Cultures, Politics and Media

Bridging Asian Communication Perspectives

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Atwar Bajari

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Preface

Dr. Dadang Rahmat Hidayat, SH., S.Sos., M.Si.
Dean of Faculty of Communication Science,
Padjadjaran University, Indonesia

Praise be to Allah SWT because his guidance and blessing has been compiled proceeding of the International Communication Research Conference held jointly by Padjadjaran University and Sung Kyun Kwan University held in October 2017 in Seoul South Korea themed Communication in East Asia: Culture, Politics and Media.

The event is an effort of both universities to bring together various ideas as well as publication of various communication research results that need to get enrichment for the development of the substance of the research. For conference participants from Indonesia who are mostly students of communication doctoral program at Padjadjaran University is an important and valuable opportunity in developing scientific insights outside the material that has been obtained on campus as well as adding research and scientific networks with students and professors abroad, especially in South Korea.

For Institutions Faculty of Communication Science this activity is one of the efforts to increase international cooperation with various leading universities in the academic field such as teaching, research and publication. International seminar held with Sung Kyun Kwan University is one of its implementation in building the exchange of academic views and scientific interaction.

Faculty of Communication Sciences Padjadjaran University expressed his appreciation to Dr. Atwar Bajari and Dr. Ninis Agustini Damayani as the leader of Doctoral Program Faculty of Communication Sciences University of Padjadjaran who have initiated this activity and to Prof. Dr. Sang Hee Kweon and Prof. Dr. Sung Kyum Cho who has become a very good partner and strategic and responsive. This activity is very likely to be upgraded to regular scheduled activities by increasing the capacity and quality of seminars to be greater in the

future. Actual academic development requires strategic cooperation between universities covering multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary studies to be more comprehensive.

Hopefully the results of communication research in this book related to the dynamics of communication in the perspective of culture, politics and the media can contribute to the development of scientific and motivation more strongly improve the scientific climate for the benefit of humanity.

Preface

Prof. Dr. Sung Kyum Cho

Former President of Anpor and Professor
of Communication and Journalism
Chungnam National University, Korea

The world is becoming more connected due to both our ability and our need. It is easier now than at any time in the past to talk to people who live far away, thanks to the Internet. At the same time, the world is facing many problems, and we need to work together to solve them. It is only when we understand each other and communicate effectively that we can succeed. This kind of communication requires trust, friendship, and understanding between countries. In short, it requires communication scholars to get to know their counterparts from other countries in a careful and deliberate sharing of ideas.

I was pleased to see that a group of young scholars from Korea and Indonesia gathered together recently to share their academic knowledge. This may be a small gathering when we compare its size to other conferences. However, if we consider its implications for the future, we cannot overestimate its significance. These scholars are building their network both professionally and personally and creating the framework to collaborate in the future. This meeting is a new attempt by young Asian scholars to work together to improve the world in their own ways.

The papers collected here are from that meeting. They show what these young scholars are interested in and what they are trying to build. In and of themselves, they are intriguing and fascinating works; taken together, they represent the beginning of a deeper understanding between Indonesia and Korea and the foundation of a relationship based on mutual respect and understanding.

In these papers, you can see scholars both reaching into the past to preserve and explain the cultural heritage of various ethnic groups and religions, and looking toward the future as they deal with complex societal issues and the importance of effective communication in dealing with them. Some talk about personal communication while others

focus on political communication and elections. Different modes of communication are also explained here, and again, they represent both the old and the new: storytelling and film, personal conversation and communication via social media. The diversity of topics you see in this collection shows both the diversity of Indonesia and the importance of exploring in many directions to fully understand people and address the issues that we may have in common.

I hope this was only the first of many such meetings. This kind of event brings enormous benefits, widening our perspectives and enriching our knowledge. It is a platform for further collaboration.

Introduction

Korea-Indonesia
Build Dialogue Among Nations Through the Research Diversity

Dr. Atwar Bajari, M.Si.

1. Introduction

Research is a universal language that builds the consensus of scientists in explaining and predicting a phenomenon. No other language is more trusted by most actors and seekers of scientific truth to answer and solve various problems. When faced with complicated issues concerning human, society and state affairs, the explanation through research is easier to become a bridge to complete the way agreed by all parties.

Research is a part of inquiry processes conducted by scientists in giving their contribution in building civilization. Nations that have a good research tradition always excel in their civilization such as in the field of clothing, food, health, state management, defense and military systems, economics, law and other fields that indicate the high civilization of a nation. Arabian nation hasmore superior astronomical civilization because the astronomical research tradition was initially started from Ibn Sina to Omar Khayam. In line with this, the advancements in beauty field and beauty industries such as anti-aging medication, Korea is more superior because of its advanced research centers than other nations.

As a universal language, conducting research is the easiest way to build scientific communication among nations or countries. The gathering of scientists or researchers in international forums to convey the results of research and discuss the scientific findings tends to encourage long and enthusiastic discussion among them. Therefore,the research is a language that reinforces the researcher's name because they test and prove their research each other. In addition, they cite their mutual ideas among them to reinforce the proposed postulation, tested and found propositions, and conclusion of research.

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MEDIA & POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

MEDIA AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Media Framing on the Political Coalition Towards the 2019 Presidential Election

Hendra Alfani

Kun Wazis

Introduction

One of the crucial decisions of the ratification of the election constitution, by the legislative assembly (DPR), after nine discussions, it was about setting of a 20 percent presidential threshold for the seats in the DPR or 25 percent of the national legitimate vote count based on the results of the 2014 Election. The government-backed party coalition has won the legislative vote, the *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* (PDIP) as the main party in the coalition of governments along with other coalition parties, ensuring the passage of the law in accordance with the "wishes" of the government and its coalition parties.

That decision inevitably triggered a strong reaction from non-government parties, especially from the Democratic Party and Gerindra which has been considered as a starting party to heat up the political tension towards the 2019 Presidential Election. Hinca IP Pandjaitan as the general secretary from Democracy party showed the reaction towards the issues. In the article entitled "Saving the Democracy: a note of SBY- Prabowo meeting" which was published on the legal sites of the party leadership council of Democracy party, and it was stated that, there were three crucial issues that became the reason of the meeting of SBY and Prabowo. One of those is the ratification of general election constitution draft 2019 into the constitution which has been colored by walk out action of four parties from the plenary meeting of legislative assembly (DPR). Due to that issues, Democracy party and Gerindra have got the same idea, and it is a rejection.

Due to the statement above, Hinca wrote that Democrats and Gerindra rejected the ratification of the 2019 election constitution at the Plenary Meeting of legislative assembly on July 21, 2017 because of the strong indications that power ambitions overcame logic. The abuse of

political ambition would damage the future of democracy. The electoral constitution imposed a presidential threshold, which percentage is contrary to the constitution and common sense. Furthermore, the election results of legislative members in 2014 that have been used for the presidential election in the same year would be used again in 2019 Presidential Election. It meant that, the election results only valid for one period. But the government and coalition parties remain insistent and decided to use the threshold of the 2014 Legislative Election results. This meant that to enacting the 2014 Legislative Election results for ten years later, namely for the election of 2014 Presidential election; and later once again for the 2019 Presidential Election. Even though the constitution stipulated that the election term would be in five years.

In relation to the previous events above, the mass media saw that the political escalation ahead of the 2019 election has begun to rise. The political battle of Jokowi-Prabowo in the 2014 presidential election was likely to recur in 2019. Thus, the political sides of important meetings between SBY-Prabowo are mapped by the media in the framework of building a coalition of political coalitions aimed at defeating Jokowi in the 2019 presidential election. This study focused on those two influential newspapers in Indonesia, namely Kompas daily that has a Christian-Nationalist and Republika ideology that represented the ideology of Islam-nationalism in mapping coalitions and political battles between the two camps openly to political contest in 2019.

Literature Review

The relationship between mass media and politic, is a pattern of relationships that need each other. Mass media which is as the information channel for the community, including becoming a channel of political communication. Political actors use the mass media to campaign for their political vision and mission, whether becoming their party or campaign and build political images for their candidates for political leaders. In the context of political interests, mass media is also often used as a tool of political propaganda, to bring down political opponents of parties supported by the media.

Additionally, Pawito (2009: 91-92, 1) stated that in the context of modern politics, the mass media is not only as an integral part of politics, but also has a central position in politics. The mass media conveyed and became the main channel of dissemination of public policy and

articulate the aspirations of diverse society. On the other hand, at a certain level the public also made the information derived from the mass media as a reference for understanding and interpretation of important events. Media information then shaped into perceptions, opinions, attitudes, and ultimately public action.

Therefore, the mass media has a strategic function in politics. A very prominent aspect regarding the mass media associated with politics is its function in political life. Because of its centrality in politics, the mass media has important and strategic functions. Initial systematic reviewed of the function of mass media, for example by Laswell (1995, in Pawito, 2009:93-94) 2, identified three main functions of media: (a) the surveillance of the environment (b) the correlation of the parts of society in responding to the environment (c) the transmission of the social heritage from one generation to the next (transmitting the social heritage from one generation to the next). The function of supervision referred to media activity as the mass in observing and reporting important events to the public. Additionally, the liaison function pertained to the gait of the mass media in providing itself as a forum for discussion, listening to the opinions of demands and aspirations for all community groups. The function of mass media as the transmission of social heritage became the role of mass media in the process socialization and education for the wider community.

Since SBY-Prabowo became an influential political figure, the political encountered of both brought up various realities in politics, which in turn provoked the public opinion. It was stated that one of the power of the mass media is to construct and deconstruct reality; the role of mass media became very significant in reconstructing that fact. Pawito (2009:104) mentioned that the power of mass media in constructing and deconstructing reality, especially on news, in addition to other forms of content such as editorials, opinions and caricatures in the print media, and talk shows on electronic media.

On the other hand, framing could be generally interpreted as "a scattered conseptualization" (Entman, 1993: 51; Gamson and Modigliani, 1987: 143, in Pawito, 2009: 104-105), a frame of conceptualization in which media frames could be defined as "a central organizing idea or story line that provided meaning to an unfolding strip of events ... The frames suggested what controversy was about, the essence of issue "(the main idea or news rendering that gave meaning to events ... The media frame showed things like what the controversy developed and the essence of the issue).

According to Muhtadi (2008:48) 3, historically, the debate over the ideology, values, and alignments of the media were actually became classic in media studies. The debate over the ideology, values, and alignments of these media, was not really stand-alone. Many factors became the cause, as mentioned by Subiakto and Ida (2012: 104) 4, the logging of communication technology, globalization, liberalization, and commercialization has led to a shift. The mass media grown not only as a power-controlling power, but has become a political, economic, and cultural force. Media has become a new "power", which if left wild can actually be a threat to democracy.

Research Methodology

This research applied the qualitative method. According to Bogdan & Tailor (1992:21-22) 5, qualitative method is one of the research procedures that produce descriptive data in the form of speech or writing and the behavior of the people observed. And this was reinforced by Lindlof and Taylor (in Creswell, 2009:176) which stated that qualitative research is a form of interpretive approach in which the researcher makes an interpretation of what is seen, heard, and understood, and the interpretation of the researcher cannot be separated from the background , history, context, and prior understanding. Furthermore, this study described the framing of Kompas and Republika News Edition Friday 28 July 2017 which constructd a political meeting between Chairman of the Democratic Party Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Gerindra Party Chairman Prabowo Subianto. Framing model Robert N. Entman was applied as the way of analyzing in this research. It is as follows:

Table 2.1

Model of Entman Framing Analysis

Define Problems	How was an event/issue judged? What is look like? Or what kind of problem?
Diganosa Causes	What makes the problem happened? What causes it? Who makes the problem?
Make Moral Judgement	What kind of moral value that is presented to overcome the problem? What kind of moral value that is used to legitimacy a treatment?
Treatment Recommen- dation	What kind of solution is proposed to overcome that problem/issue? What way should be done to overcome that problem?

Source: Eriyanto (2005: 189)

Finding and Discussion

The Analysis of *Republika* Daily News

The analysis of the news in Republika which is headline: "Prabowo-SBY Agree to Watch the Government" (written in regular letters, not capital) which was placed on the top right (not headline) without subtitles and photos of SBY and Prabowo at the residence of SBY Puri Cikeas Bogor as headline photo. The news was published Friday, July 28, 2017, a day after the meeting of the two figures. Here's the analysis.

Define Problem: In this report, Republika illustrated the importance of the event by placing a meeting photo of SBY-Prabowo as a headline photo on page 1, thus shifting other unimportant photos. The photo was reinforced with news placed on the right side of the photo so it stood out and gave the first message to read. The title chosen "Prabowo-SBY Agreed with the Government" gave a message to the audience that something was problematic with the government so that both figures constructed by Republika in the news agreed to supervise, emphasizing the leads and quotes chosen as diction that represented Republika's view against the event. The language chosen by Republika can be interpreted that SBY-Prabowo considers Jokowi's government to use overwhelming power.

Diagnose causes: Republika has argued that the political communication between SBY and Prabowo was motivated by the issue of presidential threshold of 20 per cent of the vote in the legislative elections established in the Election Law. Republika chose the statement from Prabowo Subianto to identity the problem if the presidential election regulation applied could worsen the face of democracy in Indonesia.

Make moral judgement: Republika gave a moral judgment that the step of political communication that was being explored by Prabowo-SBY in overseeing the government could happen and run because there was an important issue that both carried by both political parties (Democratic Party and Gerindra Party). Republika said the disqualification of the General Election of Constitution and the rejection of the *Perppu Ormas* could strengthen the same vision in controlling the running of government of Jokowi. Republika also described that the statement from SBY has become an important matter because it could reinforce the meaning that the fabric of political communication could

be continued and very likely to be realized since it was driven by the same attitude in rejecting the General Election Constitution approved by the majority of the supporting party the government.

Treatment recommendation: Republika, generally in the paragraphs of the news, supported the meeting of SBY and Prabowo in conducting the political communications to oversee the running of government power. This could be observed from the dominance of the news that revealed a detailed description of the familiar meeting with fried rice as the menu. Additionally, the names who present the following closed meetings were called complete. To provide a concrete solution in addressing the meeting, Republika chose President Jokowi's statement as an affirmation to see the political communication built by senior Democratic and Gerindra political party as a reasonable matter.

Table 2.2
The Frame of Republika on Friday, 28 of July 2017
Entitled: Prabowo-SBY Agreed to Supervise the Government

Define Problems	A developed discourse by SBY-Prabowo that showed the use of power Jokowi government beyond the limit and need to be supervised by Democrats and Gerindra through the moral movement due to feelings and interests of the people that hurt by government policy. That meeting was mentioned as a coalition form of Presidential Election 2019 by Republika.
Diganosa Causes	The SBY-Democrat political meeting to oversee was triggered by government policies that were seen to undermine the quality of democracy through the determination of the 20 percent presidential election threshold and the *Perppu Ormas*.
Make Moral Judgement	The political communication built by SBY-Demokrat was important as part of the dynamics of democracy to control various policies by the government so that it can run on the sake of the societies.
Treatment Recommendation	In this context, Republika in its news construction recommended the audience (readers of the media) to understand the meaning of the political meeting of SBY-Prabowo as a natural thing and the phenomenon which was narrated as an effort to care more about the sake of societies, not as the strategy of winning the 2019 election.

Source: Edited by Researchers, 2017

The Analysis of *Kompas* Daily News

The analysis of Kompas daily news which headline: "Best Road of Democracy (Yudhoyono-Prabowo Agreed to Improve Communication)". This news headline was published by Kompas on page 2 in the Political & Legal edition column Friday, July 28, 2017. Kompas put the photo of SBY-Prabowo meeting on page 1 in the bottom column parallel to the headline photo of Kompas with salt-packed workers. From the perspective of the newspaper layout, the photo entitled "SBY-Prabowo Meetings" included prominent because on page 1 there are only two photos. Here's the analysis.

Define Problem: Kompas daily news constructed two national political figures, and it was important to let the public know by placing a photo of SBY-Prabowo on the front page. Kompas described the view of SBY as Chairman of the Democratic Party while Prabowo Subianto as Chairman of Gerindra Party. Both of these figures expressed readiness to increase cooperation and political communication. Kompas expressed readiness to escort the journey of nation. The escort was done by supporting the right government policy. Kompas chose the statement of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono about the commitment built with Prabowo in overseeing the government.

*Diagnose causes:*Kompas daily news described that cooperation, communication and guarding the journey of nation built by SBY-Prabowo as one of the background of the Election Constitution which determined the presidential nomination threshold of 20 percent of the seats of house or 25 percent of the national legitimate votes. Kompas also wrote that when voting over the passage of the Act, the Democrats and Gerindra along with the Prosperous Justice Party (PAN) and the National Mandate Party (PKS) leaved the courtroom. Kompas narrated that the threshold was opposed by the Democrats, Gerindra, PKS, and PAN by quoting the statement of Prabowo which has been delivered at a press conference at Cikeas.

Make moral judgement: Kompas daily news gave a moral judgment by emphasizing the inaugural meeting at Cikeas with a fried rice banquet was not the first. This was constructed by Kompas through the statement of Secretary General of Gerindra Party Ahmad Muzanni who attended the meeting. Kompas also provided a moral assessment of the event with a choice of headline title of the news, the "Best Road of

Democracy", which in the journalistic news headline was as a depiction of news content. The moral judgment on the best road of democracy was still reinforced by the sub-title chosen by Kompas, where "Yudhoyono-Prabowo agreed to improve the communication". Moreover, Kompas also did not place the confirmation from the government and political parties supporting the government because the news did not directly mention the name of a particular government or political party. Kompas chose more carefully. However, it further reinforced the meaning of the meeting of SBY-Prabowo as a good democratic way according to Kompas perspective by not displaying the confirmation,

Treatment recommendation: Generally, in the headlines of Kompas daily news, it asserted the political communication built by SBY-Prabowo to explore the potential of coalition in the 2019 election. Kompas also has no doubt about the political step of SBY-Prabowo to build a coalition, not others. Regarding the direction of political communication for the coalition in the 2019 election, it was also constructed by the statement of Vice Chairman of the Democratic Party Syarief Hasan who asserted that the meeting to exchange the opinions to find a number of national problems. However, the 2019 election continued to emerge to carry the cadres of advance in the 2019 presidential election. Kompas also described the solution that could be achieved with a coalition raised by Democrats and Gerindra. Kompas daily news also calculated the number of seats and the percentage that the two parties may perform. Due to the view of Kompas, it was logical and could become a balance of political competition if the supporting party of government agreed to capture Jokowi in the 2019 election. Currently the supporting party of government did have a very excessive capital with the 20 percent threshold. If it was calculated from the Great Indonesia Coalition (KIH), for example, there were PDIP (109) seats, PKB (47) seats, Nasdem (35 seats), Hanura (16), and PPP (39) which totaled 246 seats. While from the Red and White Coalition before the Golkar Party and PAN joined the government were also big powers, such as the Golkar Party Party (91), Gerindra (73 seats), the Democratic Party (61 seats), the National Mandate Party (49 seats), and The Prosperous Justice Party (40 seats) totaled 314 seats.

Table 2.3

The Frame of the Headline of Kompas Daily News on Friday, 28 of July 2017
Entitled: "The Best Road of Democracy (Yudhoyono-Prabowo Agreed to Improve
the Communication)"

Define Problems	The purpose of meeting of SBY-Prabowo as the political communication was to build the cooperation, communication, and guard the government policies and reject those policies that hurt the societies.
Diganosa Causes	The political communication built by the General Chairman of the Democratic Party and General Chairman of Gerindra Party was caused by one of the emergence of Election constitution regulating the presidential nomination limit of 20 percent of the seats of the legislative assembly or 25 percent of the national vote.
	As a form of protest over the passage of the election constitution, the Democrat Party, Gerindra Party, PKS and PAN refused to agree by leaving the courtroom.
Make Moral Judgement	The first established political communication would be continued with subsequent political meetings in finalizing the goals of both political figures (SBY-Prabowo).
	Kompas daily news considered that the political communication that was built was about the "Best Road of Democracy" that was improving the communication on both sides of the political party.
Treatment Recommen-dation	Kompas daily news provided a concrete solution to support the political communication built Democrat-Gerindra can dikerucutkan in the form of coalition since it could meet the limit of 20 percent.

Source: Edited by Researchers, 2017

Conclusion

Based on the result analysis towards the mass media of *Republika* and *Kompas* on 28 of July 2017 about "Political Communication of SBY-Prabowo", it could be concluded as follows:

1) *Kompas* and *Republika* mass media constructed a meeting between SBY and Prabowo in Cikeas Bogor. The meeting was created to

make a political communication to guide the government policies. And it was made to show their rejection towards some policies that could hurt the societies. That political event was very important for those two mass media.

2) *Kompas* and *Republika* mass media put the political communication discourse between the chairman of Democracy party and the chairman of Gerindra party as a common event. Moreover, it did not create any problem even though it was judged by seeing fried rice as the menu served in the meeting.

3) The Newspaper with the ideology of Christian-Nasionalis, *Kompas* and the newspaper with Islamic-nationalism-*Republika* were not the same in emphasizing the issues arising from political incidents between SBY and Prabowo. *Kompas* confirmed that the meeting of SBY-Prabowo aimed to build a coalition between political parties in order to face the 2019 presidential election. While Republika did not openly reveal the coalition that would be built Democrat-Gerindra in the 2019 presidential election.

4) *Kompas* and *Republika* mass media did not have the same view of putting the events as the importance of societies (news readers). It was proved by *Republika* which put the pictures of the meeting of SBY and Prabowo as their headline picture. And it was supported by putting the news next to the picture. Meanwhile, *Kompas* daily news did not use that picture as their headline picture. They just put it in the bottom column in page 1, and putting the news in the next page in headline position.

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Atwar Bajari
Research is a universal language that builds consensus of scientists in explaining and predicting a phenomenon. Through the language of research, among researchers are more easily discuss and solve problems by offering new findings or cite each other the results of research developed. Dialogue between young scientists and professors from different countries through dissemination of research results has produced the dialogue of communication within the framework of communication and culture, media and politics, communication and gender and identity theory, in a successful way.

Alfarabi
At the certain point communication continue to globalizing, in another point the communication leads more local context. The communication ties in culture, religion, and society has shown a certain identity that increasingly significant role. The viewpoint of identity in the process of communication studies has expanded its communication with the uniqueness and originality of entering public life. In the future I see the spaces locality would be special studies in communication studies

Maylanny Christin
Indonesia and Korea share a lot of similarities, for example: having the same year and month of Independence Day, having a geographic location, being agricultural countries, being surrounded by oceans, having various religions, and still paying attention to the traditional culture and expanding it until right now. Therefore culture of the two countries cannot be separated from each other, because of the fact that equality of cultures of the East has a strong inherence in each individual country. But there are things that became the hallmark of Indonesia and Korea coloring dynamic cultures.

Hendra Alfani
Mass media and political communication cannot be separated. The mass media has become the main channel of the messenger of political communication messages, at once become an open space for the public to asses and sort out the message according to your need and their significance. Instead, for the communicator and political institutions, the media become the means to introduce themselves, campaign, carrying the candidates and build the image in public.

Kun Wazis
Communication should offer solutions for gender inequality, symbolic violence, disorder definition of reproduction, and women trafficking problems. Through the offer of narrative can be a bridge to understanding the meaning of truth-gender construction the act of communication that gender inequality during straightening remains a serious problem of modern society.

Ringgo Eldapi Yozani
Culture and communication is a unity, so that can not be separated. Culture can be influence the process by person who perceives a reality, communication help us in creating the reality in community. Communication and culture is interesting research because the subject of this study is human as society creature.