

NEWS FRAMING ANALYSIS OF BAGYO WAHYONO-FX SUPARJO IN THE 2020 MAYORAL ELECTION AT SOLOPOS.COM AND TRIBUN SOLO.COM

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Abstract. Rural election in Solo presented an interesting political competition between the Gibran Rakabuming Raka-Teguh Prakosa and Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo. The two couples come from different political 'castes'. Through research with an approach using the Robert N. Entman framing analysis model, it can be seen the mass media framing model in revealing that Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo couple who came from independent candidate. Meanwhile, in democratic parties, such as local elections, the mass media are in a neutral position.

Keywords: elections, independent candidates, mass media

Abstrak. Pilkada Solo menghadirkan persaingan politik yang menarik antara Gibran Rakabuming Raka-Teguh Prakosa dan Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo. Kedua pasangan ini berasal dari 'kasta' politik yang berbeda. Melalui penelitian dengan pendekatan menggunakan model analisis framing Robert N. Entman, dapat diketahui model framing media massa dalam mengungkap pasangan Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo yang berasal dari calon independen. Sementara itu, dalam pesta demokrasi, seperti pemilihan kepala daerah, media massa berada pada posisi netral..

Kata Kunci: pemilihan, kandidat independent, media massa

INTRODUCTION.

The Bagyo Wahyono and Fransiskus Xaverius Suparjo skyrocketed in 2020. The two people who do not have strong political roots in Surakarta City, appeared to the public by declaring themselves as participants in the 2020 Surakarta City Mayoral Election. Bagyo Wahyono is an ordinary public figure who by profession as a tailor and lives in Penumping Village, Laweyan District, Solo City. Meanwhile, his companion, Fransiskus Xaverius Suparjo, is a teacher with electric welding skills. Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo did not depart from the influential and powerful political elite in the city of Solo and both of them really departed from ordinary people who tried their luck on the political stage of the country.

As independent candidates in local government election, Bagyo-Suparjo fought an 'established' in terms of political infrastructure—Gibran Rakabuming Raka and Teguh Prakosa. The presence of Bagyo-Suparjo closed the speculation that had arisen that Gibran Rakabuming Raka would fight against an empty box or without a competitor. Gibran Rakabuming is the first son of Indonesian President Joko Widodo and his running mate, Teguh Prakosa, is a PDI-P (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) politician that the party has a strong mass base in the city of Solo. (Antaraneews.com, 2014).

As a candidate from the individual path, the Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo was besieged by the power of the political party supporting Gibran Rakabuming Raka-Teguh Prakosa. Gibran-Teguh was supported by political parties such as the PDIP, the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI), the Gerindra Party, the National Mandate Party (PAN), the Golkar Party, and the National Awakening Party (PKB) (Bisnis.com, 2020).

In term of candidates' financial assets which based on the State Administrators Wealth Report (LHKPN) uploaded by the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), Bagyo

Wahyono's assets were recorded at Rp. 1.99 billion, while Gibran Rakabuming Raka's assets reached Rp. 21.15 billion. Seeing the unbalanced power, the election winner was predictable. As cited from Tempo.co, the Executive Director of Indonesian Political Parameters Adi Prayitno stated that the public debate between Gibran-Teguh and the Bagyo-Suparjo in the 2020 Solo local government election (pemilihan Umum Kepala Daerah/PILKADA) was no longer interesting and merely fulfilled the procedures, requirements, and rules for the PILKADA stages. Adi Pratyotno viewed that this election debate was unattractive because the winner from the beginning of the 2020 Solo Regional Election was predictable because Gibran Rakabuming Raka had a landslide victory over his rival, Bagyo Wahyono (Utami, 2020).

When reporting, the media highlight news or framing. Framing is one of the discourse analyzes used to determine the attitude of the news media in selecting the reality of the event to be displayed. The prominence of news related by the media, in relation to various interests be it politics, ideology, business economics or media idealism.

According to Gamson (Febriana et al., 2020), the concept of framing is based on a constructionist approach that can be seen from the media representation. Gamson's early studies on framing were related to the study of social movements. According to Gamson, the success of a social movement in society is determined by the extent to which events are seen and framed so that collective awareness and action can emerge. In order to give birth to a collective action, it is very necessary to interpret and interpret symbols that can be accepted collectively by the audience.

This study aims to explore the extent of media politics through framing carried out by online media Solopos and Tribun Solo. The framing is related to the reporting of the individual candidate Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo in the Solo City Election.

The selection of Solopos online media was carried out with the consideration that it is one of the convergent local media in the city of Solo, which has print media, online media, television channels, and radio and has become a market leader in the Surakarta area and its surroundings (Prihartono, 2016). Meanwhile, Solo Tribune was selected with the consideration that it is part of the Tribunnews media network. Although its presence in the city of Solo and its surroundings has not even been 5 years, Solo Tribune has made wide media coverage to reach the audience.

Tribunnews has the capacity to present news quickly and is supported by approximately 45 Tribune networks. This provides the capacity for Tribunnews to display information in real-time and become an online media with many visitors (Rizki & Junaedi, 2021)

The media are invariably related in some way to the prevailing structure of political and economic power. It is evident, first of all, that media have an economic cost and value, are an object of competition for control and access. Secondly, they are subject to political, economic and legal regulation. Thirdly, mass media are very commonly regarded as effective instruments of power, with the potential capacity to exert influence in various ways. Fourthly, the power of mass media is not equally available to all groups or interests (McQuail, 2010).

McQuail's view can be interpreted that in some ways, the mass media is always related to the prevailing political and economic power structure. First, the media is run at a cost and economic value so that it cannot be separated from the object of competition for control and access. Second, the media are run and subject to political, economic, and legal regulations. Third, the mass media are quite commonly viewed as an effective instrument of power, with the potential capacity to exert influence in a variety of ways. Fourth, the power of the mass media is not equally available to all groups or interests.

There is always a close relationship between mass communication and political behavior, in any regime. The mass media have functions that can be utilized by political actors to achieve their goals, including the information function, participation function,

political socialization and education function, the function of developing political culture, and the function of national integrity (Tabroni, 2012).

In the era of globalization, media is present everywhere and is gaining more influence and importance. In line with the presence of digital platforms, the role of the media as information providers increases and can win people's political life. The Chinese government, for example, in the era of President Xi Jinping, fully recognized the potential of the media. They continue their efforts to maintain control over the media in order to secure their superiority and enhance their position in the international system (Gracia, 2020)

In the democratic climate, mass media is closely related to the source of power and political system. Media with all the limitations of the foundation of professionalism tends to be not transparent and independent. One side, the power of the state relishing the privilege of using media lines as a political instrument and creates paternalistic communication behavior remains institutionalized (Susanto, 2014).

This general view of the neutral and mediating role of media in politics must be modified to take into account the various forms, particularly where certain media choose to play a partisan role on behalf of a party or interest, or are closely allied with it. One study got an overview, in one regional head election in Makassar City in 2020, it was seen how the neutrality of private television media in Makassar City was when socializing candidates for regional head candidates. As a result, the concept of neutrality has not been able to support the role of television in socializing candidates for regional heads. This can be seen from the model of balance, impartiality, fairness, and objectivity that are not able to be implemented properly related to information presented to the public (Nur, 2020).

Not having the proper role of media in balance, impartiality, justice, and objectivity, often occurred as a result of the political interest of media owners and its affiliation. Owners or media elites can arbitrarily influence news making knowing the media power to influence people's ways of thinking, perceptions, attitudes and behavior (Khamim & Sabri, 2019).

Framing is a method where one incident or event is displayed in one news report by the mass media. What is presented by the media through framing is done by emphasizing certain parts that highlight one aspect or message and magnify it through the narration of an event. Through framing or framing, the mass media also tries to connect and highlight an event so that the meaning of an event that is raised is easily remembered by the audience. In Frank D. Durham's view, framing makes an event that is in the public spotlight easy to know and understand. Thus, an event that is considered complex will be easier to interpret and understand in a simple way. According to the subjective view, social reality is a fluid condition that is easy to change through human interaction in everyday life (Mulyana, 2006: 34).

Framing analysis is understood as the easiest way to describe the analysis of how reality which can be in the form of events, actors, groups or anything is framed through news or information presented by the mass media. The framing model can be done through a construction process because in the framing analysis, one reality will be used and constructed with certain meanings.

Erving Goffman views the concept of framing analysis can maintain the continuity of habits in classifying, organizing, and actively translating our life experiences to be able to understand them. Methodologically, framing analysis has a very prominent difference with content analysis. Framing analysis that is the center of attention is the formation of messages from the text. Framing, in essence, sees a message or event constructed by the mass media. In that case, how do journalists who work in the media construct an event and present it to the public (Eriyanto, 2009:3).

The framing analysis method is a way for the media to interpret, understand and frame an event or case to be presented to the public. This method will use a pattern of interpreting one meaning of a text or event through media descriptions by framing issues. The same event

may have different interpretations or meanings by the media and in the end will be framed differently by the media. There are a number of framing analyzes that can be used to analyze text in the mass media and one of them is Robert N. Entman model using the framing device in four elements as described in below table.

Table 1. Entman Framing Model

Define problems	Describe how events or issues are seen. Events are seen as what or as a problem?
Diagnose causes	See one cause of events. What things are considered the cause of the problem? Also explored (actor) involved and considered the emergence of this problem.
<i>Make moral judgement</i>	Include what moral value is presented in translating the problem? In this case, what moral value is used in legitimizing or delegitimizing action?
<i>Treatment recommendation</i>	What concept of completion is offered to resolve problems or issues? What steps need to be taken and offered to overcome and solve the problem?

METHOD

This study uses framing analysis based on the model presented by Robert N. Entman which is often used to provide an overview and highlight one particular aspect raised by the media. Framing can be interpreted as placing information in a unique context so that certain issues get a larger portion than other issues.

Entman defines an event that we understand about reality or about the world, the results will depend on the extent to which we frame or interpret the reality of the event. Entman divides this framing model into two major dimensions, namely the selection of issues and the emphasis or prominence of certain aspects of reality or issues presented to the audience by the mass media.

Framing is carried out by the media by selecting certain issues that are considered prominent and ignoring other issues. Framing is an approach to explore and know the perspectives used by the mass media or their journalists when selecting, compiling, and writing news.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Media politics in mass media reporting illustrated by the way the media framing are carried out by the online media Solopos and Solo Tribune in reporting the individual candidates Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo in mayoral election.

Researchers conducted an analysis of a number of news published by Solopos.com media and Solo.com Tribune during the Solo City Election campaign until ahead of the 2020 Regional Head Election. Analysis of the news can be described through Entman's model as follows:

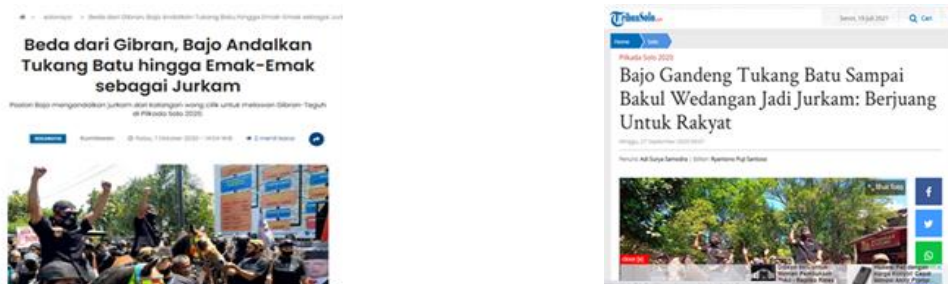


Image 1. Campaign Spokesperson

Source: Solopos 7 October 2020 and Tribun Solo 27 September 2020

Define problems. "Both the media Solopos.com and Tribun Solo highlighted about the figures who served as campaigners for Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo in the Solo Municipal Elections". "

Diagnose causes. "The news came in response to national figures presented by the political opponents of Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo, gibran Rakabuming Raka-Teguh Prakosa as campaign spokesperson"

In the context of the news balance in reporting the regional elections to achieve equal and fair portion, the two media conducted interviews digging for information about the figures presented by bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo to support the couple's victory.

Make moral judgement. "Both media reported 'figures' who served as campaign spokesperson for Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo pair are masons, female supporters (Solopos.com) and bricklayers and wedangan sellers (Tribun Solo)".

At first glance, the phrases 'masons' and 'wedangan sellers' show the impression that Bagyo-Suparjo pair is close to a small community. However, the phrases actually seemed to delegitimize Bagyo-Suparjo so that those was juxtaposed with Gibran-Teguh spokespersons who are national political figures such as Megawati Soekarnoputri, Puan Maharani and Sandiaga S.Uno who certainly could convince potential voters. Meanwhile, the 'bricklayer' and 'wedangan sellers' were not sufficient for convincing voters to cast their ballots for bagyo-suparjo.

Treatment Recommendation."In the context of the fair election, Solopos and Tribun Solo avoid the use of the phrases 'bricklayers' and 'wedangan sellers' which seems to describe the different castes from the aspects of campaign spokesperson for both pairs."



Image 2. Issues Faced by the Independent Candidates

Source: Solopos 29 October 2020 and Tribun Solo 8 December 2020

Define problems. "Solo Mayoral Candidates Bagyo Wahyono was reported to have unpaid debts of water bills in Municipal Waterworks (Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum). The news appeared during the 2020 Election campaign. Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo pair was hit by the oblique issue of a special ritual performed before voting. The news came in the quiet period of the 2020 regional elections".

Diagnose causes. "The news will not appear if Bagyo Wahyono is not a candidate for mayoral candidates. The news appeared and was shared by the Head of The Management Section of Perumda, Toya Wening, Bayu Tunggul Pamilih. News was also published during the 2020 Election campaign. News related to the rituals was spread through social media and as a result KPPS TPS 08, Andre was asked to confirm the truth of the rumor as this was

spread the day before the election”.

Make moral judgement. "The value raised with the news that Bagyo-Wahyono as the candidates delegitimized their position in the election. The public would certainly captures the message that Bagyo Wahyono has compliance issue. Furthermore, the news portrayed the pair to use rituals as an occult practice to win the election. The value that emerged from the news was the impression that the pair Bagyo Wahyono-Suparjo used the ways 'clerics' to win the elections. The news was offered a pair of Bagyo-Suparjo .

Treatment Recommendation. "During the election context, voters obtain information about the candidates' working programs and news related to the personal life of candidates such as the were not supposed to be highlighted. The media do not necessarily upload such news when entering the recess time before election”

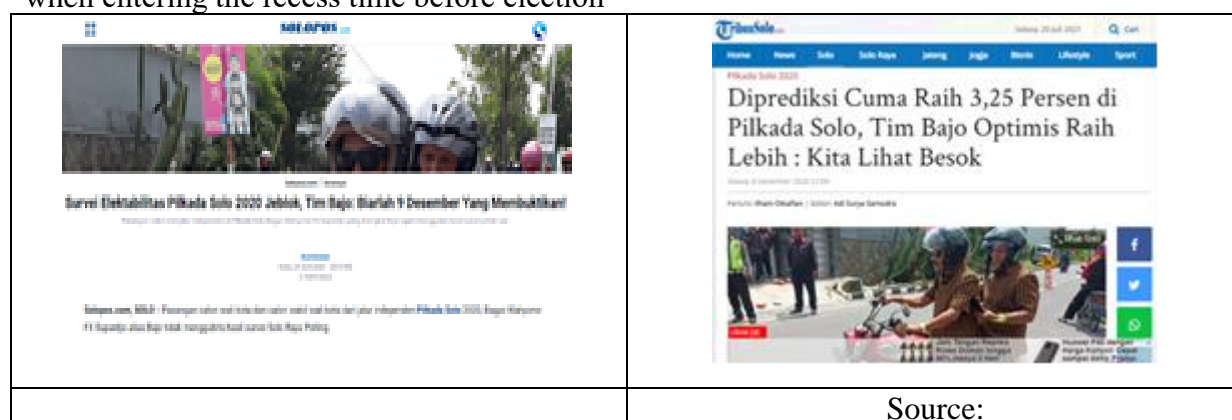


Image 3. Media Prediction of the Election Result

Source: Solopos 24 June 2020 and Tribun Solo 8 December 2020

Define problems. "Two media covered the results of the electability survey in the Solo City Election 2020. The results of the survey were aired in different times".

Diagnose causes. "The results of the survey of the Bagyo Wahyoono-FX Suparjo pair was reported to be “jeblok” or dropped. The results of the survey of the Pair of Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo were specifically mentioned only 3.25% ”.

Make moral judgement. "Media Solopos uses the word 'jeblok' to describe the results of the Bagyo Wahyono-FS Suparjo pair survey. Jeblok was interpreted as falling, down, so the message lowered or delegitimated the pair. The news appeared a day before of the voting on December 9, 2020. In addition, Tribun Solo media used the word 'only' to strengthen the narration that the pair of Bagyo Wahyono- FX Suparjo electability is 3.25% ".News that emerged a day ahead of voting certainly affected voter perceptions. Voters tend to use their rights to the pair having a high winning opportunity.

Treatment Recommendation. "The use of 'joblock' should be avoided. Simply display the results of the electability of the two candidates in the 2020 regional electability.”As stated by McQuail, the mass media is very commonly regarded as an effective power instrument, with its capacity to influence the audience through a passing way through the information presented. In the framing of the news on the pair Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo as rivals from the pair of Gibran Rakabumin Raka-Teguh Prakosa, Solopos.com online media and the Solo Tribune have a way of protruding aspects of reality which is the construction of the news maker.

In the news of the campaigner, for example, Solopos.com and Tribun Solo put a reality that Bagyo Wahyono-Suparjo chose to use the 'Mason' and "Merchantan Merchantan

'network as campaigner. In the context of political communication that there was a political actor involved in a contestation of regional elections, the existence of 'masons' and 'negligee traders' as campaigners, did not have an effect on the increase in branding against the pair Bagyo Wahyoni-Suparjo. In fact, the impression that arises is the existence of delegitimization of the pair, because it is not supported by political actors who have strong influences even though they are advancing from the independent path.

It was different from Bagyo-Suparjo's political rivals--Gibran-Teguh which their campaign spokespersons were national political figures such as Megawati Soekarnoputri, Puan Maharnai, Sandiaga S. Uno, and others who gave its own added value. That Bagyo-Suparjo comes from individual candidates, they were not be able to convince voters so that they could vote for Bagyo and Suoarjo.

Solopos.com and Tribun Solo also framed on the tilting issue against Bagyo Wahyono due to unpaid bills and rituals carried out by the pair before election. Thus, this news lowered legitimacy though the unpaid bill and rituals exclude in the context of ideas and those issues became highlights in mayoral election context. The news surely lowered the candidate's political image as in ideal context, there should be appropriateness in the public eye and unpaid bill was inappropriate.

Likewise with the news of a special ritual that the issue will be carried out by the pair of Bagyo Wahyono-Suparjo. Interestingly, the issue appeared at the time of the campaign and a day ahead of voting. The 'tilted' news content highlighted by the Solo Tribune further drowned public beliefs against the pair. Meanwhile, Bagyo Wahyono-Suparjo's electability had been predicted to lose in the election for it is difficult to beat their opponent.

However, in the news article was loaded by Tribun Solo a day ahead of the vote by calling Bagyo-Suparjo's electability 'only' 3.25% made little opportunity for the pair to win as voters tend to use their rights to the pair having a high winning opportunity.

In the media political context, Gramsci declares intellectual mastery can be used to paralyze the level of awareness and critical power of the community. As for, the media became an instrument used by a group that had the power to impose its ideology. The public alias 'Reader' does not have the freedom to interpret what they are 'read', because the meaning presented is formed as a form of home and forced into the minds of readers through the language structure (Alfani, 2014).

The two online media, seemed to be trying to 'paralyze' critical awareness of readers from some of the packaged news. The media need to provide more open space for individual candidates to pour more constructive ideas.

CONCLUSION

In the news of the 2020 Solo mayoral election by Solopos and the Solo Tribune emerged framing which harmed the pair of Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo. The media frame that neglects the Bagyo-Suparjo pair is increasingly drowning the ideas of working programs that should be highlighted. Meanwhile, Tribun Solo reported two issues that delegitimizing the pair during the recess period of the election. While Solopos delegitimizing the pair for the unpaid water bill that was not related to the ideas in the elections.

The two media were also seen using the same diction when reporting Bagyo Wahyono-FX Suparjo's campaign spokesperson such as "masons" and "wedangan sellers" highlighting the pair for not coming from political background in terms of financial dan political support. It is obvious to relate that this pair was created from certain political interests for merely elite circulation to avoid single candidate of mayoral election in Solo.

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