THE FRAMING OF LOCAL ONLINE MEDIA NEWS APROPOS OF INDRATA NUR BAYUAJI-GAGARIN IN PACITAN LEADER ELECTION 2020

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Abstract: Recently, the researcher has shown increased essential issues in the PILKADA—Local Leaders Election—across region in Indonesia. Therefore, this research was aimed at viewing the framing of the Indrata-Gagarin pair as a result of local online media reality reproduction in the 2020 Pacitan Election. It was considered that qualitative research would usefully explore and extend the analysis of the data source in the form of news texts in Pacitan local online media. Further, the results of the research were analyzed using Edelman framing categorization to enhance the Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin pair image. Finally, the results of the research revealed that the framing was divided into two, namely strategy and issue framing. The framing strategy for the winning of the Indarata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin pair is as follows; 1) SBY's—ex Indonesian president— message to maintain the political culture in Pacitan, 2) SBY returns to his hometown, winning the SSI (Indonesian Survey Syndication) Survey, 4) 80% support from political parties, 5) invitation to vote for number 1 (Indrata Nur Bayuaji), 6) the combined strength of the youth and legislator, 7) Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin is good leader, 8) Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin's political milestone is superior, 9) border infrastructure, 10) in line with the government center. Meanwhile, the framing issues are with the following categorization selection; 1) being aware of money politics, 2) promoting UMKM (micro business) and Pacitan tourism, 3) socio-cultural development of Pacitan, 4) education and health, 5) poverty, 6) *Baiat* (an oath of allegiance to a leader) of Gagarin by PW NU East Java, 7) obeying the rules, 8) maintaining a friendship, 9) being parental respect.

Keywords: Framing, Indrata-Gagarin, Pacitan Local Leaders Election 2020.

INTRODUCTION

Recent developments in the political issue escorted by the online media framing have heightened the need for further investigation for the academic phenomenon. In this case, the framing is the result of reproducing reality by highlighting certain aspects. The Pacitan Local Leaders Election (PILKADA) reality in 2020 Pacitan, as the Democracy administration in the District, had been in honest, fair, direct, free, and confidential implementation. However, the physical and psychological health of the voters is the most important thing.

The direct democracy system the so-called one-man-one-vote in Pilkada will determine the Pacitan democracy quality in 2020. The principles of the Pilkada are direct, public, free, confidential, honest, fair, and maintain the organizers and the electorate health. The cycles of the follow-up election campaign based on the General Election Commission Regulations (PKPU RI No. 5, 2020a:

14) were started from September 26, 2020, to December 5, 2020. Meanwhile, the rules allow offline or online campaigns from November 22, 2020, to December 5, 2020 (PKPU No. 13, 2020: 14). Therefore, the existing online media is indispensable to promote the regent and the vice-regent pairs in the Pacitan Pilkada campaign stages.

The media is a notably pivotal role in the election campaign implementation, by creating the necessary correlation among political parties, candidates, and citizens. Due to the carried out reporting, the consolidation in democracy is maintained (Gerth & Siegert, 2012). Online media, which reaches many voters, including those who are internet users, can remind them to register and choose the candidates (Bimber & Davis, 2003: 62).

In conformity with previous researches; those are: a) Jisuk Woo, (1996) frame of media reproduction towards news discourse on the 1987 and 1992 Korean Presidential elections; b) Johanes, (2013) framing of conflict reports from the National Democratic Party (Nasdem) in Harian Media Indonesia and Koran Sindo; c) Febriyanti Zahra, (2021) on the construction of CNN Indonesia news regarding Gibran Rakabuming Raka after the Solo simultaneous local leader election in 2020; d) furthermore Widya Kusumadewi & Rusdi (2016), the framing of the chaotic news concerning Golkar Party after the Menkumham— Ministry of Justice and Human Rights —decision in the Metro TV Primetime Dialogue Program and the Evening News TVOne; e) Klüver et al (2015) framing in public policy, by highlighting biased side to formulate policy proposals while ignoring others to obtain an advantage in policy debates.

Referring to the facts, framing has long been the subject of academic studies, firstly emerges between the 1970s and 1980s, Price V, Tewskbury D (1997: 175) the title is witching Trains of Thought: The Impacts of Frames on Reader's Cognitive Responses, Scheufele (1999:105) the title is framing as a Theory of Media Effects. D. A. Scheufele & D. Tewksbury (2007: 9) highlights some of the main dimensions in the media namely framing, agenda determination, and priming, by acquiring conceptual distinctions for the communication discipline development.

In reference to the search of the preceding researches; henceforth, the novelty elements of this research are as follows; 1) news framing in Pacitan local online media for the regent and vice-regent candidate pairs in Pacitaan Pilkada, 2) Pilkada in an abnormal situation due to the Covid-19 pandemic, 3) the disruption of both the organizers and the candidates due to the implementation date postponement on December 9, 2020, and 4) employing Edelman framing analysis. The researcher maintains that the Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin couple utilizes local online media as a means of imagery to internalize sympathy and voice support.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Framing

Eriyanto (2015: 3) revealed that framing is how the reality of events, actors, groups, or anything is framed or framed by the media. Moreover, Steinberg (1999:741) added that framing is a dynamic process of representation, describing the frame as a relatively stable system of meaning, similar to a modular text or map, which can survive for a long period. Further, frame, framing, and framework were to identify and make explicit general trends among the various uses of the term, suggesting a more precise understanding of its universal or general nature (Edelman, 1993; Entman, R. M., & Rojecki, 1993; Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, 1991; Gamson, 1992; (Goffman, 1974; Iyengar, 1991; Riker, 1986).

Framing provided the basis for conceptualizing and describing problems, events, and people (Chong, D., & Druckman, 2007; R. M Entman, 2004). Equally important, framing means selecting some aspect of perceived reality and making it more prominent in the communicative text, in a

particular way to promote a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the described item (Robert M. Entman, 1993: 51).

Here concurrently, (Ferre Marx, et al, 2002: 105) framing was a central organizing idea that provides coherence to a defined idea element set. Gamson analogized the frame like a picture frame, which places a boundary around something, distinguishing it from surrounding available entities; so that it becomes a spark that attracts recognition by highlighting certain aspects of a problem, eliminating other aspects (Gamson, 2004: 245). Next, framing functions as an information organizer, by reproducing an issue which is an extraordinary power because it defines or reproduces a reality (Mark, 2014: 9).

Another statement, (Vreese, 2005: 53) framing or frame was to an emphasis on the salience of various topic aspects. Comparatively, (Eriyanto, 2015: 290-291), framing was the process of making a message more interesting or salient more than other messages to grasp audience reading interest. Furthermore, framing or frames in news made opinion more attractive (Gamson, 2004), which has the greater influence potency by using the"cultural resonance concept and multicultural society.

Online Media

The online media (McQuail, 2011: 154) was established from journalism, information technology infrastructure in which the internet connection is available for connectivity among individuals, institutions, regions without any restricted time and region. The characteristics of online media (Sunday et al., 2020: 267) were concise, adaptive, scannability, interactivity, and community.

Meanwhile (Ward, 2004: 21), the characteristics of the online media information dissemination were immediacy, multiple pages, multimedia, flexibility, being archived, being interactive with readers, and linkage. By the same token, the characteristics of online journalism (Bardoel, 2002: 504-505), (Silvina A. Acosta, 2004: 38), (Jensen, 1998: 201), (Tsay, 2009: 451) are as follows; 1) interactivity, 2) hypertextuality, 3) multimedia and 4) linearity. The function of the news media was to mediate, which refers to any act of intervening, conveying, or reconciling among different actors, collectives, or institutions (Mazzoleni, G., & Schulz, 1999: 249).

METHOD

It was considered that qualitative research would usefully explore and extend the analysis of the data source. It employs Edelman framing analysis with categorization on the two local online media news in Pacitan namely, www.pacitanku.com (PCT), www. Lintas7.com (L7). This article is based on the results of research on the follow-up Pilkada from the end of September to December 2020. Then, the data source is in the form of news texts in the two local online media. For this reason, to analyze the text data of the news the researcher used Endelman framing analysis. Framing Edelman aligns framing as a categorization with the use of certain words which also indicate how facts or reality are understood as abstractions and functions of the mind (Eriyanto, 2015: 186).

DISCUSSION

Framing Strategy for Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin

In conformity with Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson (1997), referring to the previous proposal, there are two general news frames in political reporting, those are the issue and the strategic frame.

Strategic frames are used to emphasize the strategies and tactics of candidates and/or parties positioning themselves to win elections (Schmuck et al, 2017).

1. SBY's Message to Preserve Political Culture in Pacitan

Alluding to the framing strategy of the Indrata-Gagarin on the report of L7-PCW-10 data, the category selection was "SBY's Message to preserve Political Culture in Pacitan". The category is based on the following news quote: "The 6th President of the Republic Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, reminded the public to maintain a good political culture in his homeland, Pacitan. SBY, who was being in Pacitan, admitted that he heard various societal concerns approaching the voting period, (Pacitanku.com, (4/12/2020).

2. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Return to His Village

The data of PCT- PCW-9, selected the following categories *"SBY Returns to the Village Until Mid-December 2020". The data is based on the following news, "The 6th President of the Republic Indonesia Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) is scheduled to return to his hometown in Pacitan a week before the Regent and Vice-regent Election in Pacitan"* (Pacitanku.com, (4/12/2020)).

3. Winning the SSI (Indonesian Survey Syndication) Survey

Referring to PCT-PCW-15 data, the categorization selection was as follows, "Indrata Nur Bayuaji has a major victory in the SSI survey, Aji" as quoted from online media news, "Pacitan regent candidate number 1; Indrata Nur Bayuaji, spoke about the results of a survey from the Indonesian Survey Syndication Institute (SSI) which placed himself with Gagarin as a landslide," (Pacitanku.com, (7/11/2020)). The Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin couple said directly to local online media that based on a survey they were superior instead of the Yudi Sumbogo-Insyah Ansori pair.

4. 80 % Support of the Major Political Parties

The categorization election was 80% solidity support from the major parliament political parties or supported by 13 non-parliamentary political parties. The categorization selection was from the following news quote, "Aji himself proposes to the Pacitan leader election with Gagarin and was supported by the Democratic Party, the Golkar Party (Golkar), the Democratic National Party (Nasdem), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra) and the United Development Party (PPP)" (Pacitanku.com, (22/9/2020)). The major political parties that won seats in the Pacitan DPRD Regency ─Regional House of Representatives─ 2019-2024 such as Golkar, Nasdem, PKS, Hanura, Gerindra, and PPP or 80% supported Indrata Nur Bayuaji. Meanwhile, 20% of the partners are PKB and PDI-P parties.

5. Invitation to Vote Number 1 (Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin)

Framing with the categorization, "voting number 1 is the road to a developed and prosperous Pacitan", was as quoted from the following news in local online media Pacitan, "by arriving at polling place whole-heartedly and enthusiastically on December 9, 2020, to vote number 1 with whom on behalf of prosperous and developed Pacitan," (Pacitanku.com, (30/10/2020)). The framing of this categorization election is to invite the voters of the Indrata-Gagarin pair number one if they want to have a prosperous and developed Pacitan Pacitan.

Susilo Bambang Yudoyono's invitation based on L7-PCW-7 data, framing in Pacitan local online media was with following categorization selection "SBY calls Wong Pacitan (Pacitan society) to vote number 1" as the following quote "The posted billboards at several points in the Pacitan area inserted SBY's sentence (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) who called the Pacitan people. In reference to

Subiyanti, SBY's calling narration is a hope that the community will succeed in the election of the Pacitan Regent and vice-regent election," (Lintas7.net, (24/11/2020)). As maintained by Baudrillard, informing us that the "truth" of our real new age is hyperrealization which does not basically erase or destroy the real one but is caused by the power hegemony of something (Chen, 1987: 676). The power hegemony of something abstract is not a reality but is very influential to expose Pacitan voters' opinion to SBY's message.

6. Combined Power of Youth and Legislators

The local online media framing is with the following category selection, "the Aji-Gagarin pair is a combination of two complementary young power" as quoted from news on 5 Dec 2020, "Referring to Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono or familiarly called as AHY, Aji-Gagarin is a combination of the experienced, strong and of young people. Both are also considered to be complementary", (Lintas7.net, (5/12/2020)).

7. Pacitan Border Infrastructure

The framing strategy, based on PCT-PCW-19 data, in online media for Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin is with the following categorization selection "prioritize border area development" quoted from the following news, "One of the priorities is border area development. Why does this ex-duo legislator insist on building a border area in Pacitan? Pacitan is known to have one of the development problems related to infrastructure, where the road quality is still lacking," (Pacitanku.com, (10/11/2020)).

8. In line with the Government Center

The choice of the categorization is, "make sure the vision and mission are in line with the center and the province," quoted from local online media Pacitan, "The regent candidate pair number 1 Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin ensures that the vision and mission in line with the central and provincial government" (Pacitanku.com, (11/11/2020)).

Framing Issue

1. Money Politic Awareness

The framing of the issue is by selecting the following categorization "So that all winning elements continue to be expansive vigilant and careful into the Aji-Gagarin area". Quoted from online media news, "The person in charge of the winning team for the candidate pair number 1 Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin, Indartato advised all winning elements to be continuously vigilant and careful," (Pacitanku.com, (5/11/ 2020)). The issue framing is reproduced by local online media based on sources from the concerned politicians concerned to maintain the support solidity for the Indrata-Gagarin pair. It results in being benefits for the particular party pertaining to the most competent issue (Budge, I., & Farlie, 1983); (Petrocik, 1996), which is a reason why they strategically collaborate with the media to selectively report information, aiming to win the 2020 Pacitan Pilkada.

2. Promoting UMKM and Pacitan Tourism

The framing is with the categorization of "developing Tourism", quoted from local online media news Pacitan (4/12/2020) "The candidate pair number 1 Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin is committed to developing tourism in Pacitan Regency." Enhancing tourism by holding the International Panji Festival and the Nusantara Bamboo Festival," (Pacitanku.com, (4/12/2020).

The categorization selection to encourage tourism-UMKM collaboration for economic growth in Kebonagung subdistrict is quoted from the news "Pacitan regent candidate number 1 Indrata Nur

Bayuaji encourages tourism and economic growth in the Kebonagung subdistrict area," (Pacitanku.com, (16/10/2020).

3. Socio-Cultural as Pacitan Capital Building

The framing category choice, "Invite the public to maintain Pacitan culture and value," is quoted from local online media news "The candidate pair number 1 Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin Sumrambah invites people not to abandon cultural values by maintaining culture and Pacitan culture," (Pacitanku.com, 12/10/2020)).

4. Education

The choice of categorization, "Let's go to school," is quoted from the news "Then, what interesting in this aspect is, is two action programs as solutions to the available education problems in Pacitan. The first is "Let's Go to School," (Pacitanku.com).

5. Health

Local online media framing data from Pacitan PCT-PCW – 45, towards Indrata-Gagarin pair is with the following categorization "improve the people health quality of Pacitan". For other candidates, there is no program to improve the health quality, such as the following quote from local online media, "One of the major focuses in the health domain is by increasing the social health quality level (Pacitanku.com, (4/10/2020)).

6. Poverty

The choice of categorization "poverty alleviation action program", is quoted from the following news "poverty alleviation is one of Aji-Gagarin's priority programs. Where this is a strategy to develop and increase Human Resource Competitiveness to achieve the goal, one of which is decreasing the poverty percentage rate", (Pacitanku.com, (29/9/2020)).

7. Gagarin's Baiat (allegiance) to the East Java PWNU

The selection of categorization "Gagarin's *baiat* to PWNU East Java is witnessed by NU (*Nahdlatul Ulama*) Ulama", is quoted from local online media news "after me there was a decision from my main party DPP Golkar Party, that Golkar is in a coalition with Democrats party. Finally, I am as a party cadre must somehow follow direction, even though previously I have engaged in communication with several parties, such as PDIP, Nasdem, PKB, invited by the East Java PWNU" (Pacitanku.com, (10/9/2020).

8. Obeying the Rules

Framing with the categorization selection "APK─campaign props─removal", is quoted from the following news "Entering the restful period towards the regent election of Pacitan on Wednesday (9/12/2020), the winning team for the number 1 candidate pair Indrata Nur Bayuaji and Gagarin, the guerrillas carried out the removal of APK placed at several points in the Pacitan district," (Pacitanku.com, (9/12/2020).

The selection of categories, "obey health protocols in every campaign activity," is such as news quotes in the following Pacitan local online media (16/10/2020) " Anung Dwi Ristanto, a member of the winning team for the regent candidate pair number 1, ensures that Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin always obeys the health protocol to prevent coronavirus disease spread (COVID-19) in every campaign activity during the campaign period," (Pacitanku.com, (16/10/2020)).

CONCLUSION

One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that the local online media framing to Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin pair is with categorization options related to the following strategy; 1) SBY's message to protect the political culture in Pacitan, 2) Susilo Bambang Yudoyono's return to home, 3) win of SSI survey, 4) major support of the political parties, 5) invitation to vote for number 1 Indarata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin, 6) the combined power of young people and legislators, 7) border infrastructure, 8) in line with the center.

Meanwhile, framing related to the issues are; 1) money politic awareness, 2) Pacitan UMKM and tourism advancement, 3) Social and Cultural Capital to build Pacitan, 4) education, 5) health, 6) poverty, 7) Gagarin's baiat to East Java PWNU, and 8) obeying the rules.

As specified by Mathew Kieran (1997: 81) news is not formed in a vacuum, but is produced from the dominant ideology in a certain area of competence, how the world is reported from a certain side of reality, where events are mediated by categories, interpretations, and evaluations of that reality. The Democratic Party, as the supporting party of the Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin pair, is the dominant ideology in Pacitan.

From the emerging empirical findings, the framing winning strategy of Indrata Nur Bayuaji chooses the politics identity categorization and Susilo Bambang Yudoyono to increase vote support on voting day, 9 December. Principally, the frame in a news text is really a trace of power, it records the actor identity or interest which competes for it in dominating text (Robert M. Entman, 1993: 55). Therefore, the online media framing of the Indrata-Gagarin pair chooses an attractive categorization to acquire Pacitan voter support.

In harmony with the aforementioned issues, (Kieran, 1997: 81) news are not formed in a vacuum, but are produced from the dominant ideology in a certain area of competence, how the world is reported from a certain side of reality, where events are mediated by categories, interpretations, and evaluations of that reality. This category represents a semantic frame that expresses the basic rhetorical elements of the populist movement. They are important because they guide editorial analysis and establish the populism concept embraced in this study (Araújo Bruno & Prior Helder, 2020: 6). Whatmore, the internet era, with social restrictions by a ban on open campaigns in the 2020 Pacitan Pilkada, makes news in online media be a reality. In line with the case, Baudrillard states, the truth is that the real millennial era is hyperrealization which basically does not erase or destroy the real but is due to the power hegemony from an apparent or image entity to become real (Chen, 1987: 676).

Finally, the Covid-19 pandemic has caused the political democracy shifts, which so far is only carried out in the actual or offline space, to cyber or online space. Changes from actual (face to face) democracy to online democracy are one of the essences of political democracy in online media. It generally runs using both verbal languages such as words and word sequences as well as visual or non-verbal language such as photos and pictures to gain support from the voters in Pacitan.

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