

RINGKASAN

**Pers dan Pemilihan Presiden di Indonesia:
Analisis *Framing* Isu Demokratisasi dalam Tajuk Rencana
Kompas, Suara Pembaruan, Republika, dan Jawa Pos
Pada Pemilihan Presiden 2004**

Sahat P. Siburian

Pemilihan Presiden 2004 merupakan peristiwa politik penting dalam agenda demokrasi di Indonesia. Fakta peristiwa atau realitas politik ini mendapat liputan luas dari media massa. Dalam konteks ini, mengemuka pertanyaan tentang bagaimana posisi pers nasional kita mencoba ‘mewarnai’ peta perjalanan demokratisasi bangsa ini ke depan. Pertanyaan ini menjadi menarik mengingat pers sebagai wadah mediasi politik berpotensi untuk dimanfaatkan oleh kalangan dengan kepentingan politik tertentu. Apalagi pers juga mempunyai kemampuan untuk mengkonstruksi dan memaknai realitas pemilihan presiden sekaligus memproduksi pesan (*framing*) tertentu.

Penelitian ini berupaya menjelaskan *framing* pers tentang isu demokratisasi ketika menghadirkan fakta pemilihan presiden 2004 sebagai topik ulasan tajuk rencananya. Tajuk rencana menempati posisi tersendiri dalam seluruh rubrik surat kabar. Tajuk rencana merupakan pandangan resmi suatu institusi pers atas pelbagai fakta peristiwa maupun isu permasalahan. Dalam tajuk rencana bisa terbaca bagaimana sikap dan pandangan institusi pers, atau yang lebih dikenal dengan sebutan kebijakan redaksional, atas suatu isu permasalahan.

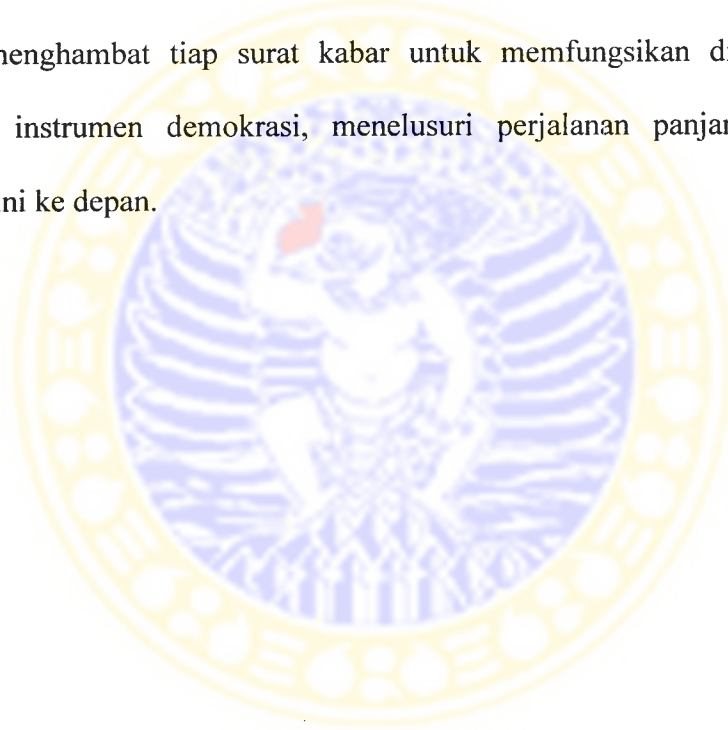
Empat surat kabar dipilih sebagai sasaran penelitian, yaitu *Kompas*, *Suara Pembaruan*, *Republika*, dan *Jawa Pos*. Keempat surat kabar ini merupakan institusi pers yang berpengaruh dalam kehidupan pers Indonesia. Dilihat dari sejarahnya, masing-masing surat kabar ini memiliki kedekatan atau berafiliasi dengan kekuatan sosial politik tertentu di Indonesia. *Kompas* memiliki kedekatan dengan kelompok Katolik; *Suara Pembaruan* dengan kelompok Kristen Protestan; *Republika* dengan kelompok Islam; dan *Jawa Pos* dengan kelompok bisnis secara khusus etnis Tionghoa. Faktor kedekatan ini dapat mempengaruhi setiap surat kabar dalam membuat (*framing*) ulasan tajuk rencana.

Teks tajuk rencana yang dianalisis adalah seluruh teks yang disajikan oleh keempat surat kabar, selama pemilihan presiden, yaitu mulai dari edisi 2 Mei hingga 20 September 2004, yang secara eksplisit memuat isu demokratisasi. Dengan merujuk pada pengertian demokrasi yang komprehensif, ditetapkan lima isu demokrasi sebagai *focal points*, yaitu: (1) tentang persamaan di depan hukum; (2) tentang kedaulatan rakyat menentukan pilihan; (3) tentang pelaksanaan pemilihan presiden; (4) tentang pemerintahan yang bersih dan hak-hak rakyat; dan (5) tentang *image* calon presiden. Teks tajuk rencana keempat pers diklasifikasi atas dasar lima isu demokratisasi tersebut.

Penelitian ini menggunakan metode analisis *framing* dari sudut pandang konstruktivis dengan mengikuti *framing analysis* model William Gamson. Hasil analisis *framing* terhadap teks tajuk rencana memperlihatkan, keempat surat kabar membingkai pesan (*framing*) isu demokratisasi secara berbeda. Terbukti pula bahwa perbedaan *framing* tersebut tidak luput dari faktor pengaruh kedekatan

maupun keterikatan masing-masing surat kabar pada kelompok tertentu di negeri ini.

Kendati demikian, secara umum, keempat surat kabar membingkai (*framing*) isu demokratisasi atas dasar pemahaman bahwa pemilu presiden merupakan bagian dari proses konsolidasi demokrasi atau dalam penelitian ini disebut sebagai menggunakan perspektif demokratisasi. Namun pada dasarnya setiap surat kabar memiliki orientasinya sendiri, terutama pada ikatan primordial terhadap kelompok tertentu dan kepentingan ekonomi (pasar). Fenomena ini tentu dapat menghambat tiap surat kabar untuk memfungsikan diri lebih optimal sebagai instrumen demokrasi, menelusuri perjalanan panjang demokratisasi bangsa ini ke depan.



SUMMARY

**A Press and Presidential Election in Indonesia:
An Framing Analysis of Democracy Issues in Editorials
of *Kompas*, *Suara Pembaruan*, *Republika*, and *Jawa Pos*
in the Course of Presidential Election 2004**

Sahat P. Siburian

The presidential election in 2004 represented an essential political event in the democracy agenda in Indonesia. This factual event or political reality obtained a nationwide attention from the mass media. In this context a question arises of how the national presses try to “color” or influence the course of the Indonesian democratization in the future. This question becomes a quite attractive since the press as vehicle mediating the political events is potentially benefited by a group with certain political interests. Furthermore, the press is also able to construct and make a sense of the presidential election reality and then produce or frame a certain message.

The research was aimed at elucidating *framing* of the press about democratization issues when attending fact of the presidential election 2004 as the topic in their editorials. The editorials possessed a distinct place in all newspaper columns. The editorials constituted a formal opinion of the relevant newspapers with respect to the recent factual events or recent social and political issues occurring in Indonesia. In the editorials the views and opinions of the related press institution could be known obviously. This was more recognized as the editor’s policy regarding the certain issue which currently happened in our neighborhoods.

Four newspapers notably *Kompas*, *Suara Pembaruan*, *Republika* and *Jawa Pos* were chosen as the research targets. The four presses accounted for the press institution that was influential in Indonesia. Viewed from their respective histories each newspaper had a close relationship or affiliated with certain social and political forces in Indonesia. For example, *Kompas* had a close relationship with Catholic groups; *Suara Pembaruan* with Christian Protestant groups; *Republika* with Muslim groups; and *Jawa Pos* with the business groups, particularly those having Chinese ethnic. This proximity factor could bring about a significant effect on each newspaper in framing messages or opinions in their editorials.

All texts of the editorials as presented in the four newspapers during the presidential election from editions of 2 May up to 20 September 2004, explicitly describing democratization issues were analyzed here. With reference to comprehensive meaning of democracy, five democracy issues could be defined as focal points, that: (1) regarding *equality before the law*; (2) the people's sovereignty in determining their ultimate choice; (3) implementation of the presidential election; (4) clean government and the people's rights; and (5) president candidate image. The texts were classified in accordance with five democratization issues.

The research used the framing analysis method from constructivist's point of view by adopting framing analysis model developed by William Gamson. The results of the framing analysis over the editorial texts indicated that the four newspapers framed democratization issues differently. It was plainly proved that a difference in framing was extremely affected by the proximity factor or affiliation of each newspaper with the certain groups in the country.

However, the newspapers framed democratization issues on the ground that the presidential election represented an integral part of the democracy consolidation processes or in this research they used democratization perspective. Nevertheless, generally speaking each newspaper had its own orientation, that is, primordial ties with certain groups and certain interests (market). This phenomenon surely hindered each newspaper from undertaking their optimal function as the democracy instrument passing through a long path of the democratization processes in the future.



ABSTRACT

A Press and Presidential Election in Indonesia: An Framing Analysis of Democracy Issues in Editorials of *Kompas*, *Suara Pembaruan*, *Republika*, and *Jawa Pos* in the Course of Presidential Election 2004

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The press, in this case the newspapers constructed and made a sense of the factual events or relevant social and political issues related to the presidential election 2004. Four nationally circulated newspapers namely *Kompas*, *Suara Pembaruan*, *Republika* and *Jawa Pos* broached democratization issues or took these issues as the main discussion in their editorials.

The democratization issues covered *equality before the law*; the people's sovereignty in determining their ultimate choice; the implementation of the presidential election; and clean government and the people's rights. In addition, how the four newspapers framed those issues? Each newspaper did so in different manner. The disparity could be discerned from a strategy and technique in making the coverage of issues (*framing analysis*). Each newspaper made the coverage of the issues by selecting factual events and by salience of certain dimensions of the factual events and then attributing them to other facts.

A difference in the framing strategy, which the four newspapers have so far applied, has resulted in a distinctive meaning or message construction. Therefore, even though they raised the similar issues but they essentially presented opinions or messages independently and showed their own position or attitude in relation to the democratization issues.

Key words: Framing, democratization issues, editorial, presidential election.