

FRAMING ANALYSIS ON THE NEWS OF VIOLATIONS ON ETHICAL CODE BY PARLIAMENT CHAIRMAN (CASE ON TV TALK SHOW “METRO TV - MATA NAJWA” AND “TV ONE – INDONESIAN LAWYER CLUB”)

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ABSTRACT

Reality happens in real life, sometimes framed differently by the media. Framing is concerned with how a media construct an event become a news reality. The individual's background and ideology of media are the main factors of a framing. This study aimed to describe the two major television talk show in Indonesia in framing the code violations in the parliament by the chairman of the Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR) Setya Novanto in case of demand distribution of shares of PT Free Port Indonesia. This study uses a constructionism paradigm of qualitative approach. The theory used is the Social Construction of Reality and the Hierarchy of Influence. To analyze the findings used the framing technique by Pan and Kosicki with an emphasis on the concept of objectivity of Westertahl. Results from this study is regarding how media framing the issues, the media ownership still visible in the presentation of the overall program in both program. Najwa Shihab has a tendency to do the framing that House leaders violated the code of conduct and must resign from office. Karni Ilyas is more objective, but it looks less dared to oppose its ideology of the media. Regarding media objectivity, "Mata Najwa" looked ignore objectivity and prioritize issues just as important in terms of the selection of sources, aired an exclusive interview, and do not separate opinions and facts. Whereas the ILC tend to approach objectivity but do framing for the transfer to the formation of a new issue

Key words: framing, objectivity, factuality, impartiality

Introduction

Members of the House of Representatives (DPR) is an extension of millions of people of Indonesia. But in practice, members of Parliament are still many who commit violations. Quoted from the article online, researchers FORMAPPI (Parliamentary Social Concern Forum) revealed that 2015 was the worst year for the performance of the House of Representatives after it was formed one year ago since Election 2014 (Merdeka, 2015). The statement was in line with the case being twisted former DPR's Chairman, Setya Novanto who officially honorably 'resigned' per December 16, 2015. Before he resigned, he involved in the case of 'Papa Minta Saham' or Papa ask for Shares and profiteering behalf of the President Jokowi and Kalla on request shares in the contract extension of PT. Freeport Indonesia to be operated in Papua, Indonesia.

Meetings conducted by the Chairman of the Parliament, Setya Novanto and businessmen, Riza Chalid with Freeport Indonesia CEO, Maroef Sjamsoeddin is considered a violation of the code of conduct as chairman of the House of Representatives (Kode Etik 2015, 2015). As published in the Tempo magazine, Novanto said to breach the code of conduct for the House leaders had violated the legislation, one of which Article 4, paragraph 2, which regulates the relationship with Partners, which reads "Member shall not make contact with its partners for the purposes of certain contains the potential for corruption, collusion, and nepotism". Meanwhile, in this case Novanto held a meeting with the CEO of the company and engaged an entrepreneur. Moreover, during the meeting, Novanto indicated to ask the stake of the work contract extension with PT Freeport Indonesia on behalf of the President and Vice President.

The violation was reported by Minister of Energy and Natural Resources (ESDM) Sudirman Said, became widespread on media discussed. As revealed by Tankard, that media has supervisory function, media should supervise what is done and happens on government and the obligation to report it to the public with truthful and accurate. However, there is a significant difference on this issue. Some media such as Metro TV and NET TV looks pretty exploiting the case of Chairman of the House. Unlike the TV One who preach this case with smaller portions.

On December 16, 2015, shortly after the resignation of Setya Novanto, Metro TV exclusively reported and put it on their any news programs. Unlike the TV One that just put the news verdict of Novanto in a small part in the news package program "Apa Kabar Indonesia". In order to publish the news, both Metro TV and TV One have a political interest behind it. This is because the object of publicity involved in this case is a politician from one of the biggest political party, GOLKAR. Metro TV is a TV

station owned by Surya Paloh; owner of Media Group and leader of the National Democratic Party (NASDEM) which has coalition with the ruling party PDIP. While the TV One is one of the VIVA group belonging to senior GOLKAR Party Aburizal Bakrie, is the government opposition.

Cases of violation of the code of conduct by the chairman of the House have flared up into a major issue in the media in mid-November 2015. This case appears after Minister Sudirman Said reported Setya Novanto to the Parliament Court of Honor (MKD), on suspicion of profiteering name of the president and vice president at the request of the shares in according to the Freeport's extension contract. Metro TV, through its flagship talk show "Mata Najwa", is the earliest and the most daring media revealing the name of the parliament member who involved to the profiteering name. Almost every day, and all the news on Metro TV program featuring this issues. Metro TV, especially "Mata Najwa" as do agenda setting that Novanto case is the case that all important, involves the interests of many people and very inviting attention. On the contrary, TV One raised the case as something that is ordinary news and does not make a headline. TV One through its flagship program "Indonesia Lawyer Club" (ILC) several times takes the standpoint of Novanto's success as a GOLKAR cadres, and consider Sudirman Said made a mistake. If Metro TV discussed the developments of this case to the bitter end, TV One combines several rounds of cases in a single episode. How the media treats the same issue of dealing with the objectivity of the media. According Westertahl stated that the objectivity of the news consists of factuality and impartiality, which is appropriate and impartial facts (McQuail, 2010). Factuality refers to the value of news related to the journalistic code of ethics, while the impartiality of the balance in their top news source obtained.

Both Metro TV and TV One is known as a sharp media in criticizing a case, preferably containing a political element. However, the presentation of this case could not be separated from the host figure, namely Najwa Shihab on the program "Mata Najwa" and Karni Ilyas on "Indonesia Lawyer Club" (ILC) program. Both have the same background and credibility on journalism and contribute to the program. Najwa as deputy editor in chief in Metro TV, and Karni Ilyas as editor in chief in TV One. Both are not only act as a presenter, but as an important element that directs the construction of an event.

The principle of balance and fairness is indeed similar to that put forward the concept of objectivity by Westertahl (McQuail, 2010) that consists of a balance objectivity and factuality. This means that a proclamation should be based on the facts that occurred, to the exclusion of opinion. Then the balance that requires a news giving equal portions to the parties concerned; either pro, neutral or con. On the application of broadcasting, that the movement of the camera to take an angle also gives emphasis and specific meanings. Of course the camera angle used in the program "Mata Najwa" and "Indonesia Lawyer Club" can strongly support the idea on a construction of events. So in this study, the researchers wanted to take a comparative study on the objectivity of the talk shows; "Mata Najwa and" Indonesia Lawyer Club ". The purpose of this study is to compare how the objectivity of the media; namely the program "Mata Najwa" and "Indonesia Lawyer Club" in framing the news, in the case of violation of the House code of conduct by Speaker of the House

Research design

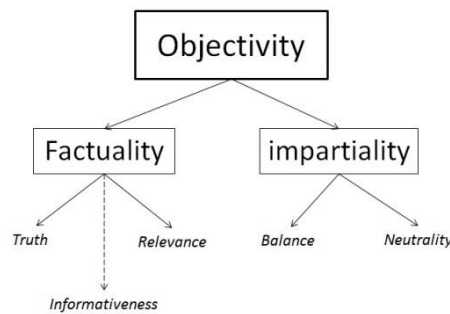
This research is using Social Construction of Reality Theory coined by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, while it is a theoretical and systematic study of the sociology of knowledge (systematic theoretical reasoning). This theory is not a historical overview of the development disciplines. Berger and Luckman believes that public institutions are created and maintained or changed through human action and interaction, although society and social institutions are evident objectively, but in fact all formed in the subjective definition through interaction processes. Objectivity can occur through repeated assertion that given by others, who have the same subjective definition. At the highest level of generality, man created the world in a universal symbolic significance, namely holistic view of life that gives legitimacy and organize social forms, and give meaning to the various areas of their lives. In order to see the case of profiteering names by the Indonesian parliament's chair, Setya Novanto, writer believes that the media has their own agenda to construct the issue depend on the media organization itself. The ownership of the media and also the person who are in charge in the news format will influence the construction of the issues for the audience.

Reality in the practice of everyday life may not be understood as something that is intact. Moreover, the distance factor and accessibility makes media should be an intermediary in order to convey the reality of an event. Routines media, as presented Shoemaker, is something that is inherent in most media workers. In her book "Mediating the Message", it is said that there is a hierarchy of influences, which is affecting the level of media workers routines.

In this study, the Hierarchy of Influence reflected on Najwa Shihab; both individually and organizationally. Individually, Najwa is a journalist who has a keen and critical thinking that affect program that brings. In terms of organization, Najwa is deputy editor in chief of Metro TV. The position will be important in shaping the frame which will be presented in packaging program "Mata Najwa". While Karni Ilyas, is a senior journalist who was the pioneer founding of TV One. According to an article in the rubric Kompasiana, despite its retreat from TV One for reasons of ideological differences, eventually Karni back again with only holds one program; "Indonesia Lawyer Club". The program is under his control, particularly strategic position as editor in chief owned. The important position belongs to Najwa and Karni showed levels that affect individual and organizational media routines.

In analyzing how the media is framing the issue of profiteering name of president and vice president by the chairman of the House, we will use the concept of objectivity submitted by Westertahl. Objectivity consists of factuality and impartiality. Where factuality consists of truth, relevance, and informativeness. While impartiality consists of balance and neutrality. (McQuail, 2010)

Figure 1. Objectivity Scheme Criteria by Westertahl



Source: Introduction to Mass Communication, 6th Edition, Dennis McQuail, 2010

The method used in this research is the analysis method Framing. This method is also used as a method for understanding the “information strategy” in a discourse. Making the frame itself is based on a variety of interests internal or external technical, economic, political or ideological (Hamad, 2004). The audience often watched the news of the event through several sources. A similar event, can be reported in different ways, also from diverse perspectives. Framing formed by a media. A different frame is then able to affect cognitive audience in receiving media content. Unknowingly media have shaped events with spiced ideology of the media itself, and then present it to the public with the packaging are such that the audience receives a message that has been framed by the media as an acceptable reality.

Analysis framing associated with priming process, namely when the media establish criteria on the public agenda and figure. Specifically, researchers used a method of analysis research and Kosicki Pan framing models. Giving specific labels on this method is understood to work to make a reality of being identified, understood, and it is understandable. (Eriyanto, 2002).

Object of this research is the episode “Mata Najwa” with the title “Pejabat Pemburu Rente” (The interest Hunter Officer) which aired on November 18, 2015 episode of “Sidang Rakyat: Mosi Tidak Percaya” (People’s Assembly: Vote of No Trust), as well as the most interesting episode is shortly after the establishment of Novanto case termination after he resigned from the chair of parliament, “ Mata Najwa Live from the Parliament House” under the title “Setya Novanto Mengundukan Diri; Sidang Rakyat: Masih Tidak Percaya” (The resignation of Setya Novanto; People’s Assembly: Still Not Believe”, dated 16 December 2015. Meanwhile, in “Indonesia Lawyer Club” the unit of analysis are an episode dated 17 November 2015 with the title “Sudirman Said Bidik Mafia Petral dan Pencatut Freeport” (Sudirman Said Shutter Mafia Petral and profiteers Freeport), then 24th November 2015 with the title “Sudirman vs Novanto: Perang Sinetron Antar Geng” (Sudirman vs Novanto: Soap Opera Wars between gangs), and dated December 1, 2015 with the title “ MKD: Medan Perang Baru “ (MKD: New Battlefield), and the last episode dated December 8, 2015, entitled “Membedah Kasus Hukum Novanto” (Dissecting the Novanto’s Law Case)

The primary data collection methods used in this research is the analysis of Framing in “Mata Najwa” and “Indonesia Lawyer Club” were analyzed according Framing device model Pan and Kosicki, and modified with objectivity concept by Westertahl, as illustrated in the following scheme Framing unit:

Table 1. Scheme of Framing Unit

Structure	Framing Elements	Observing Units
SYNTAX How presenter compile facts	1. News Scheme	Factuality: title, opening statement
		Impartiality: background, citation, sources, statements
SCRIPT How presenter provide the facts	2. The Completeness of News	Impartiality: how presenter choose the source
Thematic How presenter describe the facts	3. Details 4. Coherent 5. Sentence Format 6. Pronouns	Factuality: comments, statements, conclusion
		Impartiality: portion that presenter give to each source to say their arguments, how the presenter probeor inverstigate the source
RETHORIC How presenter emphasis on the facts	7. Graphic 8. Metaphor	Factuality: How presenter using words and audio
		Impartiality: intonation, camera angle, idiom

Results

Of the three episodes of "Mata Najwa" studied, researchers found many personal assessment of Najwa as a major figure of the program that seems in a hurry to judge the performance of a particular party. Things stand out in every episode of "Mata Najwa" relating to the objectivity of a program (news), namely:

Table 2 Indications Objectivity and Framing Program "Mata Najwa"

Title of The Topic	Indications Objectivity and Framing
Pejabat Pemburu Rente	There is a change of greeting by Najwa of 'minister' to 'Mas Dirman' to Sudirman Said. which shows that the relationship Najwa at Sudirman Said more familiar and close
Sidang Rakyat : Mosi Tidak Percaya	Presentation program "Mata Najwa" appear impartial, because Najwa repeatedly cornered deputy speaker of MKD pro Novanto.
Sidang Rakyat : Masih Tidak Percaya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Speakers: 1 speaker from the Novanto, 5 of the counter Novanto, 1 neutral. - Additional Interview with Akbar Faisal from National Democratic Party which is one of the ruling party coalition

The duration of the program "Mata Najwa" which is only 60 minutes of time is not enough to dissect this case, let alone presenting several speakers. Of completeness of information captured becomes not exhaustive. Even Najwa tend not to dig up information so that it becomes a comprehensive, yet intimidating sources so as not free to give opinions. That is, the team "Mata Najwa" presents the construction of an event 'just' that are considered important by a team of Mata Najwa and Metro TV to the public. Researchers also assessed, resource persons present had prepared a political argument, as well several speakers and Najwa offending link this case with political elements.

In each episode, Karni Ilyas invite the some parties involved, knowing the event, as well as experts who have experience with cases more or less the same. The lack objectivity of "Indonesian Lawyers Club" (ILC) is located on a few things that can be seen in the table below:

Table 3 Indications Objectivity and Framing Program "Indonesia Lawyer's Club"

Title	Indications Objectivity and Framing
Sudirman Said Bidik Mafia Petral dan Pencatut <i>Freeport</i>	Sudirman Said party is only one person, Novanto party are 6 people.
Sudirman vs Novanto : Sinteron Perang Antar Geng	Absence of the GOLKAR and GERINDRA Party (coalition of Novanto/ contra government coalition)
MKD : Medan Perang Baru	Karni gave an opinion that it concerns a political element and coalition interests.
Membedah Kasus Hukum Setya Novanto	Give portions at most to the former Chairman of the Honorary Board, which is currently the Honorary Supreme Council.

The table above shows the indication of the impartiality of the ILC in the its program presentation, although still in the limits of reasonableness. That is, the ILC has been trying to achieve an element of objectivity to the bit override the values of real enterprise support Novanto. Judging from the title, the ILC is presenting legal experts to argue the appropriate authorities and not to give opinions. Judging from the title, the ILC is presenting legal experts to argue the appropriate authorities and not to give opinions. Not only that, Karni Ilyas figure who is a senior journalist, able to make a reluctant speaker and spoke on track, as well as respecting the course of a talk show so walk neatly. , Because the office with the observations of researchers, in a book "Undercover Broadcast" submitted that according to Metro TV Chief Editor; Putra Nababan, Karni Ilyas is a person who consistently shine as a journalist, because of the position not release his soul as a news hunter. (Jakarta, 2013). At the time of the talk show is running, Karni Ilyas confirms a few things that feel awkward, digging deeply but without coercion, then finish disclosure / information sources were deemed unnecessary and out of the context of the episode.

To further simplify the comparison would look at both programs; "Mata Najwa" and "Indonesia Lawyer Club", can be analyzed using the following matrix:

Table 4 Matrix of the Difference between Program "Mata Najwa" and "Indonesia Lawyer Club"

No	Title	Source	Portion to argue	Objectivity	Framing
1	"Mata Najwa" : Pejabat Pemburu Rente	2 pro Sudirman Said, 2 pro Setya Novanto	Same portion	Not Objective	Cornering Setya Novanto as the only guilty party
2	"Mata Najwa" : Sidang Rakyat Mosi Tidak Percaya	3 pro Setya Novanto, 4 Contra Setya Novanto	Portion is much more for the contra Novanto	Not Objective	Judging the member of Parliament Court of Honor (MKD) as an untrusted party
3	"Mata Najwa" : Sidang Rakyat Masih Tidak Percaya	2 pro Setya Novanto, 5 contra Setya Novanto	Portion is much more for the contra Novanto	Lack of Objectivity	Guarding scenario fraud occurring in the House of Representatives (DPR)
4	"Indonesia Lawyer Club" : Sudirman Said Bidik Mafia Petral dan Pencatut Presiden	1 contra Novanto, 2 neutral, 4 pro Novanto	Portion is much more for the pro Novanto	Not Objective	Listen to the description of the two camps; Sudirman and on, he even most of the pro Novanto
5	"Indonesia Lawyer Club" : Sudirman vs Novanto : Sinetron Perang Antar Geng	8 pro Novanto, 7 contra Novanto	Same portion	Almost Objective	Transfer main issue by opening new facts about the problem of Freeport Extension Contract
6	"Indonesia Lawyer Club" : MKD: Medan Perang Baru	4 pro Novanto, 3 contra Novanto, 3 neutral	Same portion	Lack of Objectivity	Questioning feud in MKD
7	"Indonesia Lawyer Club" : Membedah Kasus Hukum Novanto	1 pro Novanto, 1 contra Novanto, 9 neutral	Portion is much more for the neutral	Not Objective	Raising the various legal aspects but seen as an attempt to defend Novanto

Conclusion

1. How Media Framing the Issue

- There is a political party influence behind the owner of the television. Although different portion between the talk show, but still visible in the presentation of the overall program. Overall the packaging of "Mata Najwa" deeply discrediting opposition politicians nature (GOLKAR and GERINDRA) with the owners of Metro TV. While "Indonesia Lawyer Club" prefers the element of objectivity and put aside political interests associated with the media owners.
- The host holds a great deal of control in framing of issues. Karni Ilyas as the Chief Editor of TV One strong control will be framing the news, especially in "Indonesia Lawyer Club". Karni is more objective, but it looks less dared to oppose its ideology media TV One. It is implied from the frame is used; namely "saving natural resources" and not lead the completion of cases of violation of the code of ethics Speaker of the House. Likewise with Najwa Shihab, Deputy Chief Editor of Metro TV news framing flexibility, especially in programs that she held, "Mata Najwa". Najwa highly visible has a tendency to do the framing that House leaders violated the code of conduct and must resign from office.

2. Media Objectivity

In the program "Mata Najwa" looked ignore objectivity and prioritize issues just as important. in terms of the selection of sources, aired an exclusive interview, and do not separate opinions and facts. While "Indonesia Lawyer's Club" further implemented objectivity above other interests of the company, although it chose to put aside political element to look objective, but there is framing new issues to be highlighted, namely "saving natural resources of Freeport" as an effort to minimize the removal of the issue of profiteering name president and vice president by Novanto

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