in justice and civilized, (3) Indonesian Unity, (4) Nationality led by reasonableness blessing in delegation-parly, (5) Social justice for all Indonesian people.

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Item A

The Domain of Discourse Analysis Research on Political Parties in the 1999 General Election



(4) During the 1999 General Election, at one side the press are overwhelmed with freedom, whilst on the other side our press system are already in the commercial press era. In this situation, government influence to the press was relatively low, while the market factors grown – significant differences with press system in 1955-1959 era then is the industrial press system (Surjomihardjo, 2002).

The reciprocal situation between political freedom and freedom of the press on one side are the state of ideological interest, idealist, political and mass media economy on the other end, is fascinating to discover the discourse construction pattern or political parties have been constructed by the press, particularly in the newspapers which is the object to this research (See **Table 1**). How’s the constructed discourse

of the political parties by our press during the 1999 campaign period? Are the four circumstances that have been explained above also affecting the construction of the political party discourse? What are the motives own by each newspaper that causes the differences in constructing the discourse between each party? These questions becoming the research questions in this research.

The aims of this research are: (1) to find the pattern of construction (discourse) each political party and the implication to the party’s image; (2) to disclose the factors that caused the differences in discourse for each party in a media; (3) to show orientation and motive of the media towards each party behind the discourse they made.

Table 1

Research Object: Political Party and Newspaper Based on Orientation

Note: PPP (*Partai Persatuan dan Pembangunan, Association and Development Party*), PKB (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, Nation Evocation Party*), PAN (*Partai Amanat Nasional, National Commendation Party*), PBB (*Partai Bulan Bintang, Star Moon Party*), PK (*Partai Keadilan, Justice Party*), PDKB (*Partai Demokrasi Kasih Bangsa, Nation Love Democracy Party*), PDIP (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, Indonesian Democracy-Struggle Party*), PG (*Partai Golongan Karya, Functional Group Party, formerly known by Golkar*), PKP (*Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan, Justice and Unity Party*).

I. Theoretical Framework

Recently, on one side, politic is in the age of mediation, on the other side there political events, conduct, and statement from the politic actors — though becoming routines — always have the news value to be reported by the mass media (Hill, 1995).

Political coverage tends to be more complicated than the report on other human life subject. At one side, political coverage has the dimension of creating the public opinion, as expected by the politician and also the journalist. As the result, political news can be more than just a report on a news event, but as the result of political reality construct (discourse practice) in favor of certain public opinion. Within political communication, the public opinion aspect is the main goal, since this aspect will affect the result of the political aim for political actors (McNair, 1995; Nimmo, 1978).

In constructing the political reality, the media accommodate three components for their content production: (1) using political symbols (language of politics), (2) strategy of wrapping the messages (framing strategies) and (3) ability of the media to provide the site (agenda setting function), because these three that will determine the public opinion that will appear. By chance, a media is not impossible to have an ideology,

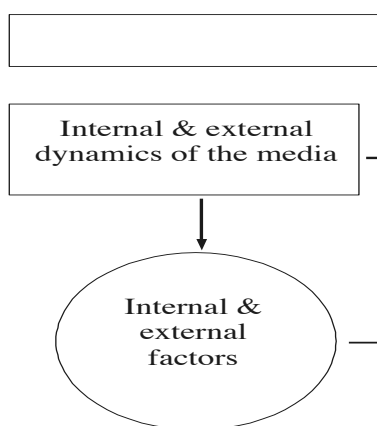
political position, and certain redaction’s policy considering any influential political power towards the use of political symbol, messages framing, and providing the spot for that certain political power. The outcome, one political event can create different public opinion depends on the media that reports it or creating the discourse (Nimmo, 1978; McQuail, 1996).

On the other hand, mass media activities’ recently including Indonesia has turned into an industry. With the element of media capital, press system compelled to consider the market component for their survival even for the profit from the sales (subscribe and unsubscribe) besides advertising. Not making an exception for the political events reproduction, the element of capital (market) influences the political reality construct process (Herman & Chomsky, 1992).

The consequence from some external and internal media factors mentioned above, is the coverage on political events — through language of politics, framing strategies, and agenda setting—in the Indonesian press indeed have its own characteristics. Few considerations referred before — political development (less part of the government and bigger role from the public), diversity in ideology and fundamental, political interest (to support one of the political power) and economic development (media

Item B

Theoretical Framework for Political Discourses Analysis Study In The Mass



becoming an industry) beside barely media idealism that still remains – those factors shows element in the process of constructing realities by our mass media. This analyze can be describe in a theoretical framework illustrate on **Item B**.

In the situation of a political transition post-reformation at the year 1999, this theoretical framework can be use to comprehend the meaning that rise and an image that became attached to a party as the result or the consequence of a construction or by media discourse; along with that to find motivation and orientation from each media behind the constructed realities (discourse practice) for the political parties.

I. Research Method

To discover discourse or construction pattern, meaning and image which appear, also the motivation own by each media. This research use the discourse analysis

method based on the framework of critical discourse analysis (critical analysis of media discourse) by Norman Fairclough (1995, 1997). See **Item C**.

In the practice to collect data, for the Description aspect (text analysis) will be using eclectic methods of text analysis, in which the component will be taken from few discourse analysis technique from Halliday (1993), Halliday and Hassan (1992), and Gamson & Modigliani (1989) that can be seen on **Table 2**.

For the Interpretation aspect (processing analysis) the technique is in-depth interview with 10 “insider’ from each media. In the Explanation aspect (social analysis) I’m going to use secondary data (historical background of the ten newspaper also trace down the tradition in the press interaction and politics in Indonesia).

Item C
The Framework of Critical Analysis on Media Discourse

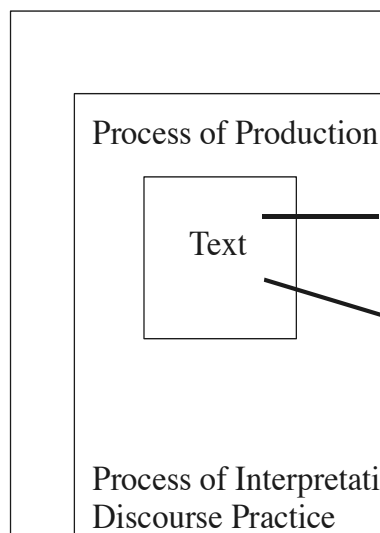


Table 2
Eclectic Instrument for Text Analysis

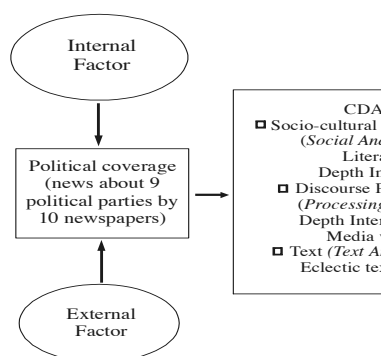
The exercise and workflow of this research can be explained with the Research Framework in **Item D**. In this discourse analysis, the main object for the researcher is to find meanings from signs which to be consider significant (Berger, 2000) within the text while at the same time focusing at the context that involve in the making of the text. Considering that, the

I. Result and Discussion

A. The Findings

Application from the eclectic text analysis on the description level (text analysis) shows construction pattern for political parties in each media, as shown in Table 3 up to Table 12. Specific character of the political party discourse by *Haluan* (**Table 3**) is positive for all party,

Item D
Research Framework



process of contextual interpretation is the work basis in this research. The method to interpret significant signs refers to the principles of triangle meaning theory which already familiar in the study of sign (semiotic) (Berger, 1982, 1999).

except to PDIP nearly weigh to be negative. To be noticed, this daily newspaper inclined to reflect a very positive image towards PG.

Table 3
Discourse of the Political Party by *Haluan*

<i>PPP</i>	<i>PPP</i> is an Islam against status quo New Order
<i>PDIP</i>	<i>PDIP</i> is a big party and arranging the unmanageable
<i>PAN</i>	<i>PAN</i> is the party to eradicate corruption and gain public support
<i>PBB</i>	<i>PBB</i> is an Islamic triumph of <i>Masyumi</i>
<i>PK</i>	<i>PK</i> is an elegant and pray graciously
	<i>DC</i> is a modern

Except in relation with PG, *Kompas* represents all the party positively (Table 4). Besides Islamic fundamental party, Christian, or even Nationalist, have the affirmative discourse.

Table 4
Political Party Discourse by *Kompas*

¹ Masyumi or Majelis Syura Muslimin Indonesia (Syura Ceremony of Indonesian Moslem) was an Islamic political party which gets number two in 1955 General Election.

Republika (Table 5) distinctly separate between Islamic political party that have been positively represented and non-Islamic party that have the negative mark. What is interesting in

this daily is that the positive perspective towards *Golkar* and discredit *Golkar*'s contender, which is *PKP*.

supportive towards *PDIP*. Within the news, this daily always brings forward *PDIP* and Megawati in a persuasive words (provoca-

Table 5
Political Party Discourse by *Republika*

Suara Pembaruan (**Table 6**) formerly known closely related to Christian community, in fact have a positive perspective in their representation. Towards *PDKB* this daily also make positive discourse. On the other hand, *PG*

ive?) as the big party that will win the General Election. On the contrary to *Golkar*, this daily appears to despise them. Beside the inclination to negative perspective, *Rakyat Merdeka* also makes the other party, Islamic party or Christian party, in a position to attack *Golkar* (New Order). *PKP* have the position in the discourse as the big enemy of *Golkar*.

PKP and *PKP* have negative coverage. *PKP* as a single party has positive perspective towards all parties. *PDI Perjuangan* has positive coverage by this daily. *PDI Perjuangan* (**Table 8**) seems very

Table 6
Political Party Discourse by *Suara Pembaruan*

PPP	PKP
PPP	PKP
PDIP	PKP
PDIP	PKP
PAN	PKP
PDI Perjuangan	PKP
PAN	PKP
PK	PKP
PKB	PKP
PK	PKP
PKP	PKP
PG	PKP
PKB	PKP

Table 7
Political Party Discourse by *Media Indonesia*

<i>PPP</i>	<i>PPP</i> is a big place an Islamic
<i>PDIP</i>	<i>PDIP</i> is big Megawati
<i>PDKB</i>	<i>PDKB</i> is a small affiliation with
<i>PAN</i>	<i>PAN</i> is large mass
<i>PBB</i>	<i>PBB</i> is strong every life aspect
<i>PK</i>	<i>PK</i> is an Islamic
<i>PG</i>	<i>PG</i> is the vice many people, the
<i>PKB</i>	<i>PKB</i> is the party

Rakyat Merdeka (**Table 8**) seems very supportive towards *PDIP*. Within the news, this daily always brings forward *PDIP* and Megawati in a persuasive words (provocative?) as the big party that will win the General Election. On the contrary to *Golkar*, this daily appears to despise

them. Beside the inclination to negative perspective, *Rakyat Merdeka* also makes the other party, Islamic party or Christian party, in a position to attack *Golkar* (New Order). *PKP* have the position in the discourse as the big enemy of *Golkar*.

Table 8
Political Party Discourse by *Rakyat Merdeka*

<i>PPP</i>	<i>PPP</i> is an Islamic Order or the state
<i>PDIP</i>	<i>PDIP</i> is a large leader who is credible
<i>PDKB</i>	<i>PDKB</i> is a reform
<i>PAN</i>	<i>PAN</i> is a reform masses
<i>PBB</i>	<i>PBB</i> is a reform Ihza Mahendra
<i>PK</i>	<i>PK</i> is the number reformation, at
<i>PG</i>	<i>PG</i> is the part in the future

Inside of the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (Table 9) all the parties is good (all the parties have positive perspective in the discourse), moreover Golkar and PKP which have plenty of “protection” by this daily. This Jogja newspaper placed both parties as the party that has close relation with this province. It can be comprehended that’s because these two parties

chose Sultan Hamengkubowono X in the 1999 General Election as the candidate for president.

In describing the political parties, *Jawa Pos* (Table 10) mostly spoke about the events that happened during the 1999 campaign period. In constructing the political parties, this daily hardly involves in illustrating the party from the ideological side.

Table 9
Political Party Discourse by *Kedaulatan Rakyat*

<i>PPP</i>	<i>PPP</i> is an Isla towards injusti
<i>PDIP</i>	<i>PDIP</i> is a part well-behave w
<i>PDKB</i>	<i>PDKB</i> is Chris the sign of resp
<i>PAN</i>	<i>PAN</i> is a big p.
<i>PBB</i>	<i>PBB</i> is an Isl have good rela
<i>PK</i>	<i>PK</i> is an Islam (to defend wor
<i>PG</i>	<i>PG</i> actually h corrupt; but at

Table 10
Political Party Discourse by *Jawa Pos*

<i>PPP</i>	<i>PPP</i> is an Isla
<i>PDIP</i>	<i>PDIP</i> is a lar; leader Megaw
<i>PAN</i>	<i>PAN</i> is a part to gain the au
<i>PBB</i>	<i>PBB</i> is a par political cond
<i>PK</i>	<i>PK</i> is an Islar impoverished
<i>PG</i>	<i>PG</i> is a party receive many
<i>PKB</i>	<i>PKB</i> is NU be
<i>PKP</i>	<i>PKP</i> is a ref

Political parties discourse by the *Bali Post* (Table 11) very similar to what *Rakyat Merdeka* has done. *Bali Post* very protective to *PDIP* and blame all on *PG*. The representations tend to take one side and ideological.

Meanwhile, the political parties discourse in *Fajar* daily (Table 12) similar with what *Jawa Pos* has done, in focusing only the

events that happened. Maybe the reason is because both newspapers are under the same management.

A. Discussion

After the text analysis above and confirmed by the result from interview with 10 “insider” from each newspaper (processing analysis) also tracking down the history of each

Table 11
Political Party Discourse by

<i>PPP</i>	<i>PPP</i> is an Isl optimist to win
<i>PDIP</i>	<i>PDIP</i> is a goo and will win th
<i>PDKB</i>	<i>PDKB</i> is a sma
<i>PAN</i>	<i>PAN</i> is a refor its statesmansh
<i>PBB</i>	<i>PBB</i> is a party runs Mega as women as a pre
<i>PK</i>	<i>PK</i> is a reformi
<i>PG</i>	<i>PG</i> is a party fault, anti-refor

Table 12
Political Party Discourse by *Fajar*

<i>PPP</i>	<i>PPP</i> is an Isla internal affair is
<i>PDIP</i>	<i>PDIP</i> is a party behave, they lik
<i>PDKB</i>	<i>PDKB</i> is a sma
<i>PAN</i>	<i>PAN</i> is a party pioneer to other
<i>PBB</i>	<i>PBB</i> is a party about leadershi
<i>PK</i>	<i>PK</i> is an Islar statesmanship,
<i>PG</i>	<i>PG</i> is a trouble
<i>PKR</i>	<i>PKB</i> is a party

newspaper and analyze the social-politic growth of reformation in the 1998-1999 period in addition referred to theoretical framework, this research can provide several information as follow:

First, during the 1999-campaign period generally the mass media in Indonesia constructed political parties like a music group; and present the politicians acts as celebrities. At that time, Indonesian mass media describe political parties as the instrument to harvested masses. Meanwhile the political party functions, as broker (arbitrator) within the clearinghouse of ideas (Budiardjo; 1998, Nimmo; 1978) in the democratic lives didn't appear within the political party's discourse.

Secondly, our mass media were labeling certain political party that affect to the image of each party. As the result, there were political parties with positive image and there were political parties with negative image in each mass media (see **Table 13**). These findings are a match with the word play of a political talk (Nimmo, 1978). Different image for each political party contains four things.

1. Involving the "reformist" or "status quo" discourse. At that time, if a party or a politician labeled as "reformist" it meant that there is positive or negative image, on the contrary to be labeled "status quo" it meant to have negative image.

Table 13
Image of Political Party inside 10 Newspapers in Indonesia

Newspapers	1	2
<i>Haluan</i>	+	+>
<i>Kompas</i>	+>-	+
<i>Republika</i>	+	-
<i>Suara Pembaruan</i>	+>-	+
<i>Media Indonesia</i>	+	+
<i>Rakyat Merdeka</i>	+	+
<i>Kedaulatan</i>	+	+

Legend:

[+] For positive image

[-] For negative image

[+>-] For positive image incline to negative image

1 = PPP; 2 = PDIP; 3 = PDKB; 4 = PAN; 5 = PBB

6 = PK; 7 = Golkar; 8 = PKB; 9 = PKP

2. Involving the party conduct against New Order. In the discourse, X party “fight against corruption”, “against New Order”, means X party has positive image; on the contrary with the coverage that X party has done few corruption, maintaining status quo, it means the party has a negative image
3. Involving the behavior of the party’s mass. If described, “X party’s masses is anarchist” means the party has a negative image. If the coverage says “X party’s masses” is in-order” it means the party has a positive image.
4. Involving the support or mass appreciation towards the party. If said that the X party has the appreciation from the masses, it means positive image; if said that X left-out by the masses, receiving mockery, it means a negative image

These imaging are a process of shaping the public opinion. That is the **third** finding: *In the discourse practice for certain political party, certain newspapers deliberately creating particular public opinion about*

example to be seen from this research is, *Republika* (tends to have positive image towards *Golkar*, and negative towards *PDIP*) and *Bali Post* (all’s right for *PDIP* and all’s wrong for *Golkar*).

Fourth: *Each newspaper has their own orientation in the coverage of political parties behind the political party discourse they made (Table 14).* Considering all the data within the critical discourse analysis (CDA), the are newspapers that inclined towards ideological, idealist, and politics orientation; and there are newspapers with market orientation (economy).

The separation of orientation for each media (**Table 14**) is not so rigid, however each inclination as the result from each discourse the media have represented, confirmed with historical document from each media and depth interview with 10 “insider” of the 10 newspapers.

Ideological discourse category involving the construction that take-a-side in favor of ideological have the characteristic of “incompliant” to justify the party they defend and “careless” with the other party’s fate that are not their target. Under this category there are

Table 14
The Orientation of 10 Newspapers in the Political Party Discourse

Orientati
Ideologic
Idealist
Politica
Econom

certain political party. What it means by public opinion is a process that combine thoughts, feelings, and ideas or hopes for the party (Nimmo, 1978). Creating the public opinion every mass media performing a political talk though language of politics using political symbols and framing strategy.

Newspapers involved in this creation of public opinion basically are easy to identified from their consistency in constructing the political parties discourse that categorize as controversial, especially between *PDIP* and *PG*. The good

Republika (in favor of Islamic parties), *Rakyat Merdeka*, *Bali Post* (in favor to *PDIP*).

A more idealist category is the presentation of political parties as the object that able to do transformation. The discourse did not defend on one party, like *Suara Pembaruan* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* did.

The category with political character is more developing on public opinion about the politic figures or the advantage from each party and avoids black and white judgement between each political party. The newspapers that falls

under this group are *Haluan* and *Media Indonesia*, meanwhile *Kompas*, *Jawa Pos*, and *Fajar* tends to oriented more on economic value, which is to elaborate political party discourse from the angle of events that occurred to certain political party in order to capture their market and never intended to be involved within the party interaction.

In relation with ideological and political orientation, the **fifth** finding is: *Within the 1999 General Election there are few newspapers act as a partisan*. Behavior or the partisan motive showed towards the party in a relatively equal part on ideological or political stand. The history of press and politic relationship in the 1955-1959 period seemed to rise but with a different atmosphere. During the 1999 General Election, in general the partisan act can be divided in two different characters: (1) partisan towards Islamic parties (as examples are *Republika* and *Haluan*) versus the non-Islamic parties (*Bali Post*, *Rakyat Merdeka*); (2) partisan towards reformist parties (*Kompas*, *Suara Pembaruan*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, *Jawa Pos*, *Bali Post*, *Fajar*) versus partisan towards non-reformist parties/Golkar (*Haluan*, *Republika*, *Media Indonesia*, *Kedaulatan Rakyat*).

The outcome from this partisan motive appears to be political activities from each media. That is the **sixth** finding: in the coverage of the political parties, each newspaper was competing to push forward their political party they defend. Thus, in this kind of situation there were competitions for meanings between each political party among the society. From the critical discourse analysis's perspective, that political party discourse were aimed to defend or on the contrary to defeat political discourse by other parties. All of this happened because at that time ten newspapers as the research object were doing the process of "Discourse" (with capital D), which is to utilized language doing the role of views, activities, and identities certain object, in this case political party (Gee, 1999). In the process of "Discourse" involving political parties, the ten newspapers were using linguistic as the component of "discourse" (with little d, means language order) and non-linguistic elements or

non-language "stuff" – which is how to act, interact, to feel, to trust and self-judge and evaluate others through language – to show certain point of view and identity from each media and political parties.

The Discourse activity itself have done by the ten newspapers because basically mass media like newspapers, as discussed in theoretical framework, at one side have some internal consideration (according to this research are ideology and idealism) or external factor (according to this research are political and economy interest), on the other hand it's the routines to utilize language in news production (: discourse).

Ontologically, the sixth finding shows that mass media have its own reality about political parties as the result of their interaction with political parties. Political realities in the media is the realities that has been arbitrated with values (value mediated findings) (Guba in Denzin & Lincoln, 1999; Hidayat, 1999). It means that each media has its own particular **evaluation**, based on ideology, political interest, economical demand, and idealism about certain political party. The result of this evaluation then represented to the audience in the form of text (: discourse).

The issue here: is that the Discourse activities during the 1999 campaign period bring forth the evidence of discourse domination by a certain political party/newspaper on other newspapers/political party? (Crowly & Mitchell, 1994). *During the democratic transition period in the year of 1999, in general seems that there isn't any group that more dominant than the other*. This happened because one major factor which is, power distribution horizontally (horizontal power sharing) among the society.

Democracy that erupted at that time causing each group has relatively the same access to power. Each group owned its masses and their own influence. There is no monopoly at that point. Political communication circumstance in the year of 1999 is an antithesis towards the previous political communication (in the New Order period), as seen in **Table 15**.

What happened at that time was a “meaning attack” between one group to another without any winner. What happen is that there were associative meanings about political party that was spreading: in general divided into two parts. Almost every newspaper, the Golkar party associated with New Order that meant (image) bad; on the other hand the other parties associated with Reformation which have the meaning of good, positive. In this kind of interpretation there have been a process of replacing the old meanings or New Order from positive to negative; meanwhile the other parties in the New Order period that used to considered as banned become necessary to be new parties.

Similar to emulate a choir, these newspapers created convention of meanings in Indonesia’s social-political system: New Order is bad, Reformation is good.

Political parties discourse thus creating the attention towards the role of the press in achieving quality of democracy in Indonesia. For emancipatory necessity of this research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), we have to consider the moral obligation of our press in improving the live of democracy in Indonesia, particularly during the General Election period as the main mechanism of democracy. In consideration of the ten newspapers as the object of this research – this circumstance is not impossible to generalize for

Table 15
The Comparison of Political Communication Circumstances during the New Order Period and Reformation Period (1999)

Political Communication Aspect	
Political Communicator	Discourse and
Political Messages	Fraternality, solidarity, and

the other mass media – the inclination to make the news around political parties during the 1999 campaign period based on the group interest; ideologically or politically, or else, there is the profit orientation (economical consideration).

At the time of 1999 campaign period, generally Indonesian newspapers were not using their coverage as the instrument or tool to create a more democratic climate. The Indonesian newspapers were not presenting the substantial aspect of the political parties because of that the public couldn't evaluate the political party they're going to choose from all the coverage that have been provided.

On the contrary, in general Indonesian newspapers were inclined to occupy themselves by the news about politicians and events that have been encountered by the political parties, for ideological interest and practical politics or to fulfill the market's target. More than that, Indonesian newspapers were involve with the ideological claims and politics partially and exaggerating the political parties they cover.

In the democracy stand, Indonesian newspapers did not function as the open public sphere from political group and market-economy in producing their political news coverage. Within the unfortunate democratic circumstance that filled with one-sided claim, causing the public did not have the sufficient information to make a political decision rationally about the party they're going to choose. Indonesian newspapers have not given the public the chance to precise about the political parties.

This sort of condition were not conducive enough to the formation of communicative society (Hardiman, 1993) which is the open society that have the freedom from falsehood and domination, manipulation and truth-pressuring because of inadequate information.

Meanwhile, there are some task that has to be done by the mass media to uphold democracy (McNair, 1995), which is:

1. Mass media have to inform in term of "surveillance" or "monitoring" the occurrence that happens in the society

2. Mass media have to educate in relation to meaning and vantages of facts while maintaining objectivity to analyze the facts
3. Mass media have to provide one platform for public considering the political discourse, facilitate the construction of public opinion, and preparing the feedback opinion to counter any direction
4. Have the publicity on to the government and other institutions. It means the mass media have the role as the "watchdog"
5. Mass media in democratic society function as the advocacy channel for various political point of view

The other unfortunate thing is in the way of Indonesian's journalists constructing the political discourse. Following that kind of discourse, it appears that in the 1999 General Election there are journalists that acted as a politic communicator in the professional category (Nimmo, 1978) who got certain payment for their job in constructing one political party in the political discourse. This kind of situation the journalists no longer have the role a neutral part to give information but also as the constructor of the party's image. The journalists have involved in labeling the politic actors and/or as a political power. In the press routines the journalists work as labeling institution that gives approval (justification) and refusal (denial) for political parties.

In other word, the 1999 General Election the fact is that Indonesian press were in the critical point: otherwise in the power game, the press were involve in only financial benefits. Indonesian press has not change their behavior substantially. During the mass media oppression the journalist served the authority. At the time of New Order, the Indonesian press changes their stand in between political parties and government. When the New Order ruled-in, Indonesian press obedient to the regime. Entering the reformation period, Indonesian press has multitude of polar beside ideologically and politically, also because market interest since the press system has became an industry, as the consequent the devotion is spreading too. There are who become

partisan for one political power, take-a-side to certain group for ideological based and there are who concern mostly in the market or the shareholders. Within this situation the public interest are still have not been represented by Indonesian mass media

As a result, Indonesian mass media have not done their mediation function in the political life appropriately, on the other hand tend to point their attention and public's political conduct towards certain political party, Herman & Chomsky (1988) mentioned this as *manufacturing consent*. The Indonesian press has not provided themselves as a vessel or connector between political parties and the public. As the result, society did not have the appropriate political education. If only the mass media willing to cooperate as the site of political information and have their stand on the public side, one of the step to be taken is to expose more about the program from each party and less expose on popularity of the party's figures and the jubilant event of the party's campaign. If that step accomplished then the various parties programs that previously never catch the public will perceive the audience's ears.

On the contrary, if Indonesia's mass media has not yet brought-up the substantial aspects of the political parties, it means that the mass media were not trying to make the political parties familiar to their constituents proportionally. It can be said that media tends to exposed events like the commotion and collision between the masses of certain political party during the campaign period, rather than explaining the party's program, its similar to distanced the masses from the party they chose or at least deceiving the public from facts about the parties. Therefore to take-a-side blindly towards one party without giving any explanation about party's orientation and programs, equals to misleading the party's masses or the public in general.

I. Conclusion

From this research there are some things that can be concluded. **First**, discourse about political parties coverage can be occupied with all kind of interests, even the discourse could turn

into Discourse – with the capital D (Gee, 1999). Discourse (: political party's news) is not merely information but also the instrument of power and interests.

For practical purpose, out of these findings we can learn about utilizing framing strategy in Discourse (with capital D). Through manufacturing symbols and presentation structure, we can present who we are in front of the public or other form of promotion. This practical value can be use to arrange press release by PR, speech script for spokesmen/orator, product packaging (marketing), etc. This practical value shouldn't be using to do public manipulation by any side especially government officers and private company, besides mass media.

Secondly, by applying critical discourse analysis, this research is able to reveal the hidden realities or virtual reality behind the text (discourse) as “social fact” of the discourse creator for various interest: ideological (politics), economy (market), idealist, and practical politics. Based on that result it informs us that text is the outcome of conscious construction in some consideration or ideological, economy, idealism and practical politics motives.

These findings have the implication, that in understanding/learning media content (journalism) from the technical aspect is not sufficient. Explanations for media content have to evaluate potential “social facts” within the text, in any ideological, political, or economic aspects. Teaching how to write text with emphasizing on the technical aspect have to be perfected by comprehensive framing strategy which consider the image and also the public respond that will come into sight.

Third, based on the research method used, which is multi-level analysis, it can be said there are “social facts” in other communication discourse, not only in the political discourse. For that reason, this method can be use to analyze the discourse in advertising, public relation, rhetoric, marketing, inter-personal communication, group and organizational communication, inter-cultural communication, and international communication. The stages in this research can also be used to observe “press

behavior in their coverage” for the next General Election.

Fourth, particularly for political issues (political parties), the outcome of this research indicate the necessity to change the way Indonesian mass media constructing the political parties. The inclinations of the Indonesian mass media to elevate popularity or events have to be altered by the discourse of the party’s programs in order to increase the quality of political life in Indonesia. Thus, the journalists have to liberate themselves from their activity within any party and only by then the discourse of the political parties will remain proportionally.

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