

The Declining of Mass Media Power in Setting Agenda During Local Election in Bali

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abstract :

Media usaged during election campaign is still an effective method for reaching the constituens. In 2010's, election at five regions in Bali, printed media was the most effective way of communication. The candidate with most frequently appeared in printed media, won the election. However during 2015's election, the role of printed media/ newspaper was declining while the used of socialmedia was increasing. This is partly due to: (1) the media/ newspapers are less independent and tend to promote a certain candidate; (2) the reader/constituent have better media literacy so they are not easily affected by the media's agenda and (3) the election had been held together in the nation make local newspapers have less interest in printing local politics. Accordingly, the candidates used more social media, since it reach the constituent directly, the cost if more effective and the social media already became more and more common among people.

Keywords: *Bali, local election, media power, political communication*

I. Introduction

Since reformation in 1998, Indonesia changed the local election system. The changes also effect the political actor used mass media as their medium to communicate with their constituent. It also happened in Bali Province in 2010. In 2010, there were 14 days for campaign, with total 198 article and advertise about the local election, its mean that every day they were 12 article or advertisement in average.

The frequency of candidate's appearing in media during the campaign had linear relations with the election's result. Ras Amanda (2010) wrote that the five districts/cities were doing the election in 2010, only one district that not showed the same result. The district was Karangasem. So, in conclusion, Ras Amanda judged that appearing in the print media had a significant influenced to the degree of the election of the candidate.

After five years, the world is changing, new technologies arising. In 2014, it is only 18,4 percent of people in Denpasar City Bali were newspaper's customer, but they are 43,6 percent of people in Denpasar city were using media online. It showed the usaged of newspaper was declining, and the usaged of media online was arising. Along with the arising usaged of media online, it was interesting to learn how he usaged of newspaper as medium to communicate between political actor with the constituen.

The other issue that interested to learn is how is the power of media in influencing people's choice during the local election. In 2010, power of agenda media influenced the election's results. Since the media usage was declining, it was important to learn how is the media power after five years. The use of print media or newspaper as the medium of political communication seems declining, as well as the number of newspaper's readers. It also happened in Bali Province, so the research's problem were:

1. How is the comparison of media usage in political communication during the campaign of local election in Bali between 2010 and 2015 elections?
2. How is the media influence the constituent's choice in the local election in Bali?

2. The Role of Mass Media in Democracy

Gurevitch and Blumer (1990) point out the rules of the mass media game in democratic societies. Media power must always be appraised in light of the historical and social context.

Democracy requires the media perform and provide a number of functions and services for the political system. Some of the functions and services of the goals are surveillance of the sociopolitical environment, meaningful agenda-setting, and a principle resistance to the efforts of forces outside the media to subvert media independence, integrity, and ability to serve the audience. To support democracy, media play the role to incentives for citizens to learn, choose, and become involved, rather than merely to follow and kibitz over the political process.

Gurevitch and Blumer also stressed that to fulfilled the goals, they are four obstacles, (1) conflict among democratic values themselves, (2) authoritative political communication often appear to exist in an elite world of their own, distanced from the circumstances and perspectives of ordinary people, (3) not everyone in the audience for political communication is a political animal, (4) the media can pursue democratic values only in ways that are compatible with the sociopolitical and economic environment in which they operate.

3. Definition of Political Communication

Definition of political communication itself was diverse. Broadly speaking Political Communication is communication involving political messages and political actors, or related to power, government, and government policies. In this sense, as an applied science, political communications is not new. Political communication can also be understood as communication between the "ruling" and "ruled".

McNair (2010) describe political communication following Denton and Woodward by stressing the *intentionality* of political communication, which McNair define simply as *purposeful communication about politics*. This incorporates: (1) All forms of communication undertaken by politicians and other political actors for the purpose of achieving specific objectives. (2) Communication addressed *to* these actors by non-politicians such as voters and newspaper columnists. (3) Communication *about* these actors and their activities, as contained in news reports, editorials, and other forms of media discussion of politics.

Agenda Setting

McCombs and Shaw's agenda setting model of media effects model created by Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw in 1976, which claims that the way in which the media report events determines how they will be perceived and thus how important they will become in public awareness (Danesi). Before that Cohen (1963) already described Lipman ideas inside agenda-setting theory. He wrote that may be persons not that success to tell people what should they think, but they succeed to tell people about what that they should think (Baran&Davis, 2010:61). What Cohen wrote became the foundation of the agenda-setting theory. McCombs and Shaw (1972) said that are a strong and significant relations between agenda media with the issues that become public agenda.

4. Research Methods

In this study, researcher used a descriptive research method. A Descriptive study is intended for exploration and clarification regarding something phenomenon or social reality, by way of describing many variables regarding the problem, and the unit is being investigated. This type of research is not intended to generalization a phenomenon. Therefore, on a descriptive study, do not use and do not perform hypothesis testing; so it is not intended to establish and develop a theory. The research location is in Bali where the print media was circulating. The print media used as research's object are the top four newspaper in Bali. There are *Bali Post*, *Radar Bali*, *Nusa Bali*, and *Tribun Bali*.

Techniques of Data Collection

Methods for collecting data used in this research were document archives. Document

archives are activities conducted an analysis of the documents. In this study, the news and advertisements in newspapers during the election campaign were the research samples. The first data was from the first research held in 2010, with the same object. The second data was form the research held in 2015, with the same object. Both of this data compared to learn how political communication using newspaper change.

Research Objects

The object of this study is all political form of communication in the newspaper where all the candidate of the six district/city in Bali Province used during the local election in the same time in 2015. The print media used as research's object are the top four newspaper in Bali. There are *Bali Post*, *Radar Bali*, *Nusa Bali*, and *Tribun Bali*.

The candidate were Ida Bagus Rai Dharmawijaya Mantra- IGN Jaya Negara, I Made Arjaya – Anak Agung Ayu Rai Sunasri, I Ketut Resmiyasa- Ida Bagus Batu Agung Antara, who running for the major in Denpasar City. Made Gianyar – Nyoman Sedana Artha and Ida Bagus Made Brahmaputra – I Ketut Ridet who running for head of Bangli region. I Nyoman Giri Prasta- I Ketut Suiasa and Made Suidiana – Nyoman Sutrisno who running for head of Badung region. Ni Putu Eka Wiryastuti- IKG Sanjaya and I Wayan Sarjana – Ida Bagus Komang Astawa Merta who running for head of Tabanan region. I Wayan Sudirta – Ni Made Sumiati, IGA Mas Sumatri – Wayan Arta Dipa, and I Made Sukerana – I Komang Kisid who running for head of Karangasem region. I Putu Artha- Kembang Hartawan and I Komang Sinatra – I Gusti Agung Ketut Sudanayasa who running for head of Jembrana region.

5. Result and Discussion

a. Media Usaged Comparison

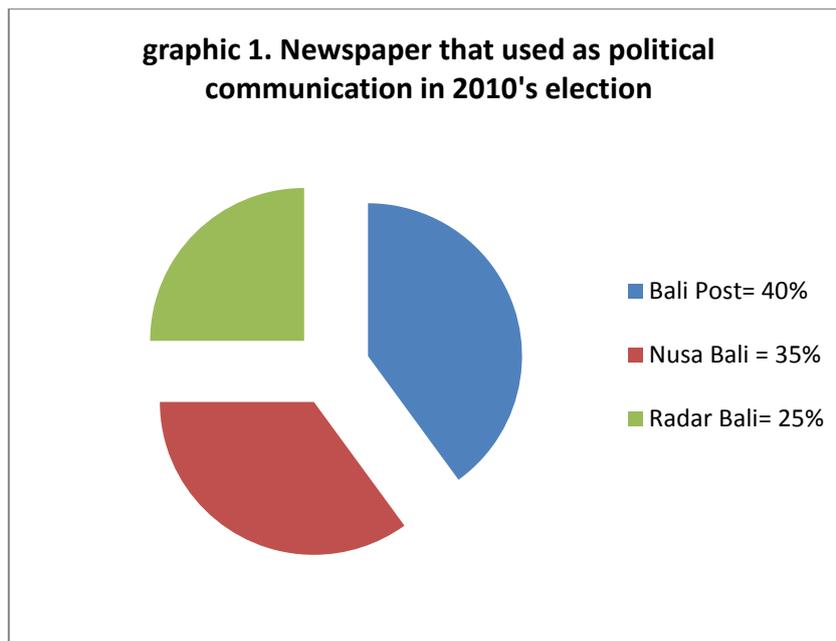
Local election's campaign in 2015 was different from 2010. In 2015 it run since 27 August 27th until December 5th, it was longer than campaign days in 2010. In 2010 campaign only for 14 days, with total 198 article, advertisement, advertorial and paid article . In average there are 14 article each day during the campaign. In 2015, time for campaign was longer, quantity of political communication in newspaper also bigger, there was 1337 article, advertisement, advertorial, and paid article. In average, there are 18 article each day during the campaign. It bigger because there are six region/city held local election in 2015, in 2010 there only five region/city had election. The comparison can easily seen in table 1.

Table 1. Comparison of Media Usaged

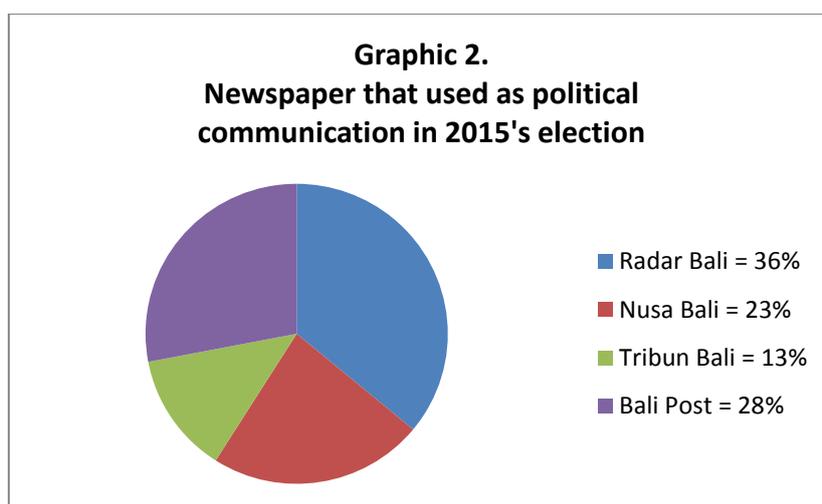
| | 2010 local election | 2015 local election |
|---|---|---|
| Time for campaign | 14 days | 71 days |
| Region/city | 5 region/city: Denpasar, Bangli, Karangasem, Tabanan, Badung | 6 region/city: Denpasar, Bangli, Karangasem, Tabanan, Badung, Jembrana |
| Newspaper | Bali Post, Nusa Bali, Radar Bali (3) | Bali Post, Nusa Bali, Radar Bali, Tribun Bali (4) |
| Total article, advertisement, advertorial and paid article/news | 198 | 1337 |
| Article each day | 14 | 18 |
| Article per newspaper per each day | 4,6 | 4,5 |

From table 1., it showed that the usage of newspaper in average is declining. In 2010, there were 4,6 article about local election in 5 region and three newspaper. In 2015, although the amount of article is increasing, the quantity of region held election is bigger, but in average there only 4,5 article each day. So this showed that using newspaper as their medium to communicate with constituent not as popular as in 2010's election. There are candidate who not using media as their medium to communicate at all.

The political actor also changed their media option. Newspaper that often they used for communicating during campaign is different from 2010 and 2015. In 2010, *Bali Post* is the most often used by candidate. There are 56 percent of all the article publish in *Bali Post*. *Bali Post* is the biggest newspaper in Bali. In 2010, *Radar Bali* was the less choice to used as medium to communicate. It can be seen in graphic 1.



In 2015's election, there have been some change in mapping the media used as medium to communication by the actors politic. In 2015, there were a new Newspaper, *Tribun Bali*. *Tribun Bali* rapidly and significantly accepted by the people, especially in Denpasar. *Tribun Bali* is newspaper who affiliated with giant media in Indonesia, *KOMPAS*. *Tribun Bali* slightly change the media mapping during the election. If in 2010's election, *Bali Post* controlled all the news about election, in 2015's election newspaper that most used for political communication was *Radar Bali*. It can be seen in graphic 2.



Both data showed some facts, first, media power can be move from one newspaper to the other newspaper. It can be happend for many reasons. One of the reason *Bali Post* declining power was *Bali Post* considered not independet during the governor election in 2013. What

Bali Post done in 2013's election has changed readers mind about *Bali Post's* independency in politics.

Form of Political Communication in Newspaper Comparison

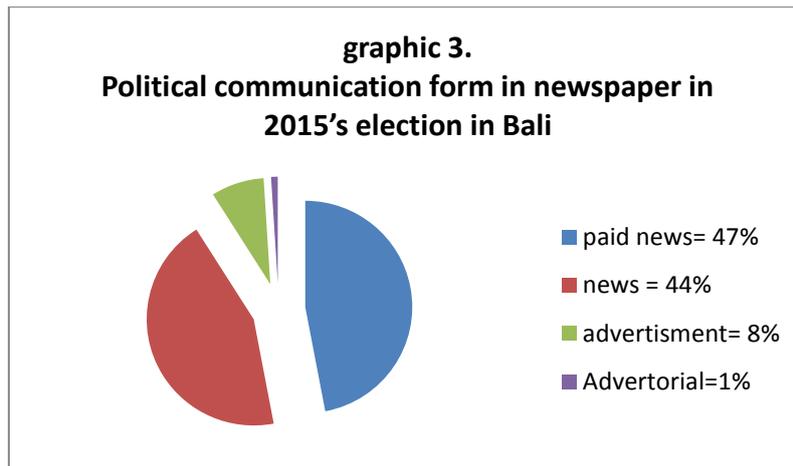
There are four form of political communication used in newspaper. There are advertisement, advertorial, news, and paid news. Paid news is news that being paid to be publish in the newspaper. It usually wrote by one of the candidate, to setting agenda in readers mind, and to make good image to the readers. Paid news usually can be recognized by some indicator, such as cover only one side of the story. In some newspaper it can easily seen by a symbol like * or adv or computer icon at the end of the article. It has become a common in news paper in Bali. The candidate have to pay some amount of money if they want their story to publish, it can be from 500 thousand rupiah until million depend on page number it want to publish.

This practice already happened in 2010, in quantity paid article/news is the largest used by the political actor. It is almost half of the total quantity of political communication form in newspaper. The second largest form used is the advertisement, it number is 30 percent. Result can be seen in table.

Table 2.
Political communication form in newspaper in 2010's election in Bali

| | <i>BaliPost</i> | <i>Radar Bali</i> | <i>Nusa</i> | Total | Percent |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|-------|---------|
| Advertisement | 14 | 18 | 29 | 61 | 30% |
| Advertorial | - | 15 | 10 | 25 | 13% |
| Paid News | 60 | 11 | 18 | 89 | 45% |
| News | 3 | 6 | 14 | 23 | 12% |

Unfortunately this bad practice keep happening in 2015. Number of paid news was increasing. If in 2010, number of paid news was 45 percent, in 2015 it increasing to 47 percent. It showed that political actor judges paid news is more effective for them compare to other form of political communication in newspaper. Advertisement is declining, from 30 percent to 8 percent only in 2015. Advertorial in 2015 almost not being used anymore, it only 1 percent, declining from 13 percent in 2010. It can be seen in graphic 3.



Data above reflected how political actor was changing in using mass media especially newspaper. Political actor or candidates think that paid news were the best form of political communication that they can use during the campaign. Although, paid news or paid article is contradictory with the main purpose of newspaper especially in building democracy. Newspaper should be independent, and giving a cover both sides of the story. Newspaper should give information to the readers, and giving the same quota or place for all the candidate not selling their column to the candidate. This practice is going wilder, readers nowadays hardly recognize do some article are paid article or not.

Media Power Influenced Comparison

According to McShaw, Media has power to set what people think. If the candidate appear in newspaper in highly frequent, at least his or her name will come up in readers mind. Candidate also hoped if the readers recognize him or her, the opportunity to be elected was higher.

In 2010, Bali held local election in five region and city. Almost all the candidate using newspaper to communicate with their voters. The result was there's a linear relationship between the frequency appear in the print media with the level electability prospective head region. From the five districts/cities were doing the election, only one area that was not a linear relationship between the frequency of appearing in print with electability level. The area was Karangasem. So, in conclusion appearing in the print media had a significant influence to the degree of the election of the candidate.

In 2015, Province of Bali held 6 local election. With the same method, the research came out with different result. Form 6 region/city, the linear relationship between the frequency appear in the newspaper with electability prospective was only happening in 3 region/city. Data can be seen in table 4.

Table 4.
Relations between Appearing in Media with Electability

| Region/city | Candidate | Total article | Winner/elected |
|-------------|--|---------------|----------------|
| Denpasar | Ida Bagus Rai Dharmawijaya Mantra – Jaya Negara | 104 | Winner |
| | I Ketut Resmiyasa – Ida Bagus Batuagung Antara | 18 | |
| | Made Arjaya – A A Ayu Rai Sunasri | 185 | |
| Badung | Giri Prasta – I Ketut Suiasa | 196 | Winner |
| | Made Sudiana – Nyoman Sutrisno | 94 | |
| Jembrana | I Komang Sinatra – I Gusti Agung Ketut Sudanayasa | 15 | |
| | I Putu Artha – I Made Kembang Hartawan | 68 | Winner |
| Bangli | I Made Gianyar- Sang Nyoman Sedana Arta | 9 | Winner |
| | Ida Bagus Made Brahma Putra – I Ketut Ridet | 13 | |
| Karangasem | I Wayan Sudirta – Ni Made Sumiati | 77 | Winner |
| | IGA Mas Sumatri – Wayan Arta Dipa | 65 | |
| | I Made Sukerana – I Komang Kisid | 46 | |
| Tabanan | Ni Putu Eka Wiryastuti – IKG Sanjaya | 111 | Winner |

| | | | |
|--|--|----|--|
| | I Wayan Sarjana – Ida Bagus Komang Astawa Merta | 46 | |
|--|--|----|--|

6. Conclusion

Data above reflected that media power in setting public-agenda now is declining. This is partly due to: (1) the media / newspapers are less independent and tend to promote a certain candidate; (2) the reader/constituent have better media literacy so they are not easily affected by the media's agenda and (3) the election had been held together in the nation make local newspapers have less interest in printing local politics. Accordingly, the candidates used more social media, since it reach the constituent directly, the cost if more effective and the social media already became more and more common among people.

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