

HOW DO INDONESIAN MEDIA PORTRAY THE 2019 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE ?

*A study of
Media Coverage
in Urban setting*

This report was prepared by
M. Rinaldi Camil,
Natasha H. Attamimi and Klara Esti

for Centre for Innovation Policy
and Governance

List of Abbreviation

AJI	: <i>Aliansi Jurnalis Indonesia</i> /Alliance of Independent Journalist
AMSI	: <i>Asosiasi Media Siber Indonesia</i> /Indonesian Cyber Media Association
DNA	: Discourse Network Analyser
IFCN	: International Fact-Checking Network
JAPELIDI	: <i>Jaringan Pegiat Literasi Digital</i> /Network of Digital Literation
MAFINDO	: <i>Masyarakat Anti Fitnah Indonesia</i> /Indonesian Anti-Defamation Society
NASDEM	: <i>Partai Nasional Demokrat</i> /National Democratic Party
PERINDO	: <i>Partai Persatuan Indonesia</i> /The Indonesian Unity Party
P3SPS	: <i>Pedoman Perilaku Penyiaran dan Standar Program Siaran</i> /Broadcasting Guidelines and Program Standards

Printed Media

Kompas, Koran Tempo, and The Jakarta Post were chosen as samples due to their high relevance for the urbanites.

1. The Jakarta Post

The Jakarta Post (TJP), member of Asia News Network, is a daily English language newspaper published in Indonesia, that aspires to be a quality newspaper of international standards. It was first published on 25 April 1983. The paper is owned by PT Bina Media Tenggara, an independent newspaper institution privately owned by four competing media groups: Suara Karya, Kompas, Sinar Harapan, and Tempo magazine.

In 2006, PWI—Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia (Indonesia Reporters Union) recognised TJP as one of the Indonesian newspapers that best followed the journalism ethics and standards. TJP has also won several awards, e.g. Adam Malik Award for its coverage on foreign politics (2009), and Adiwarta Award from Sampoerna for excellent photography in the fields of culture, law, and politics (2010). This paper is known to be vocal and taking pro-democracy stance. The printed edition has now been integrated with the digital version available at www.thejakartapost.com (managed by PT Niskala Media Tenggara). The Jakarta Post ranks second on a list of Indonesia's most popular newspapers compiled by 4 International Media and Newspaper.

2. Koran Tempo

Koran Tempo is a daily newspaper that published six days a week. The newspaper was part of Tempo Media Group which also owned Tempo Magazine, Tempo English, and Tempo.co. First edition of Koran Tempo was published on 2 April 2001. Now it has total circulation up to 100.000 per day. Koran Tempo was well known for its compact-sized newspaper. The distribution mainly concentrated in Jakarta and surrounding areas consisting of 60% of the market.

Tempo Media Group was known for its criticism toward the government. Because of its criticism during the new order regime, Tempo Magazine was banned by the government twice in 1982 and 1994. After vacuum for four years because of the government ban, Tempo continued its operation in 1998.

3. Kompas

Kompas is one of Indonesia's oldest newspaper whose credibility and quality already has proven during a period of times. The first edition published on June 28, 1965, as a counterbalance to the communist press. The name was given by Soekarno, means pathway guidance for people.

Under Jakob Oetama and Petrus Kanisius Ojong, Kompas has developed as a leading national newspaper whose circulation revolves around 30.650 copies. It was a huge accomplishment since

at first Jakob Oetama, and Petrus Kanisius Ojong was not confident about the idea to develop Kompas due to the unsupportive political, economic, and infrastructure environment at that time.

Online Media

Sample of online media were chosen based on their high rank in regard to the traffic, according to Alexa. Thus, we chose online media, Detik.com, Tribunnews.com, and Liputan6.com.

1. Detik.com

Detik.com is the oldest and also the pioneer of online media in Indonesia. Currently, Detik.com still maintains its position as the top online media in Indonesia. Based on Alexa ranking, Detik.com is the most visited online media in Indonesia.

Established in 1998 by a group of senior journalists, Budiono Darsono, Yayan Sopyan, Abdul Rahman, and Didi Nugrahadi, Detik.com was acquired by CT Corp on 3 August 2011. Since the acquisition, Detik.com has been managed under PT. Trans Corporation.

Under its main portal, Detik.com has many other portals which covers wide range of topics such as finance.detik.com for economy and finance news, food.detik.com for culinary news, and hot.detik.com for showbiz and entertainment news.

2. Liputan6.com

Liputan6.com was established on 24 August 2000. Initially, it was meant to provide news to be aired on Liputan6, a news programme in free-to-air television SCTV (Surya Citra Televisi). SCTV itself is a subsidiary company of SCM (PT Surya Citra Media Tbk.).

Liputan6.com was transformed to an online news portal on 24 May 2012 by Emtek (PT Elang Mahkota Teknologi Tbk), the parent company of SCM. To manage Liputan6.com, Emtek established PT Kreatif Media Karya. Since 14 March 2016, 99.99% share of Liputan6.com is owned by PT Liputan Enam Dot Com, a subsidiary company of KMK.

Currently, Liputan6.com has more than 10 different sections from Politics, Business, Showbiz, Sport, Techno, Fact Check, Video, Health, Lifestyle, Automotive, Property, Regional, Global, Photo, Video, TV to Citizen6 (a channel for citizen journalism content).

3. Tribunnews.com

Managed by PT Tribun Digital Online, Tribunnews.com has become one of the favorable local news websites in Indonesia. Based on SimilarWeb analysis (SimilarWeb, 2018), Tribunnews.com's traffic is around 183,2 million per month, and possesses 1.29% traffic share. Based on this traffic share, Tribunnews.com ranks fourth in the most popular websites in Indonesia (SimilarWeb, 2019).

As a member of Kompas Gramedia network, Tribunnews.com is managed by Kompas Gramedia Group of Regional Newspaper. Tribunnews.com serves as a portal for each member of regional Tribun Network. Tribun Network itself is a group of 28 regional newspaper under Kompas and is supported by 500 journalists in 22 cities in Indonesia. Tribunnews.com categorises their news channel with several topics, such as national, international, and regional news. Moreover, Tribunnews.com also covers sports, economy, and business.

Table of Content

Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
1.1. Research Questions and Objectives	2
1.2. Understanding How the Media Works.....	3
1.3. Methodology	4
1.3.1. Content Analysis Using Discourse Network Analyser.....	4
1.3.2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)	8
1.4. Structure of the Report.....	9
Chapter 2 Media and Election in Indonesia	10
2.1. Understanding Media Landscape in Indonesia.....	10
2.2. A Threat to Democracy: Growing Religious Intolerance and The Spread of Hoaxes During Election in Indonesia	12
Chapter 3 Varied Yet Shallow: Media Discourse from Five Presidential Debates.....	15
3.1. First Debate: Law, Corruption, Terrorism, and Human Rights.....	15
3.2. Second Debate: Food, Energy, Human and Natural Resources, Environment, and Infrastructure	19
3.3. Third Debate: Health, Education, Manpower, Social, and Culture	23
3.4. Fourth Debate: Ideology, Governance, Defense and Security, and International Relations	26
3.5. Fifth Debate: Economy and Social Welfare, Finance and Investment, Trade and Industry	29
3.6. Synthesis.....	32
Chapter 4 Media: Polarising or Transcending Differences?	33
4.1. On Religious Intolerance.....	33
4.1.1. Reflecting Religious Intolerance Issues to Media Coverage	33
4.1.2. Challenges in Religious Intolerance News	37
4.2. On Hoax and Propaganda.....	38
4.2.1. The Implementation of Fact-Checking by Media	38
4.2.2. Challenges in Hoax and Propaganda.....	40
4.3. Synthesis: How Media Exercise Value.....	43
Chapter 5 Conclusion	45
References	46
Appendix	47
Appendix 1. List of FGD Participant.....	47

Chapter 1

Introduction

In the midst of rising intolerance, polarised society and the production of massive hoaxes, the 2019 Presidential Election is a huge test for Indonesia's democratisation. This is the year of 190 million voters – the biggest participation number in the history of Indonesia– cast their vote to elect president for the next five years turn. Also, this event was held simultaneously with the legislative election on one day. Although the 2019 election has been named as the biggest and most complicated election, some major issues still pose threat and potentially undermine the democracy during the election process.

For the last five years, the Indonesia's democratisation was polluted with massive hoax and hate speech, particularly during the election campaign. When it comes to election, the production is significantly higher than other circumstances. It is also the case of the 2019 election when the distribution of hoaxes significantly increased ahead of the election. The official number from the Ministry of Communication and Informatics shows a total of 1,224 hoaxes recorded from August 2018 to March 2019.¹ Most of the hoax and fake news were related to politics.

In addition to the hoaxes phenomena, recently 'adoring' primordial lines become prominent parts of political discourses. Although Indonesia has been held up as a role model for inter-religious harmony and Muslim democracy², since 2014 Indonesia saw divisive intolerance and primordial-driven public debates.³ During the 2019 presidential election, the religious intolerance among society even increased (Lingkaran Survei Indonesia, 2018) with the highest number of the act of violations recorded in West Java, followed by Jakarta.⁴

Against this backdrop, the presidential election has become a challenging time for the media in giving the public a quality reportage of the election. In the modern democratic system, the media plays a fundamental mediating role between public and private spheres, between tradition and modernity, between urban and rural, and between the individual and the collective (Tufte, 1996). In Indonesia, the media was expected to promote democracy by educating people and acting as a reliable source of information.⁵ However, in the context of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election, the condition is still far from ideal and challenging for the media. While the media serves a crucial

¹ Adi Fida Rahman, 453 Hoax Teridentifikasi Kominfo Sepanjang Maret 2019, detik.com, 1 april. Retrieved 15 July 2019 from <https://inet.detik.com/cyberlife/d-4491728/453-hoax-teridentifikasi-kominfo-sepanjang-maret-2019>.

² Bawono Kumoro, Indonesia Model of Islam and Democratic Compatibility, 3 May 2013. Retrieved 28 July 2019 from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/05/03/indonesia-a-model-islam-and-democratic-compatibility.html>

³ Andreas Harsono, Undoing Yudhoyono's Sectarian Legacy, 13 May 2014. Retrieved 22 July 2019 from <http://www.andreasharsono.net/2014/05/>

⁴ Setara Institute, Melawan Intoleransi di Tahun Politik, 31 March 2019, setara-institute.org. Retrieved 22 July 2019 from <http://setara-institute.org/melawan-intoleransi-di-tahun-politik/>

⁵ The opening of The Broadcasting Law No 32/2002

role in informing the public about campaigns and elections, there is also a chance that the media performed a perceived bias.

This study aims to generate quantitative data on media reportage during the period of 2019 Presidential Debates to determine the media frames used and what these mean for public discourse. In addition to this, the study aims to highlight how the media cover the issues of religious tolerance and hate speech during the specific period. Showcasing the urban setting, in particular, greater Jakarta as the barometer of Indonesia politics and secularism, this study aims to analyse media coverage around five topics of presidential debates aired on television.

It is also worth noting that while the role of television (due to its high penetration to Indonesian people) is particularly intriguing to study, its relevance in urban areas competes with other streams of information directly available in the environment. It seems that for the urban family, the internet has become a primary need (CIPG, 2015) and is heavily utilized to access alternative sources that in certain cases, have become the main channel for information and entertainment. Therefore, this study will focus on the selected online news portal, due to its importance to the urbanites. Several reputable newspapers who have their own online outlets will also be analysed, due to its strong stances and their valuable in-depth reporting.

1.1. Research Questions and Objectives

This study aims to understand how the media cover issues and contribute to public discourse during the election amid the recent political situation and environment. Thus, this research was undertaken to answer these two main questions:

1. How do the media frame five issues relate to and during the 2019 presidential debates?
2. How do fellow journalists and/or experts assess the content, particularly in regard to issues related to religious intolerance and hate speech?

To answer the questions, a combination of methods and research instruments were utilized, combining secondary data collection and primary data gathering. We collect secondary data through a desk study analysis to answer the first question. Primary data then gathered through content analysis to further answer the first question, followed by a focus group discussion to answer the second question.

The content analysis method was employed to investigate media reportage during the Presidential Debates. In this research, we use the quantitative approach to reveal the statistical proportion of each variable as a proxy to help portraying the structure of media content. This will serve as the main tool to answer enquiries about the balance of journalism in reporting election.

Content analysis were conducted on 3 (three) most visited news portals and 3 (three) top newspapers that highly valued by the urbanites. The analysis covers the reportage related to the 2019 presidential debates on the day of the event and the day after. In total, there are 10 (ten) days of media reportage around the debates. In addition, the analysis covers 5 (five) topics discussed in the 2019 Presidential Debates.

In conjunction with this, a qualitative method toward FGD to editors and journalists were conducted to gain a deeper understanding on how the media frame the issues of religious intolerance and hate speech in particular during and after the presidential debate, whose focus is revolved around law, human rights, corruption and terrorism issues.

1.2. Understanding How the Media Works

To understand how the media works in produce news, we use the hierarchy of influence which developed by Shoemaker and Reese (1996). This model focuses on the level of influence in media to find out how the influence from macro to micro on the results of journalistic work. The tiered influence model involves five levels of influence, from the individual level, daily life, organization, extra-media (institutional), and ideology (socio-cultural). For journalism, this model helps to see how media works, identifies hidden messages and offers evidence (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). Developed by Giddens 'structuration' (Giddens, 1979), empirically, this model suggests that one must determine under which conditions certain factors are most determinative and how they interact with each other (Reese, 2007).

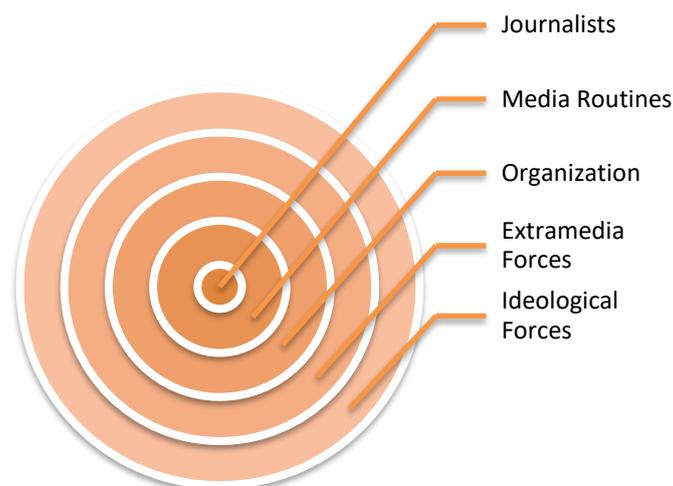


Figure 1.1 The Hierarchy of Influence Model

Source: Shoemaker and Reese, 1996

This model will help us analyse how a value made by the media can continue to be carried out or denied by its journalists. For example, we want to know how conservative media critics have located the source of bias with the individual journalist, calling for more balanced practices and regular scolding specific news publication.

This model also helps us explain the conveyor belt journalism (churnalism) which fondly used in online media (Johnston, 2017). Churnalism defined as a recycling process of news production. This trend follows with repurposing news with changing a small nuance in the publication. In Indonesia, this phenomenon was found practiced by certain online media by reporting news without through

editing process.⁶ As a phenomenon observed worldwide, we want to identify the connection of hierarchy of influence to the quality of journalism product. To be more precise, we want to identify the level of influence which affects the creation of churnalism in the media.

1.3. Methodology

This research used quantitative and qualitative approach to answer each of the research questions. We divide this research into two phases in general. In the first phase, we conduct discourse network analysis to generate quantitative data of the media content. In the second phase, we dig deeper to understand the news production process and the perspective of the journalists towards hoax and religious intolerance issues.

1.3.1. Content Analysis Using Discourse Network Analyser

We conducted content analysis using Discourse Network Analyser (DNA) software using samples from printed and online media based on the criteria such as readership and websites traffic. Kompas, Koran Tempo, and The Jakarta Post were chosen as samples for printed media due to their high relevance for the urbanites.

This research analysed 82 articles from three printed media and 814 articles from three online media. Random sampling was applied to randomly pick 10 articles per day from online media for the content analysis. Meanwhile, the full coverage of printed media was obtained for content analysis. The Jakarta Post and Koran Tempo printed newspaper were not published on Sundays (17/02/2019, 17/03/2019, 31/03/2019, and 14/04/2019). Thus, there are only 6 editions out of 10 available for The Jakarta Post and Koran Tempo. All of the articles were collected from five debates covering five different topics on the day of the presidential debate and the day after.

Table 1-1 Topics of the Debate in 2019 Presidential Election

Source: Authors

No	Topics of the debate	Date
1	Law, human rights, corruption and terrorism	17 and 18 January 2019
2	Food and energy, natural and human resources, infrastructure	17 and 18 February 2019
3	Health, education, manpower, social and culture	17 and 18 March 2019
4	Ideology, governance, defense and security, international relations	30 and 31 March 2019

⁶Jurnal Dewan Pers 18th edition. Retrieve 23 July 2019 from <https://dewanpers.or.id/assets/ebook/jurnal/1901200528>

5	Economy and social welfare, finance and investment, trade and industry	13 and 14 April 2019
---	--	----------------------

The graphs below provide overview of the baseline data used for content analysis.

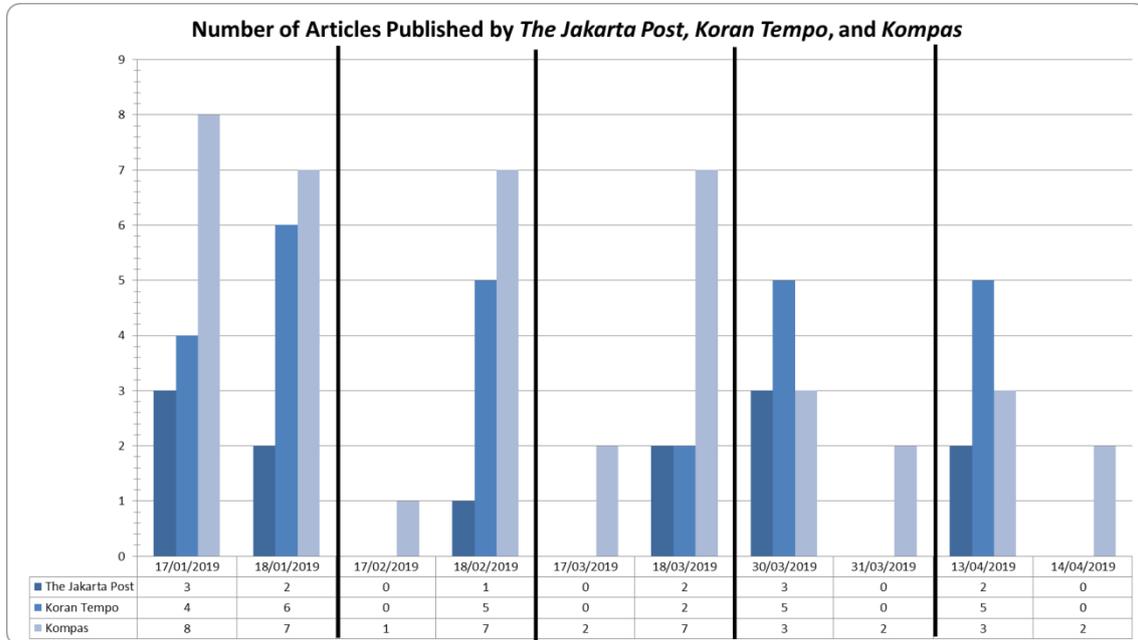


Figure 1.2. Number of Articles Published by The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas during 2019 Presidential Debates Period

Source: Authors

For printed media, compared to The Jakarta Post and Koran Tempo, Kompas has the highest total media coverage, followed by Koran Tempo and The Jakarta Post. This is partly due to the absence of The Jakarta Post and Koran Tempo printed newspaper on Sundays. Thus, both have 0 (zero) articles on 17/02/2019, 17/03/2019, 31/03/2019, and 14/04/2019. Kompas tend to have less articles on the day after the debate, except during the second debate and third debate.

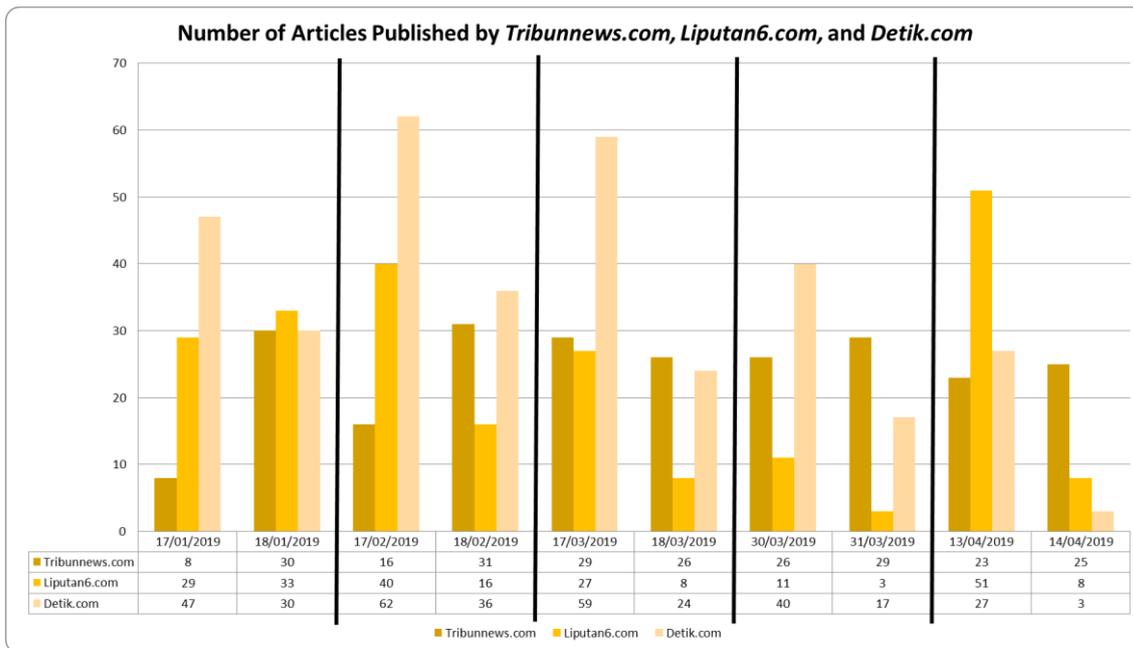


Figure 1.3. Number of Articles Published by Tribunnews.com, Liputan6.com, and Detik.com during 2019 Presidential Debates Period
Source: Authors

Detik.com has the highest number of articles compared to Liputan6.com and Tribunnews.com, with the highest recorded on 17 February 2019, the day of the second presidential debate. On the other hand, Liputan6.com coverage shows a steady increase in the first debate, then begins to decline after the second debate before rose sharply on Saturday, 13 April 2019.

As can be seen on the graph, Detik.com and Liputan6.com follow a similar pattern from the first debate to the last debate: publishing more articles on the day of the debate than the day after the debate. Meanwhile, Tribunnews.com shows the opposite: it tends to publish less articles on the day of the debate than on the day after the debate.

In regard to the types of articles, we classified them into six categories as follow:

1. Infographic, a visual image such as a chart or diagram used to represent information or data.
2. Reportage, a short report of an event
3. Feature, article or report of a person, event, an aspect of a major event, or the like, often having a personal slant and written in an individual style.
4. In-depth, a deep investigation report analysing a particular event or issue.
5. Editorial, a newspaper article written by or on behalf of an editor that gives an opinion on a topical issue, usually seen as the media standpoint.
6. Straight news, is news that contains facts given straight without exaggeration
7. Opinion, writing that contains one's thoughts, analysis, or review about actual problems or issues.

The classification helped us to understand how the media address and present issues in their coverage. These categories are applied to articles from printed media and online media.

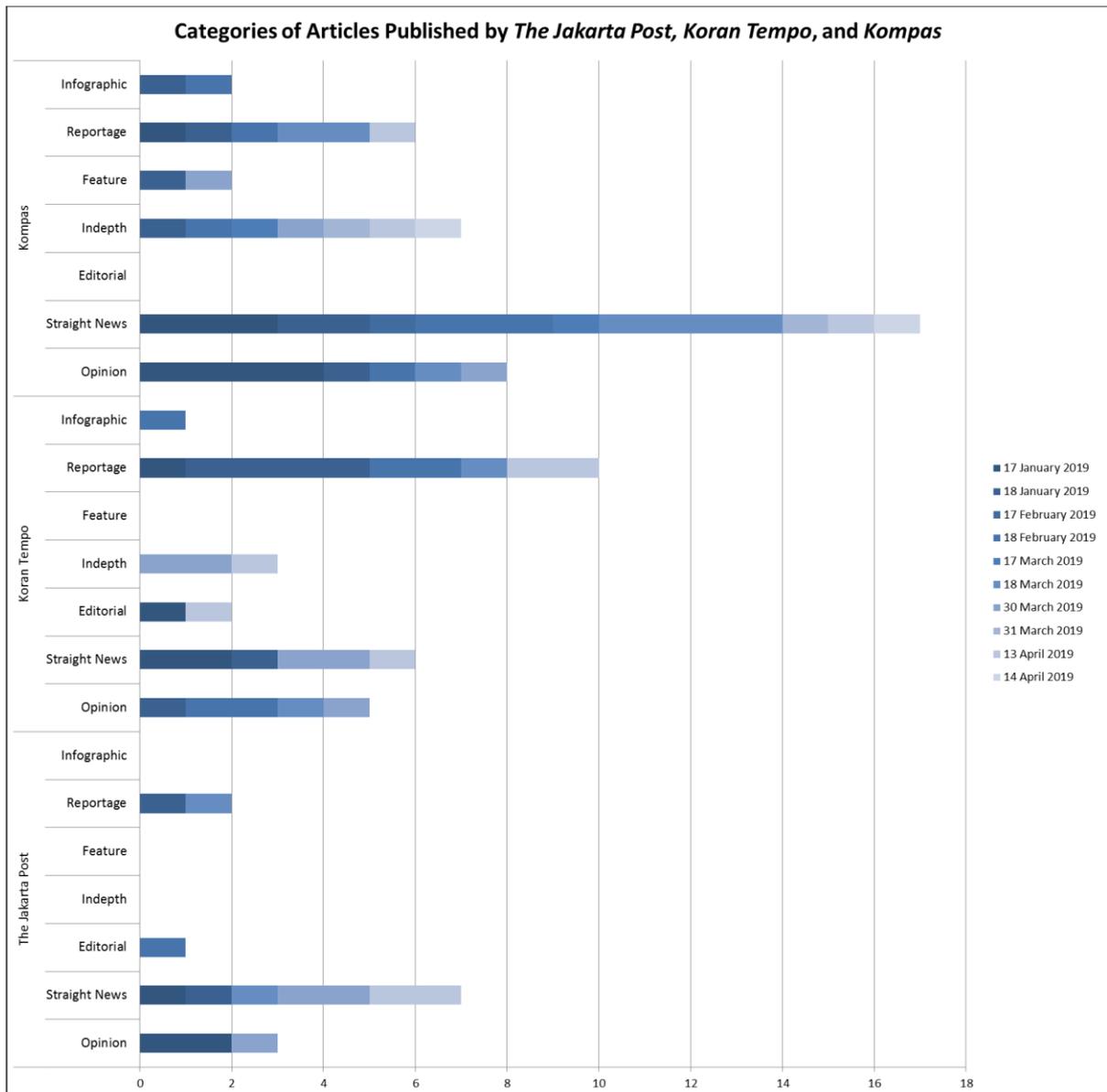


Figure 1.4. Categories of Articles Published by The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas during 2019 Presidential Debates Period

Source: Authors

Most articles published by the printed media fall under these three categories: straight news, reportage, and opinion. The highest number of straight news was recorded on 17 January 2019 with 6 articles coming from Kompas (3), Koran Tempo (2), and The Jakarta Post (1). It is similar to opinion which also hit the highest number on 17 January 2019 with 6 articles coming from Kompas (4) and The Jakarta Post (2). As seen on the graph, Kompas is the only newspaper that provided feature related to the 2019 Presidential Debates. However, Kompas is also the one that did not issue any editorial related to the 2019 Presidential Debates.

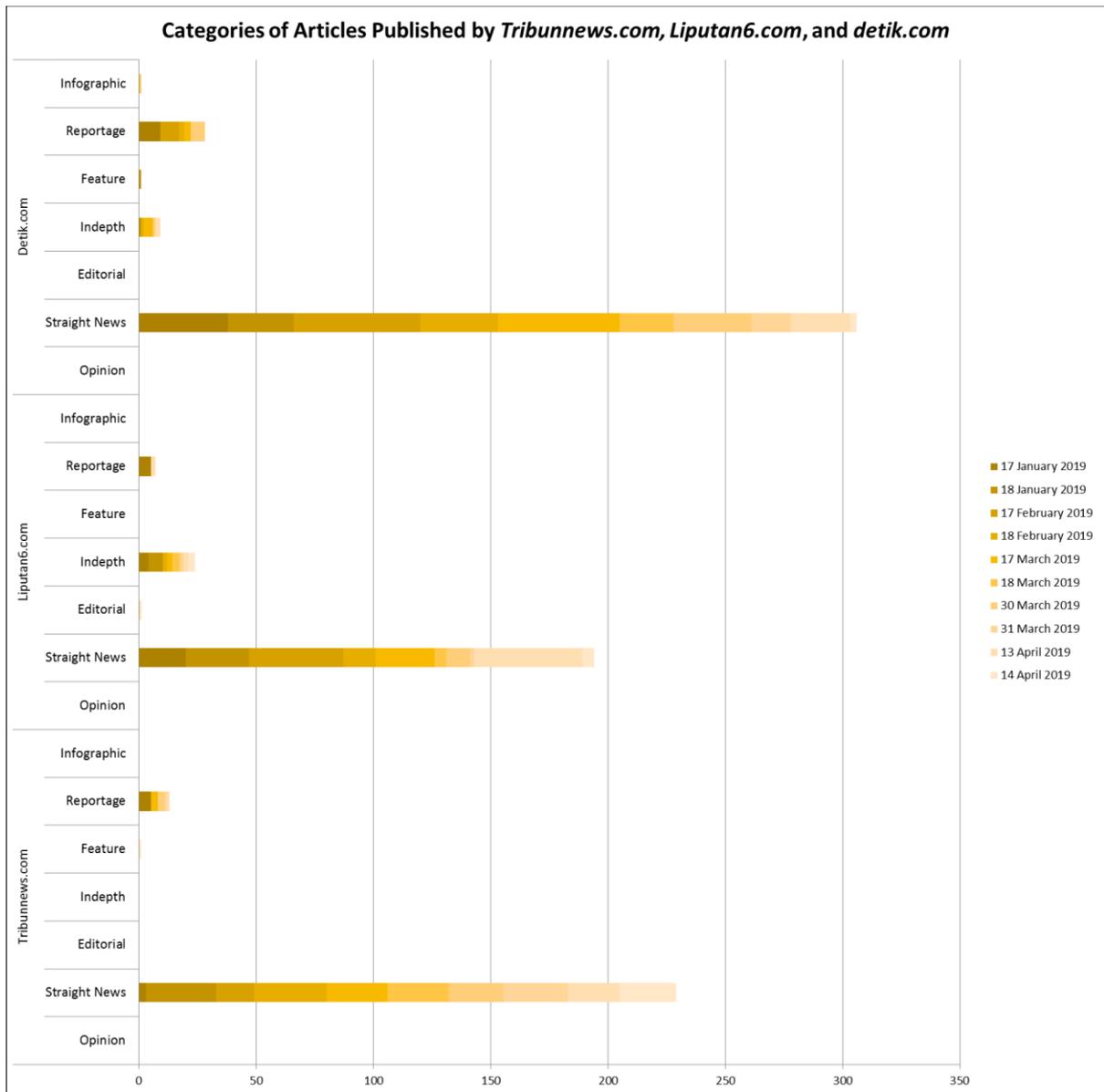


Figure 1.5. Categories of Articles Published by Tribunnews.com, Liputan6.com, and Detik.com during 2019 Presidential Debates Period

Source: Authors

Same as the printed media, articles published in online media were mainly dominated by straight news. The highest number of straight news was recorded on 17 February 2019 with 110 articles coming from Detik.com (54), Liputan6.com (40), and Tribunnews.com (16). In contrast to printed media, none of the online media published feature, opinion, and editorial during the time period.

1.3.2. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

In the second phase, we conducted a focus group discussion with desk politics journalists from printed, online and broadcast media to explore the media and journalists perspective toward hoax and religious intolerance issues during the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. We wanted to gain complete understanding of the process of news production and identify the lens and values used by the media and journalists in reporting related issues.

We conducted FGD with two big questions:

1. How does your media portray the phenomenon of religious intolerance in the coverage of the 2019 Election?
2. How do editors address the hoax phenomenon in the coverage of the 2019 Election? Are there internal mechanisms made?

The FGD was held in Jakarta on 3rd of July 2019. We invited journalists and editors who handle politics desk in their media. We had a fruitful discussion with the journalists editors from online media (Tribunnews.com, Liputan6.com, Detik.com, Tirta, CNN Indonesia) and printed media (Tempo, Kompas, The Jakarta Post).⁷

1.4. Structure of the Report

In order to explain the research findings, we structure the report into five chapters. Following this introduction is Chapter 2 that explains the context to help readers understand the existing condition of media and political landscape. Chapter 3 provides data and analysis from the discourse network analysis. Portrayal of media coverages on five presidential debates were also provided in this chapter. Chapter 4 elaborates more details on media and journalists' perspective toward hoax and religious intolerance issues during the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. We then provide reflection in the last chapter.

⁷ Tempo and The Jakarta Post (online and offline) applied the same editorial policy. CNN online and TV implement the same editorial policy.

Chapter 2

Media and Election in Indonesia

From the new order era to present, media always played important role in Indonesia's democracy and political process. Thus, it is important to examine the context and the current state of the media industry to understand how media relates to election in Indonesia. This chapter will examine the Indonesian media landscape as well as the setting in which this condition emerged. Furthermore, media content does not simply shaped by external factors. A closer look to media organization will helps us to understand how media shape a discourse before it gets distributed to the public.

2.1. Understanding Media Landscape in Indonesia

Since the reformation agenda started in 1998, Indonesia has gone through four major presidential elections with a relatively smooth transition of power process. As the biggest democracy in South East Asia, although Indonesia's democracy index was showing little progress in last three years, this success was widely appreciated, showing the democracy and pluralism thriving well in the country.⁸ This success was inseparable with the role of the media as the fourth pillar of Indonesia's democracy, playing substantial role in keeping the process checked and balanced. Although playing important role as the guardian of democracy, the media itself was still struggling to reach the ideal condition that supports the freedom of the press (Tapsell, 2015).

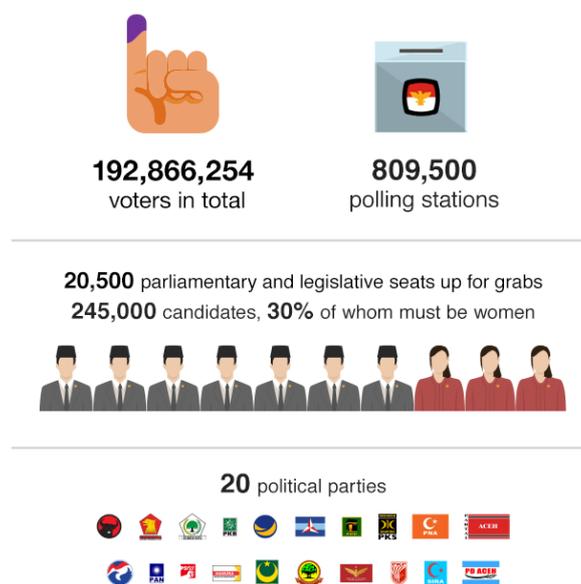


Figure 2.1 Indonesian Election Factsheet

Source: BBC Indonesia

⁸ Irsyan Hasyim, International Observer Lauds Indonesia Elections 2019 en.tempo.co. Retrieved July 20, 2016 from <https://en.tempo.co/read/1196645/international-observer-lauds-indonesia-elections-2019>

Nowadays, the media in Indonesia is still largely dominated by a few players with concentrated ownership, creating an oligarchy (Tapsell, 2017). The industry keeps consolidating to catch up with the digitalization and survive the competitive market showed by the shrinking number of media group from 12 large groups in 2012 (CIPG, 2012) into eight media groups which run multiplatform media business in Indonesia in 2017 (Tapsell, 2017).

Indonesian Digital Conglomerates

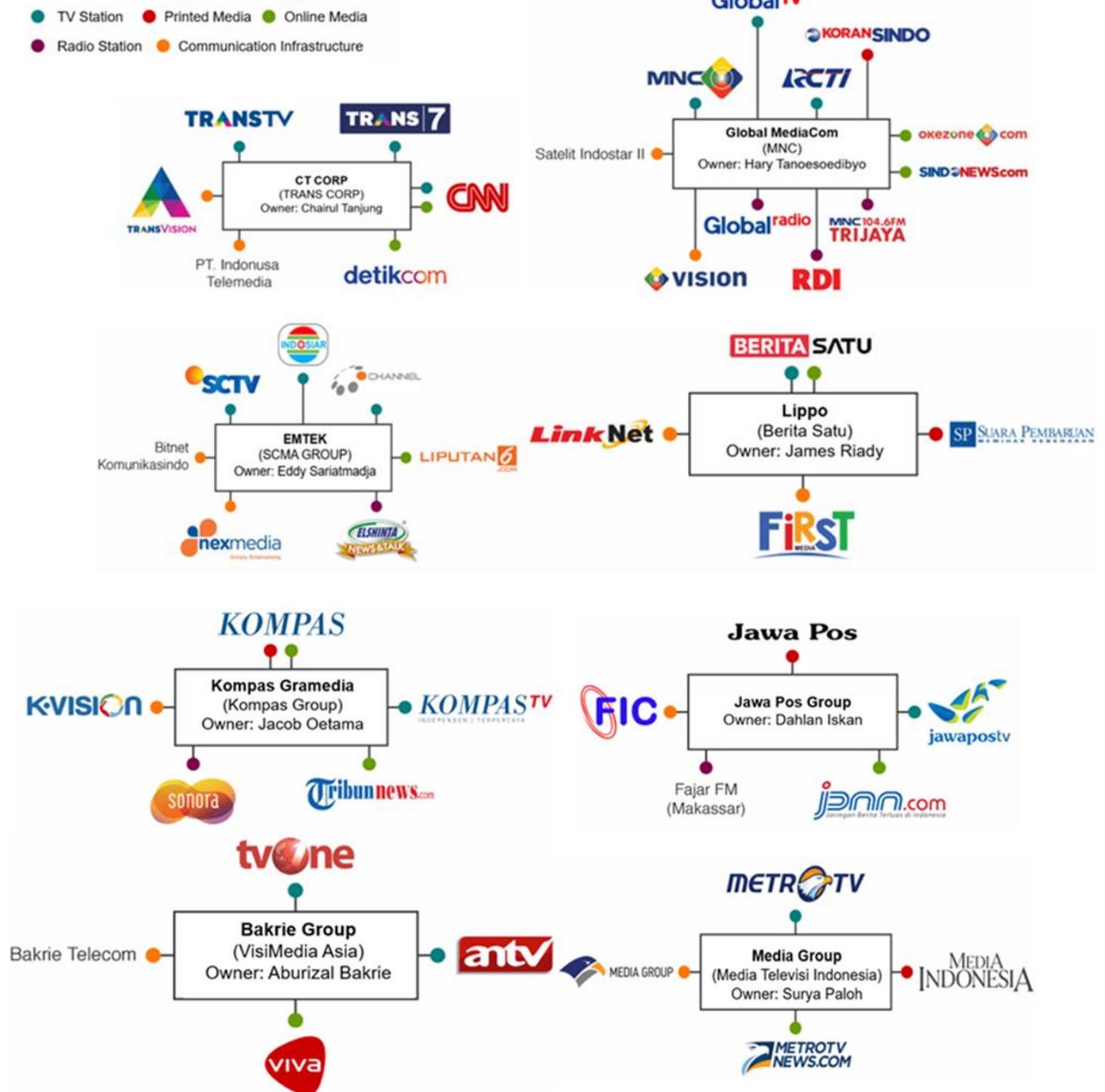


Figure 2.2 Indonesian Digital Conglomerates

Source: BBC Indonesia

Not only dominated by few players, the media also suffered from political affiliation of media owners. It is concerning issues for the press independency and quality of democracy in general since the media may be used as a tool for certain political purposes. In some cases, the media even

frankly show its political affiliation to the public, supporting the political agenda of the owners by injecting its shows with a political message. One of the cases is the broadcast of The United Indonesia Party (PERINDO) anthem throughout GTV, MNCTV, RCTI, and INews TV channel which was part of global Mediacom Group before the election campaign period started in 2018. The Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) then gives warning to all of the mentioned media accusing them with the violation of the P3SPS.⁹ This condition also create an imbalance and biased media coverage toward certain political side or figure. Another case for this biased media coverage also happen to Metro TV, which strongly linked with the National Democratic Party (NASDEM). They, for example, has been mentioned by The Indonesian Broadcasting Commission due to its independencies and fairness of news coverage since they do not give enough and equal room for the opposition in terms of duration and tonality.¹⁰

The partisan media and its political bias has been responded with public backlash. The declining public trust toward traditional media, especially from certain religious community made journalists prone to threat not only towards journalist from media that is strongly affiliated with certain political party but also journalist in general. The persecution towards journalist during Munajat 212¹¹ for instance was an example of how this phenomenon could directly affect the journalist.¹² Although the industry still largely dominated by television, online media and social media user is growing fast. In 2016 alone, there are 106 million active social media users with growth up to 34% (We Are Social, 2017). However, this in turn also create another phenomenon during the election; the widespread of hoax.

2.2. A Threat to Democracy: Growing Religious Intolerance and The Spread of Hoaxes During Election in Indonesia

On 2 December 2016, more than 500,000 Indonesian Muslims¹³ rallied the street called the persecution of the ruling Jakarta Governor, Basuki Tjahaja Utama, also known as Ahok. Ahok was allegedly committing blasphemy in his speech on September 2016.¹⁴ This incident cost him being

⁹ Caesar Akbar, *Iklan Perindo Dihentikan, KPI Tidak Jatuhkan Sanksi ke MNC Group*, 9 March 2018. Retrieved 16 July 2019 from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1068257/iklan-perindo-dihentikan-kpi-tidak-jatuhkan-sanksi-ke-mnc-group/full&view=ok>.

¹⁰ IRA, *Evaluasi Tahunan: KPI Minta METRO TV Utamakan Independensi dan Keberimbangan*, 17 January 2019. Retrieved 16 July 2019 from <http://www.kpi.go.id/index.php/id/umum/38-dalam-negeri/34916-evaluasi-tahunan-kpi-minta-metro-tv-utamakan-independensi-dan-keberimbangan>

¹¹ Munajat 212 was a prayer event held by Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) in the National Monument on 21 February 2019.

¹² M. Rosseno Aji, *Panitia Menyayangkan Persekusi Terhadap Jurnalis di Munajat 212*, 23 February 2019. Retrieved 17 July 2019 from <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1178634/panitia-menyayangkan-persekusi-terhadap-jurnalis-di-munajat-212>

¹³ Hafidz Mukti Ahmad, *Menghitung Jumlah Peserta #Aksi212 di Jantung Jakarta*, 5 December 2016. Retrieved July 18, 2019 from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20161205091436-20-177377/menghitung-jumlah-peserta-aksi212-di-jantung-jakarta>.

¹⁴ Rita Ayuningtyas, *Mengulik Kembali Perjalanan Kasus Ahok*. 26 February 2018 Retrieved July 16, 2019 from https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/3322122/mengulik-kembali-perjalanan-kasus-ahok?related=dable&utm_expid=.9Z4i5ypGQeGiS7w9arwTvQ.1&utm_referrer= and

re-elected in the 2017 gubernatorial election. Ahok, portrayed by media¹⁵ as an Indonesian Christian with Chinese descent, got a low poll on electability survey because of this issue. This low poll was taken strictly ahead of the general election period.¹⁶ The condition is arguably contradictory because the survey shows that 74% of Jakarta residents are satisfied with Ahok's leadership as a governor.¹⁷ He lost and sentenced for two years in prison with blasphemy accusation, right after several months of his resignation.

Reflecting a few years back, the phenomenon of religious intolerance was actually gaining momentum during the leadership of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.¹⁸ During Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration, several Indonesian Islamic organisations gained essential roles in national governance. For example, MUI - Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Ulama Council), has a mandate as a 'compass' of Islamic law in Indonesia (Mietzner, 2018, p. 13). The condition preceded by a speech by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2005 which stated full support for all activities and thoughts initiated by MUI. In Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's leadership, the level of attacks on religious minorities increased sharply (Harsono, 2014). The end of Yudhoyono's leadership presented a new dynamic for the majority religious group which had previously mobilised.

The incident that befell Ahok also raises new discussion about how society views inter-religious tolerance.¹⁹ Some academics have questioned whether the number of conservative groups of Muslims in Indonesia has increased (Lindsey, 2016). The widespread of technological development made today's condition became increasingly complex (Nugroho, 2012). Several movements has been made from this massive technological development, such as Muslim Cyber Army network. This network dominates the internet and has succeeded in fostering fear to the public.²⁰ With the

¹⁵ Resty Woro Yuniar, *Another Ahok? Chinese Christian blasphemy rap in Muslim Indonesia*, 1 December 2018. Retrieved July 16, 2019 from <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/2175671/another-ahok-chinese-christian-faces-blasphemy-rap-muslim> and Tim Lindsey, *Is Indonesia retreating from democracy?*, 09 July 2018. Retrieved July 24, 2019 from <https://theconversation.com/is-indonesia-retreating-from-democracy-99211>. This article was restructured by The Conversation team.

¹⁶ Avit Hidayat, *Pilkada DKI Putaran 2, LSI Deny JA Sebut Ahok Bisa Menang, Asal...*, 07 March 2017. Retrieved July 16, 2019 from <https://pilkada.tempo.co/read/853550/pilkada-dki-putaran-2-lsi-deny-ja-sebut-ahok-bisa-menang-asal/full&view=ok>.

¹⁷ Jessi Carina, *LSI Denny JA: Tingkat Kepuasan terhadap Ahok di Atas 70 Persen*, 13 April 2017. Retrieved July 16, 2019 from <https://pilkada.tempo.co/read/853550/pilkada-dki-putaran-2-lsi-deny-ja-sebut-ahok-bisa-menang-asal/full&view=ok>.

¹⁸ Dieqy Hasbi Widhana, *Kiprah Ma'ruf Amin di MUI: Dibesarkan SBY, Dipakai Jokowi*, 13 August 2018. Retrieved July 16, 2019 from <https://tirto.id/kiprah-maruf-amin-di-mui-dibesarkan-sby-dipakai-jokowi-cR6Z>.

¹⁹ Edward Aspinall, *Interpreting the Jakarta Election*, 16 February 2017. Retrieved July 19, 2019 from <https://www.newmandala.org/interpreting-jakarta-election/>

²⁰ Tim Lindsey, *Is Indonesia retreating from democracy?*, 09 July 2018. Retrieved July 24, 2019 from <https://theconversation.com/is-indonesia-retreating-from-democracy-99211>. This article was restructured by The Conversation team.

rapid flow of information and diverse social groups, cases of intolerance increasingly tinged with various hoax and propaganda issues.²¹

²¹ Yuliana Ratnasari, *Berita Hoax Menjadi Ancaman Toleransi di Yogyakarta*, 29 March 2019. Retrieved July 16, 2019 from <https://tirto.id/berita-hoax-menjadi-ancaman-toleransi-di-yogyakarta-clPR>.

Chapter 3

Varied Yet Shallow: Media Discourse from Five Presidential Debates

During the election, media are influencing political discourse by deciding to cover or not to cover certain issues. By covering certain issues, media help the public to focus their attention. We found that printed and online media cover varied issues related to and during the presidential debates period. However, the discussion is mostly superficial. When it comes to substantial analysis, the media mostly provide short comments from experts or prominent persons. Thus, while the high variety of topics might seem good in terms of media content diversity, the shallow discussion might hinder the public to exercise a comprehensive picture of certain issues.

This chapter discusses how the media frame issues related to and during the 2019 Presidential Debates. We begin by discussing each presidential debate. Then, we move on to see the overall media discourse across the presidential debates.

There were five debates being held prior to the 2019 Presidential Election. As previously mentioned, there were two pairs of contenders for 2019 Presidential Election: the first were Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin (Jokowi-Ma'ruf); the second were Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga S. Uno (Prabowo-Sandi). For the sake of readability, in the discourse network analyser (DNA) graph, we assign Jokowi-Ma'ruf as "01" and Prabowo-Sandi as "02".

3.1. First Debate: Law, Corruption, Terrorism, and Human Rights

The first presidential debate was held on Thursday, 17 January 2019. It revolved around issues related to law, corruption, terrorism, and human rights. The first debate was attended by President and Vice President candidates.

The first presidential debate received the highest attention from printed media. This was indicated by a total of 30 articles (15 articles on 17 January 2019 and 15 articles on 18 January 2019) published by The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas—the highest number of articles compared to four debates that were held later.



Figure 3.1. Issues covered by The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas during the first presidential debate period

Source: Authors

The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas shared three similar issues in their coverage: 01 stances on law enforcement, 02 stances on law enforcement, and 02 stances on corruption. These issues are also the most common issues being discussed by printed media on the day after the first debate (18/01/2019).

On the other hand, Koran Tempo and Kompas shared more same topics, ranging from the substance of the debate (01 stance on corruption, analysis on the candidates' stance on terrorism, lack of new ideas from the candidates), the technical aspect of the debate (including technical preparation done by each candidate), the candidates' electability, and the influence of debate on voters.

While both The Jakarta Post and Koran Tempo analysed the candidates' stance on human rights issues, only The Jakarta Post provided each candidate's track record on human rights. The Jakarta Post discussed the candidates' track record on human rights in an article entitled "Candidates to Face Off in 1st Debate" (17/01/2019).

Kompas appears to have more variety on topics compared to Koran Tempo and The Jakarta Post, as Kompas has 4 opinion articles written by 4 different persons that offer different perspectives/angles when discussing the presidential debate. These different perspectives are reflected in the distinctive topics portrayed in the graph, such as electoral impact of the debate (*Efek Elektoral Debat Capres* written by Burhanuddin Muhtadi, Kompas, 17/01/2019), political participation using technology that also touched upon the professionalism of the election organiser, the role of active citizens in electoral process, and the ethics of the political parties and elites (*Hantu Pemilu Gagal* written by M. Alfian Alfian, Kompas, 17/01/2019), public's aspiration on the debate and the character and personality of the candidates (*Korupsi, Kolusi, Prostitusi* written by J. Kristiadi, Kompas, 17/01/2019), and alternative view on politics (*Capres Fiktif dan Kode Keputusan* written by Rendy Pahrum Wadipalapa, Kompas, 18/01/2019). However, for Koran Tempo and Kompas, this

first debate was lacking new ideas from the candidates.²² Kompas even provides an infographic depicting the comparison on the debate content in 2014 and 2019 presidential debate.²³

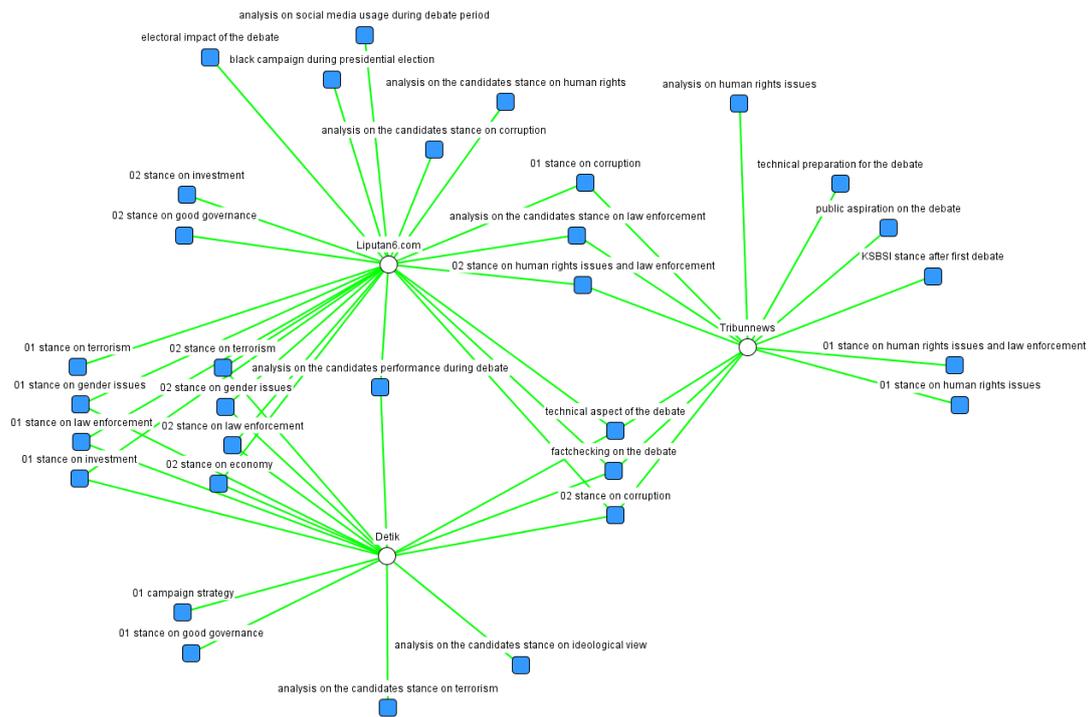


Figure 3.2. Issues covered by Detik.com, Liputan6.com, and Tribunnews.com during the first presidential debate period

Source: Authors

Compared to online media, printed media give slightly more space on the candidates' stance on certain issues, sometimes analyse the candidates' stance in a lengthy article. Meanwhile, online media provides more articles discussing the technical aspects of the debate.

Detik.com, Liputan6.com, and Tribunnews.com share three same topics in their coverage: technical aspect of the debate, fact-checking on the debate, and 02 stances on corruption. These are also the most frequently appeared topics during the first presidential debate period. The discussion on the technical aspect of the debate includes what the candidates did during the commercial break of the debate²⁴, the supporters of Prabowo-Sandi watched together the debate²⁵, Jokowi-Ma'ruf supporters cheering upon Prabowo's response on former corruption convict²⁶, Jokowi and Prabowo did not appreciate each other²⁷, Jokowi invited Prabowo-Sandi to try online permit after being criticised²⁸,

²² *Debat Calon Presiden Kurang Gereget* (Koran Tempo, 18/01/2019); *Kritik Untuk Calon Presiden* (Koran Tempo 18/01/2019); *Capres Belum Saling Mengapresiasi* (Kompas, 18/01/2019).

²³ *Perbandingan Debat Capres-Cawapres 2014 dan 2019 (Hukum, HAM, Korupsi, dan Terorisme)* (Kompas, 18/01/2019)

²⁴ *Ini yang Dilakukan Capres-cawapres Saat Jeda Iklan Debat Pilpres Putaran Pertama* (Tribunnews.com, 17/01/2019)

²⁵ *Nobar di Media Center, Pendukung Prabowo-Sandi Bantangan Tulisan Adil untuk Semua* (Tribunnews.com, 17/01/2019), *Seruan Prabowo Presiden Menggema di Acara Nobar Debat Capres* (Tribunnews.com, 17/01/2019)

²⁶ *Relawan GoJo Soraki Prabowo Saat Jawab Caleg Mantan Napi Koruptor* (Detik.com, 17/01/2019)

²⁷ *Tutup Debat Capres, Jokowi-Prabowo Sama-sama Tak Beri Apresiasi* (Detik.com, 17/01/2019)

²⁸ *Dikritik, Jokowi Ajak Prabowo-Sandi Coba Layanan Izin Online* (Liputan6.com, 17/01/2019)

Ma'ruf answers in Jokowi's eyes²⁹, Jokowi-Ma'ruf campaign team's comments on Prabowo-Sandi³⁰, Jokowi's feeling after the first debate³¹, netizen's feeling after the first debate³².

Liputan6.com and Detik.com share more similar topics (9 same topics), mostly about each candidate's stance on issues related to terrorism, law enforcement, gender, investment, and economy. Both Liputan6.com and Detik.com provide analysis on the candidates' performance during debate as well. Meanwhile, Liputan6.com and Tribunnews.com provide analysis on the candidates' stance on law enforcement, among three identical topics they share.

Based on the analysis above, we can see that during the first debate period, all printed media and online media highlight the candidates' stance on corruption. All discuss how the two candidates had a different opinion on how to eradicate corruption. However, these popular issues could also be triggered by Prabowo's response to Jokowi who questioned the Gerindra patron's party for having nominated six former graft convicts as candidates for the legislative election. Prabowo said it was up to the people to decide whether to elect them, as certain acts of corruption were perhaps not that significant.

Kalau kasus itu sudah melalui proses, dia sudah dihukum dan kalau memang hukum mengizinkan, kalau dia masih bisa dan rakyat menghendaki dia karena dia mempunyai kelebihan-kelebihan lain, mungkin korupsinya juga nggak seberapa...

If the case has gone through a process, he has already been punished and if indeed the law permits, if he is capable and the people want him because he has other strength, (then why not?) maybe the corruption isn't that significant...

Prabowo, 19/01/2019

This particular statement – with the last line being cited over and over again – has drawn media attention, which then lead them to publish at least an article on the issue.³³ Aside from this issue, both printed and online media seem to agree that the first debate was lacking of new idea from the candidates. Printed and online media showing that the candidate's ideas presented during the debate were similar to the 2014 programme offered by Jokowi and Prabowo back then.

²⁹ *A sampai Z Jawaban Ma'ruf Amin di Mata Jokowi* (Detik.com, 18/01/2019)

³⁰ *Timses Jokowi: Retorika Prabowo-Sandi 'Jaka Sembung Naik Ojek'* (Detik.com, 18/01/2019)

³¹ *Jokowi Mengaku Puas Jalani Debat Pertama* (Tribunnews.com, 18/01/2019), *Jokowi Tak Terima Ma'ruf Amin Dinilai Banyak Diam* (Tribunnews.com, 18/01/2019)

³² *Netizen Indonesia Kecewa Dengan Debat Capres Yang Kaku Dan Kurang Menarik* (Tribunnews.com, 18/01/2019)

³³ Here are the list of the articles: *Jokowi, Prabowo Trade Barbs* (The Jakarta Post, 18/01/2019), *Saling Serang dan Adu Sanggah* (Koran Tempo, 18/01/2019), *Menguji Performa Capres-Cawapres* (Kompas, 18/01/2019), *Prabowo Jawab Jokowi soal Caleg Eks Napi Korupsi: Mungkin Korupsinya Nggak Seberapa* (Detik.com, 17/01/2019), *Gerindra Jelaskan Maksud Pernyataan 'Korupsi Nggak Seberapa' Prabowo* (Detik.com, 18/01/2019), *Beda Sikap Jokowi dan Prabowo Tanggapi Akar Masalah Korupsi* (Tribunnews.com, 17/01/2019), *Gerindra Ngaku Kecolongan Sodorkan 6 Caleg Eks Koruptor, 5 Nama Sudah Dicoret Kecuali M Taufik* (Tribunnews.com, 18/01/2019), *Kontroversi Prabowo Gara-Gara 'Korupsi Tak Seberapa'* (Liputan6.com, 18/01/2019).

3.2. Second Debate: Food, Energy, Human and Natural Resources, Environment, and Infrastructure

The second debate was held on Sunday, 17 February 2019. It discussed issues related to food, energy, natural resources, environment, and infrastructure. The second debate was between the president candidates, i.e. Jokowi and Prabowo.

Printed media published a total of 14 articles during the second debate period. The number of articles dropped significantly compared to the first debate period. This drop was partly due to the absence of The Jakarta Post and Koran Tempo on Sunday, 17 February 2019. However, Kompas only published one article related to the 2019 presidential debate on Sunday, 17 February 2019. On the day after the debate (18/02/2019), Kompas and Koran Tempo published 7 and 5 articles related to the presidential debate respectively; while The Jakarta Post only published 1 article.

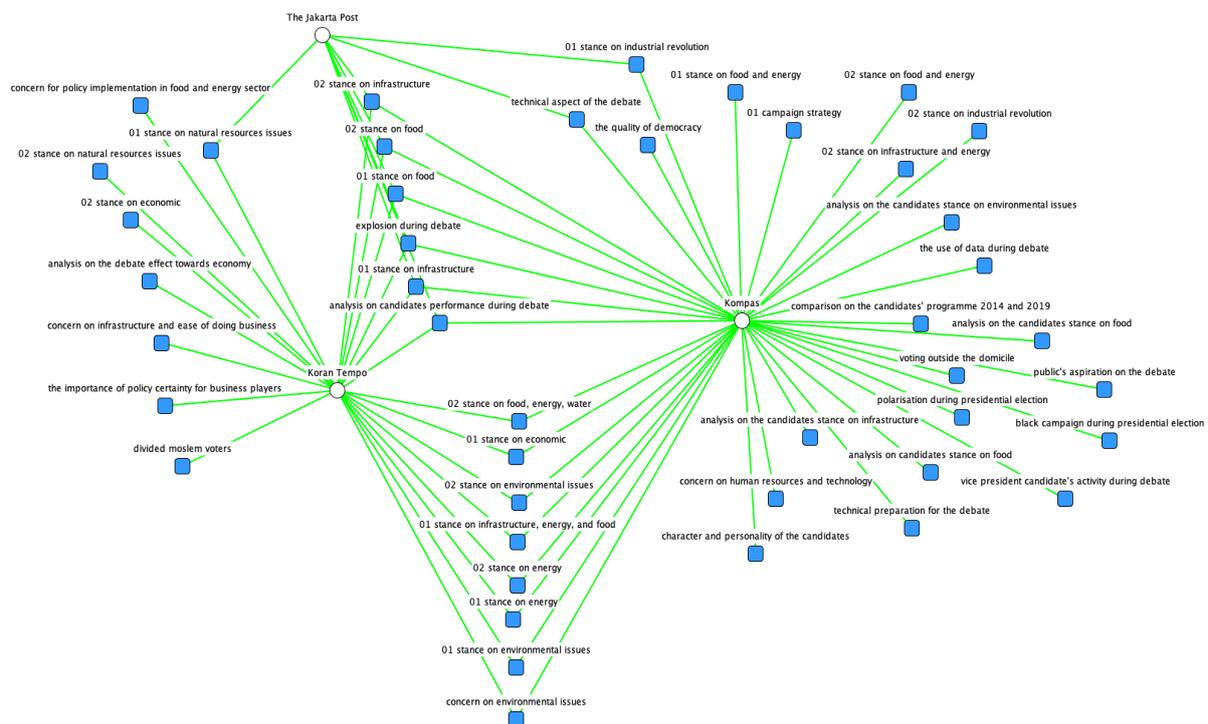


Figure 3.3. Issues covered by The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas during the second presidential debate period

Source: Authors

The Jakarta Post, Kompas, and Koran Tempo cover six same topics. They provide analysis on the candidates' performance during the debate as well as each candidate stance on food and infrastructure. The Jakarta Post comments on Jokowi's strong performance during the debate.³⁴ Kompas argues that the second debate was better since the candidates have touched upon some important issues in the field of food, energy, human and natural resources, environment, and infrastructure.³⁵ Nonetheless, Koran Tempo sees the second debate as somewhat flat as both

³⁴ Jokowi Stands His Ground (The Jakarta Post, 18/02/2019)

³⁵ *Debat Ketat dari Dua Kandidat* (Kompas, 18/02/2019), *Debat Kedua Lebih Berkualitas* (Kompas, 18/02/2019)

candidates did not express clear differences in their programmes, and agreed on some issues instead.³⁶

An explosion during the debate is also covered by those three newspapers. However, the explosion was just slightly mentioned in the articles that discussed the overall candidates' performance.³⁷ Only Koran Tempo covered the explosion in a 198 words-reportage, emphasising that the explosion did not stop the debate.³⁸

Here, Kompas and Koran Tempo share more similar topics, including each candidate stance on environmental issues, on energy, the candidate stance on some issues altogether, O1 stance on economic issues. Aside from each candidate stance, both newspapers also present concern on environmental issues spoken by environmental activists. Kompas delivered an article on the manifesto highlighting 10 points of environmental concern from Development and Environmental Forum (*Forum Pembangunan dan Lingkungan*) to the presidential candidates.³⁹ While Koran Tempo touched upon environmental concern spoken by Greenpeace in an article that also discussed the importance of policy certainty for business players, policy implementation in food and energy sector and on infrastructure and ease of doing business.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, Kompas and The Jakarta Post have two same topics: technical aspect of the debate and O1 stances on the industrial revolution. The Jakarta Post and Koran Tempo share only one same topic: O1 stances on natural resources issues.

Issues covered by Kompas alone are indeed varied more than The Jakarta Post and Koran Tempo. Kompas provides analysis on the candidates' stance on food, analysis on the candidates' stance on infrastructure, comparison on the candidates' programme in 2014 and 2019, and concern on human resources and technology in relation to the Industrial Revolution 4.0 being discussed during the debate.

³⁶ *Datar* (Koran Tempo, 18/02/2019)

³⁷ *Jokowi Stands His Ground* (The Jakarta Post, 18/02/2019), *Debat Kedua Lebih Berkualitas* (Kompas, 18/02/2019).

³⁸ *Ledakan Petasan Tak Hentikan Debat* (Koran Tempo, 18/02/2019).

³⁹ *Manifesto Lingkungan untuk Capres* (Kompas, 18/02/2019)

⁴⁰ *Pelaku Usaha Tak Terpengaruh Janji Calon* (Koran Tempo, 18/02/2019).

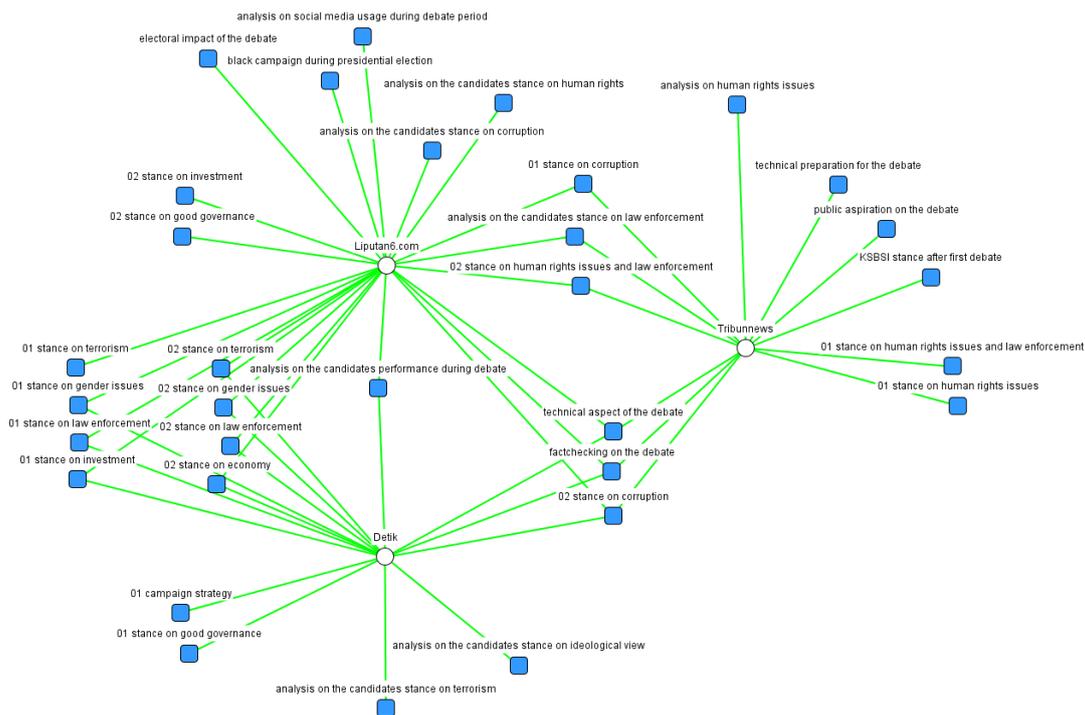


Figure 3.4. Issues covered by Detik.com, Liputan6.com, and Tribunnews.com during the second presidential debate period

Source: Authors

Liputan6.com, Detik.com, and Tribunnews.com have seven similar topics in their coverage. The three-online media present analysis on the candidates' performance during the debate as well as the technical aspect of the debate. Unfortunately, the analysis of the candidates' performance during the debate tends to be superficial as the online media simply just cite the comments from some prominent persons in an article. Detik.com, for example, cited a political observer from Charta Politika, Para Syndicate, and the candidate's campaign team such as PSI (*Partai Solidaritas Indonesia*).⁴¹ The same is applied to Tribunnews.com and Liputan6.com that cited comments from a senior economist affiliated with Indef, political observer, researcher, as well as both candidates' campaign teams.⁴²

⁴¹ *Charta Politika: Jokowi Skak Mat Prabowo, Panas!* (Detik.com, 17/02/2019), *Charta Politika: Tak Paham Unicorn, Blunder Terbesar Prabowo* (Detik.com, 17/02/2019), *Pengamat: Pujian Prabowo Bikin Jokowi Unggul Debat* (Detik.com, 17/02/2019), *Puji Debat Kedua, PSI Sebut Prabowo Kalah 2 Kali* (Detik.com, 17/02/2019), *Para Syndicate: Jokowi Programatik Solutif, Prabowo Propaganda Janji* (Detik.com, 18/02/2019), *TKN Jawab Sandiaga: Senyum Pak Jokowi Pas, Tak Cengengan* (Detik.com, 18/02/2019), *Cerita 30 Pakar di Lingkaran Debat Prabowo* (Detik.com, 18/02/2019), *Jokowi Tanya soal Unicorn, Prabowo: Maksudnya yang Online-online Itu?* (Detik.com, 18/02/2019), *Rencana Kejutan Prabowo yang Berujung Kesabaran* (Detik.com, 18/02/2019).

⁴² *Times Jokowi: Prabowo Hadir Tanpa Solusi* (Liputan6.com, 17/02/2019), *TKN Jokowi-Ma'ruf Prabowo Kehilangan Momentum di Debat* (Liputan6.com, 17/02/2019), *Sandiaga Memuji Keberpihakan Prabowo pada Rakyat dalam Debat Capres* (Liputan6.com, 18/02/2019), *Tanggapan Ekonom Indef soal Debat Capres Kedua* (Liputan6.com, 18/02/2019), *Peneliti Nilai Pernyataan Jokowi Soal Kepemilikan Lahan Prabowo Bagian dari Informasi Publik* (Tribunnews.com, 18/02/2019), *Pengamat 'Prabowo Tak Terlihat Seperti "Macan Asia" di Debat Kedua'* (Tribunnews.com, 18/02/2019), *Pengamat Sebut Data sebagai Senjata Jokowi di Debat Kedua, Prabowo Berkutat di Narasi Besar* (Tribunnews.com, 18/02/2019), *TKN: Jokowi Menguasai Persoalan Bangsa dan Berpengalaman* (Tribunnews.com, 18/02/2019)

The candidates' stance on natural resources issues is also covered, along with some other popular issues, such as 02 wealth, 02 stance on digital economy (notably for his remarkable responses regarding 'unicorn'), and 02 stance on potential violation (the 02 campaign team and supporters argued that 01 campaign team brought speakers and whistle during debate and that 01 launched personal attack to 02). The 02 wealth issue emerged when Jokowi discussed the distribution of land concessions for the people carried out during his administration and mentioned Prabowo possession of the land.⁴³ To this, Prabowo said,

Daripada jatuh ke tangan asing lebih baik saya yang kelola. Setiap saat, negara bisa ambil kembali.
Instead of falling into foreign hands I better manage it. Any time, the country can take it back.
Prabowo, 17/02/2019

The land tenure issues then triggered the online media to publish other related articles discussing each candidate's stance on natural resources management⁴⁴, fact-checking Prabowo's wealth⁴⁵, covering clarification from Prabowo⁴⁶. Related to this issue, Prabowo-Sandi supporters even argued that Jokowi had launched a personal attack to Prabowo regarding the land possession.⁴⁷

At the same time, the online media coverage on 02 stance on the digital economy was triggered by this statement:

Yang Bapak maksud unicorn? Maksudnya yang online-online itu, iya, kan?
When you say unicorns, do you mean the online things?
Prabowo, 17/02/2019

This was Prabowo's response when Jokowi asked what infrastructure that Prabowo would build to support Indonesia's unicorn. The online media mostly used this statement as an opening to discuss the candidates' stance on the digital economy.⁴⁸

Meanwhile, Liputan6.com and Tribunnews.com share two similar topics: 01 stances on food and 01 stances on the potential violation (in which the presidential candidate gave relax response to the accusation that he did personal attack to his rival candidate).

Liputan6.com and Detik.com also share two similar topics: fact-checking on the debate and 01 stances on infrastructure. The facts being checked include 02 claims that his party (Gerindra) has

⁴³ *Pesan Prabowo: Kita Harus Jaga Kekayaan RI Agar Tak ke Luar Negeri* (Detik.com, 17/02/2019)

⁴⁴ *Akui Punya Tanah di Aceh dan Kaltim, Prabowo Lebih Baik Saya Kelola Daripada Asing* (Liputan6.com, 17/02/2019), *Singgung Soal Tanah Milik Prabowo, Jokowi Dianggap Serang Sisi Personal* (Liputan6.com, 17/02/2019)

⁴⁵ *Jokowi Singgung Tanah Ratusan Ribu Hektar Prabowo, Ini Daftar Kekayaan Prabowo Versi KPK* (Liputan6.com, 17/02/2019), *Irwandi Yusuf Sebut Perusahaan Prabowo di Aceh Bermasalah* (Detik.com, 18/02/2019)

⁴⁶ *Akui Punya Tanah di Aceh dan Kaltim, Prabowo Lebih Baik Saya Kelola Daripada Asing* (Liputan6.com, 17/02/2019), *Klarifikasi soal Tanah Ratusan Ribu Hektar di Kalimantan, Prabowo- Itu Benar, tapi Itu adalah HGU* (Tribunnews.com, 17/02/2019), *Prabowo Benarkan Memiliki Tanah Ratusan Ribu Hektar Dari Pada Jatuh ke Asing Mending Saya Kelola* (Tribunnews.com, 17/02/2019)

⁴⁷ *Singgung Soal Tanah Milik Prabowo, Jokowi Dianggap Serang Sisi Personal* (Liputan6.com, 17/02/2019)

⁴⁸ *Charta Politika: Tak Paham Unicorn, Blunder Terbesar Prabowo* (Detik.com, 17/02/2019), *Jokowi Tanya soal Unicorn, Prabowo: Maksudnya yang Online-online Itu?* (Detik.com, 18/02/2019), *Prabowo: Apa Itu Unicorn* (Liputan6.com, 17/02/2019), *Prabowo Khawatir Munculnya Unicorn Memicu Peredaran Uang ke Luar Negeri* (Tribunnews.com, 17/02/2019).

the most female representative candidates (*caleg*), 02 say on governor salary, 02 claims on the fisherman who has been persecuted, and 01 claims on the decreasing forest and land fires within the last 3 years. Meanwhile, Tribunews.com and Detik.com only have one same topic: the electoral impact of the debate.

We can see that printed and online media provide the candidate's stance on each debate topic. Compared to online media, the printed media cover a wider range of topics in their coverage. For example, the online media highlighted Prabowo's possession of land (land tenure issue). Contrast to the online media, the land tenure issue did not received any highlight from the printed media.

At the same time, the printed and online media indeed are attracted by a similar issue: unicorn (digital economy). which then being expanded to discuss both president candidates' programmes on food, energy, human and natural resources, environment, and infrastructure.

3.3. Third Debate: Health, Education, Manpower, Social, and Culture

The third debate was held on Sunday, 17 March 2019. It discussed issues related to health, education, manpower, social and culture. The third debate was between the Vice-President candidates, i.e. Ma'ruf and Sandiaga.

Printed media published a total of 13 articles during the second debate period. The number of articles slightly dropped compared to the second debate period. This drop was partly due to the absence of The Jakarta Post and Koran Tempo on Sunday, 17 March 2019. However, Kompas only published 2 articles on Sunday, 17 March 2019. On the day after the debate (18/03/2019), Kompas published 7 articles, while Koran Tempo and The Jakarta Post each published 2 articles.

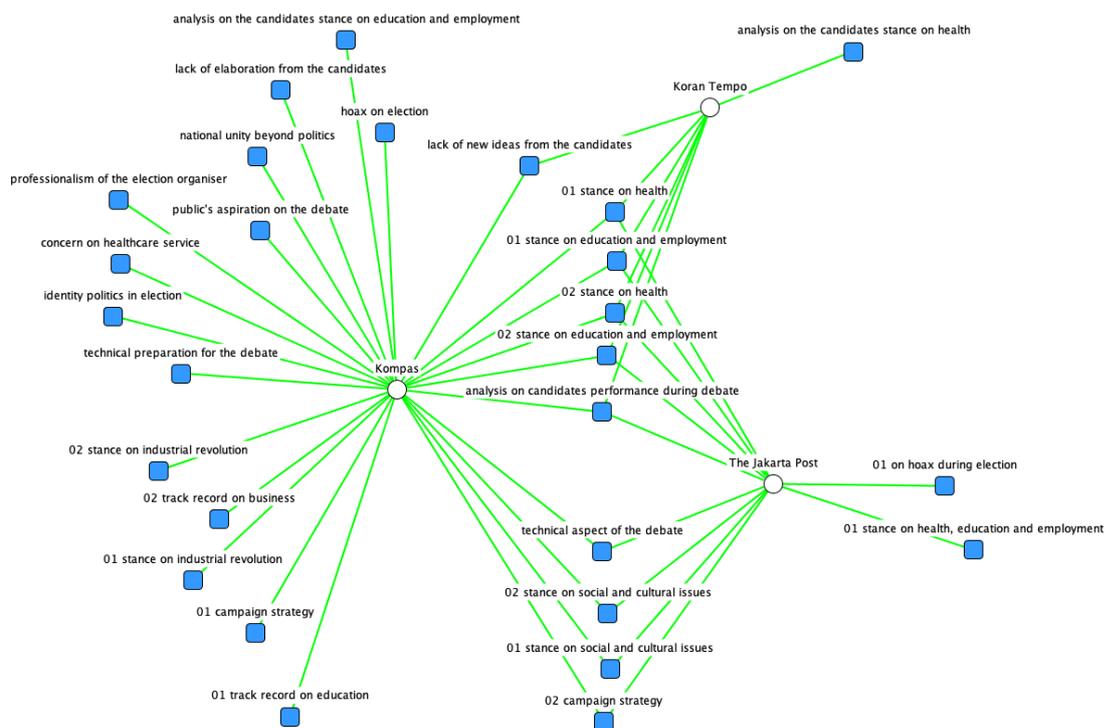


Figure 3.5. Issues covered by The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas during the third debate period

Source: Authors

The intersecting issues between The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas revolve around each candidate's stance on health, education and employment issues, as well as analysis on the candidates' performance during the debate. However, the printed media tend to report more about education and employment issues than other issues. Only The Jakarta Post and Kompas cover the whole theme of the debate, with Kompas having more diverse topics in its coverage.

The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas briefly discussed the program and how the vice-president candidates might perform if they held the position of vice-president.⁴⁹ Kompas and Koran Tempo seem to agree that both vice-president candidates were lacking of new ideas.

Namun, sejumlah pemerhati pendidikan dan ketenagakerjaan menilai gagasan yang disampaikan cawapres belum detail. Sekretaris Eksekutif Labor Institute Indonesia Andy W Sinaga berpendapat, program kedua cawapres mirip satu sama lain dan terkesan hanya bermain pemilihan kata. Tidak ada program yang terlalu istimewa.

However, according to a number of observers of education and employment, the ideas conveyed by Vice President is not yet detailed. The Executive Secretary of Labour Institute Indonesia Andy W Sinaga believes that the two vice presidential programmes are similar to each other and seem to only play words. No special programme.
(*Debat Cawapres Tanpa Perdebatan Berarti*, Kompas, 18/03/2019)

Koordinator BPJS Watch, Timboel Siregar, mengatakan kedua kandidat belum mampu menyajikan solusi yang konkret dalam sengkabut BPJS Kesehatan, pendidikan, dan ketenagakerjaan. "Ini belum ada langkah komprehensif."
The BPJS Watch Coordinator, Timboel Siregar, said the two candidates had not been able to present a concrete solution to BPJS Health, education and employment. "There is no comprehensive step yet."
(*Beda Strategi Dua Calon Wakil Presiden*, Koran Tempo, 18/03/2019)

Sebelumnya, Ketua Umum Ikatan Dokter Indonesia, Daeng Mohammad Faqih, mengungkap sejumlah persoalan kesehatan masih menjadi pekerjaan rumah pemerintah. Ia menyebutkan ada tiga permasalahan utama yang sampai hari ini masih belum tuntas diselesaikan, yakni tingginya angka stunting, karut-marut pelaksanaan program JKN, serta tidak meratanya distribusi tenaga dokter dan tenaga kesehatan.
Previously, General Chair of the Indonesian Doctors Association, Daeng Mohammad Faqih, revealed that the government needs to work on a number of health problems. He mentioned three main problems which had not yet been resolved until today: the high rate of stunting, the chaotic implementation of the national health insurance programme, and the uneven distribution of doctors and health workers.
(*Kedua Calon Dinilai Tidak Tuntas Membahas JKN*, Koran Tempo, 18/03/2019)

⁴⁹ Point of Contention (The Jakarta Post, 18/03/2019), *Beda Strategi Dua Calon Wakil Presiden* (Koran Tempo, 18/03/2019), *Pertarungan Gagasan Cawapres* (Kompas, 18/03/2019).

Thus, although the two Vice-President candidates were able to elaborate on some of their programmes, the ideas presented were considered not sufficient to address public skepticism. Kompas, Koran Tempo, and even The Jakarta Post recognise that most of the initiatives were similar to the 2014 programme offered by Jokowi and Prabowo back then. This is reflected in their reportage on the day after the debate, such as: the vice-presidential debate without a meaningful debate (*Debat Cawapres Tanpa Perdebatan Berarti*, Kompas, 18/03/2019), both candidates did not fully elaborate national healthcare insurance (*Kedua Calon Dinilai Tidak Tuntas Membahas JKN*, Koran Tempo, 18/03/2019), different strategies used by the vice-president candidates (*Beda Strategi Dua Calon Wakil Presiden*, Koran Tempo, 18/03/2019), VP Candidates Play It Safe (The Jakarta Post, 18/03/2019).

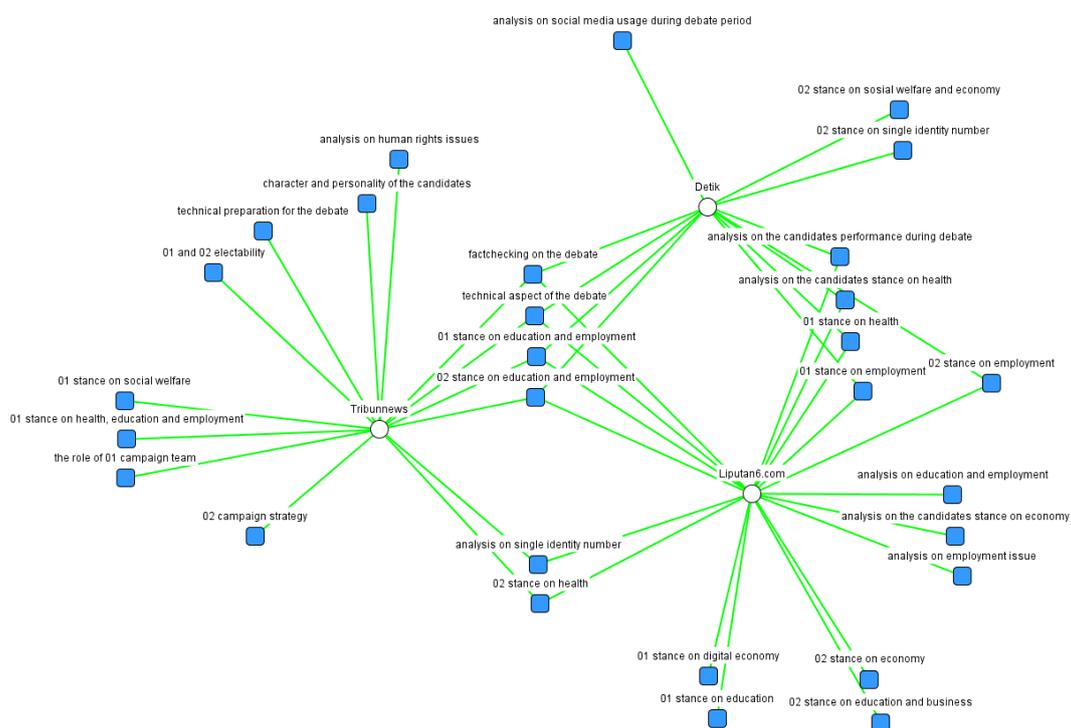


Figure 3.6. Issues by covered Detik.com, Liputan6.com, and Tribunnews.com during the third debate period
Source: Authors

For Detik.com, Liputan6.com, and Tribunnews.com, fact-checking on the debate is one of the same issues they cover. The other same issues they cover are technical aspect of the debate⁵⁰ and each candidate's stance on education and employment. Regarding fact-checking, the stunting figure

⁵⁰ *Saat Ma'ruf 'Berdebat' dengan Moderator soal Waktu* (Detik.com, 17/03/2019), *Usai Debat Cawapres Prabowo Keluar Rumah dan Joget Gatot Kaca* (Tribunnews.com, 17/03/2019). Also there was an article entitled *Rumah Siap Kerja Jurus Sandiaga Uno Tekan Pengangguran* (Liputan6.com, 17/03/2019) that lightly mentioned *Komite Damai* (Peace Committee) that was presented in the third debate.

pointed out by Ma'ruf Amin (01 vice-president candidate) was one of the data being scrutinised.⁵¹ Some cases mentioned by Sandiaga as example were also subject to fact-checking.⁵²

During the third debate, single identity number surfaced as a prominent issue. The notion of single identity number was mentioned by Sandiaga Uno, while he emphasized the flexibility and easiness of social welfare access with only one card. Sandiaga argues that the multiple card program from 01 candidates on social welfare was such a waste, remembering that one single electronic identity card can perform for multiple actions. Detik.com, Liputan6.com, and Tribunnews.com all mentioned the single identity number in their coverage during this period.

Detik.com indeed has more articles portraying single identity number, but in one article, it only provides perspective from one of the candidate's side.⁵³ Only Tribunnews.com and Liputan6.com that specifically provided analysis on single identity number for the social welfare programme.⁵⁴

From the content analysis above, we can see that printed media and online media portray a more-less diverse topic related to the third debate. Meanwhile, the discussion on single identity number and its relation to social welfare programme emerged in online media. However, we can find more critics and in-depth analysis of the programme being offered by the vice-president candidates and performance in the printed media.

3.4. Fourth Debate: Ideology, Governance, Defense and Security, and International Relations

The fourth debate was held on Saturday, 30 March 2019. It discussed issues related to ideology, governance, defense and security, and international relations. The fourth debate was for presidential candidates, i.e. Jokowi and Prabowo.

Printed media published a total of 13 articles during the third debate period – the same with the second debate period. On the day of the debate, Koran Tempo published the highest number of article with a total of 5 articles, while both Kompas and The Jakarta Post published 3 articles each. The Jakarta Post and Koran Tempo were absent on Sunday, 31 March 2019. However, Kompas only published 2 articles on Sunday, 31 March 2019.

⁵¹ *YLKI Tak Ada Cawapres yang Bicara Isu Pengendalian Konsumsi Tembakau* (Liputan6.com, 18/03/2019).

⁵² *Apa Arti 'Link and Match' Bidang Pendidikan yang Disinggung Sandiaga di Debat?* (Detik.com, 17/03/2019), *Sandiaga Uno Salah Sebut Nama Warga yang Disebut Hentikan Pengobatan Kanker karena BPJS* (Tribunnews.com, 18/03/2019).

⁵³ *Sindir Kartu-kartu Jokowi-Ma'ruf, Sandiaga dan Pendukungnya Angkat e-KTP!* (Detik.com, 17/03/2019), *Bicara soal KTP, Sandiaga: Zaman Now Cukup 1 Kartu Saja* (Detik.com, 18/03/2019), *Fadli Kritik Kartu Sakti Jokowi: Kuno, Cara Pikir Zaman Kuda* (Detik.com, 18/03/2019).

⁵⁴ *Sandiaga Ingin E-KTP Terkoneksi, Kemendagri Itu Sudah Jalan* (Liputan6.com, 18/03/2019), *Kemendagri Sebut e-KTP Sudah Mengarah Terhadap Berbagai Kegunaan* (Tribunnews.com, 18/03/2019).

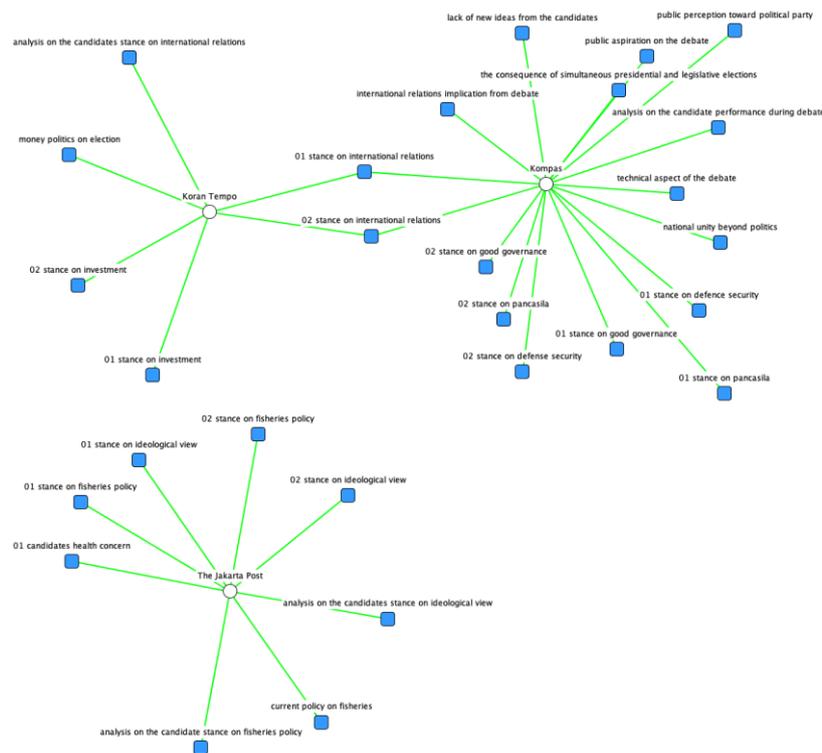


Figure 3.7. Issues covered by The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas during the fourth presidential debate period
Source: Authors

During this period, the most visible thing is The Jakarta Post that stands exclusively separated from Koran Tempo and Kompas. This is due to The Jakarta Post raising distinctive issues which are not covered by Koran Tempo and Kompas, such as: 01 candidates' health concern (regarding Ma'ruf Amin age)⁵⁵, current policy in fisheries⁵⁶, analysis on the candidates' stance on fisheries. On the other hand, both Koran Tempo and Kompas discuss each candidate's stance on international relations issues (01 stances on international relations and 02 stances on international relations).

Kompas, during this fourth debate period, covers more diverse topic, ranging from Pancasila as the national ideology⁵⁷, good governance⁵⁸, the future of diplomacy linked to defence security strategy⁵⁹, to the consequence of simultaneous presidential and legislative elections⁶⁰. Kompas also pointed out the lack of new ideas from the candidates, showing that most of their ideas were similar to the 2014 programme offered by Jokowi and Prabowo back then.⁶¹

Meanwhile, Tempo gives stressing on the connection between investment and international relations. This is apparent in some articles, for example, "*Kubu Jokowi Berjanji Perkuat Diplomasi Buat Tarik Investasi*" (Koran Tempo, 30/03/2019), "*Kubu Prabowo Ingin Indonesia Lebih Berperan di Forum Global*" (Koran Tempo, 30/03/2019). It also sheds light on the money politics in the

⁵⁵ I Should Be Considered Middle-Aged, Not Old: Ma'ruf (The Jakarta Post, 30/03/2019).

⁵⁶ Opposition Campaign Attacks Incumbents Fisheries Regulation (The Jakarta Post, 30/03/2019)

⁵⁷ *Penjelasan Detail Ditunggu* (Kompas, 30/03/2019)

⁵⁸ *Debat Berlangsung Dinamis* (Kompas, 31/03/2019), *Capres Sajikan Debat Berkualitas* (Kompas, 31/03/2019)

⁵⁹ *Meraba Arah Politik Luar Negeri Indonesia melalui Debat Capres* (Kompas, 30/03/2019)

⁶⁰ *Tenggelam oleh Pilpres* (Kompas, 30/03/2019)

⁶¹ *Penjelasan Detail Ditunggu* (Kompas, 30/03/2019)

election, such as in these articles: “*Serangan Fajar Efektif Mendulang Suara*” (Koran Tempo, 30/03/2019), “*Uang Terselip di Berbagai Modus*” (Koran Tempo, 30/03/2019).



Figure 3.8. Issues covered by Detik.com, Liputan6.com, and Tribunnews.com during the fourth presidential debate period

Source: Authors

Detik.com, Liputan6.com, and Tribunnews.com share several same topics, including the candidates’ stance on defense security and good governance issues, also the technical aspect of the debate and fact-checking on the debate. Some of the facts being scrutinised are the number of tribes and local language in Indonesia mentioned by Jokowi⁶², the allocation for defense security in the national budget mentioned by Prabowo⁶³, Prabowo’s claim that Freeport McMoran was actually benefited from the share withdrawal⁶⁴, Prabowo’s statement that Indonesia was as wide as Europe⁶⁵, and Indonesia’s submarine that could launch missile under the sea⁶⁶.

During the fourth debate, the most frequently appeared issues in online media are 01 stances on defense security and 02 stances on defense security. These two issues were served in short articles, with one article usually covered only one candidate’s perspective.

⁶² *Jokowi Sebut RI Punya 714 Suku dan Lebih dari 1.100 Bahasa, Ini Faktanya* (Detik.com, 30/03/2019)

⁶³ *Prabowo Sebut Anggaran Kemenhan Hanya 5% dari APBN, Benarkah?* (Detik.com, 30/03/2019)

⁶⁴ *Capres Prabowo Sebut Freeport McMoran Untung, Ini Faktanya* (Liputan6.com, 31/03/2019)

⁶⁵ *Prabowo Sebut Indonesia Seluas Eropa, Ternyata Begini Faktanya* (Tribunnews.com, 31/03/2019)

⁶⁶ *Spesifikasi Kapal Selam Indonesia-Singapura, Prabowo: Bisa Luncurkan Peluru Kendali dari Bawah Laut* (Tribunnews.com, 31/03/2019)

Different from printed media, online media portray a more diverse issue. However, during the fourth debate period, The Jakarta Post provides unique perspectives. It was the only that covered Ma'ruf Amin's age, and was more concerned about fishery policies and the ideological views from each candidate.

3.5. Fifth Debate: Economy and Social Welfare, Finance and Investment, Trade and Industry

The fifth debate was held on Saturday, 13 April 2019. It discussed issues related to economy and social welfare, finance and investment, trade and industry. The fifth debate was attended by the president and vice president candidates.

During the third debate period, there were 12 articles published by printed media. This number dropped slightly from the third debate period. On the day of the debate, Koran Tempo published the highest number of article with a total of 5 articles, while Kompas and The Jakarta Post published 3 and 2 articles respectively. The Jakarta Post and Koran Tempo were absent on Sunday, 31 March 2019. However, Kompas only published 2 articles on Sunday, 31 March 2019.

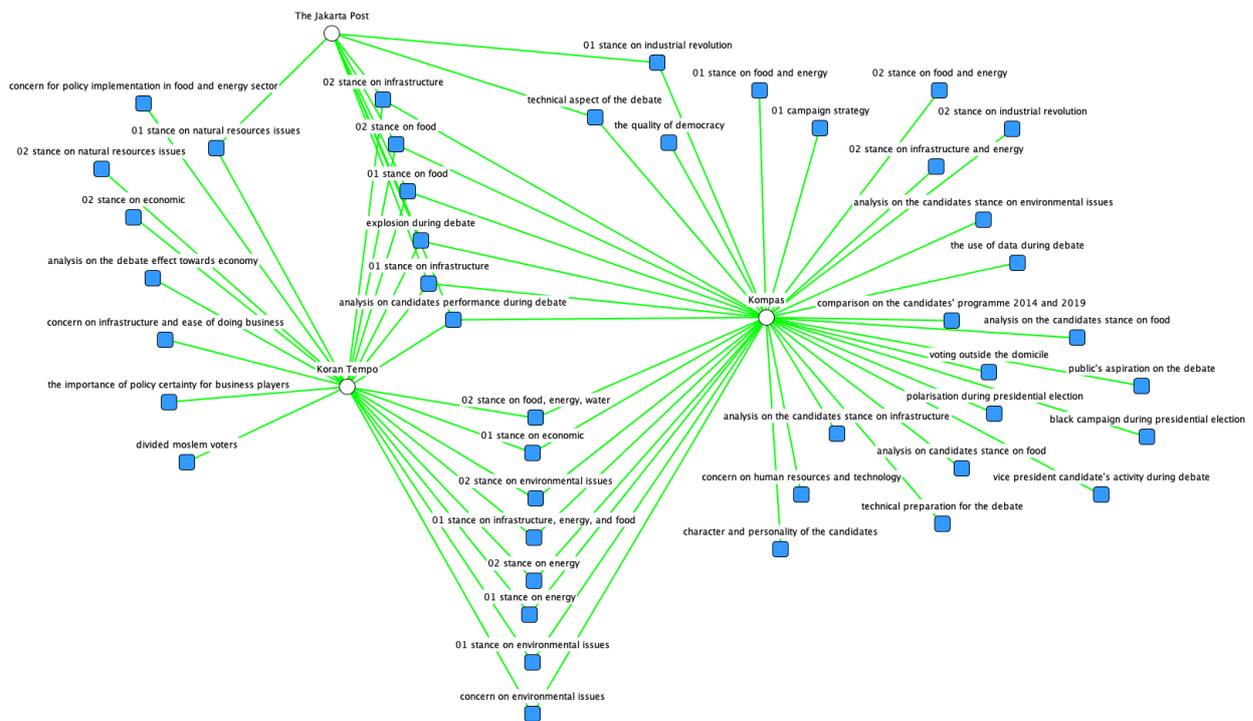


Figure 3.9. Issues covered by The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas during the fifth presidential debate period

Source: Authors

From the graph above, The Jakarta Post, Koran Tempo, and Kompas shared six similar issues, including: analysis on the candidates' performance during debate, an explosion during the debate, 01 stances on food, 01 stances on infrastructure, 02 stances on food, and 02 stances on infrastructure. Koran Tempo and Kompas shared more same issues regarding the candidates' stance on particular issues.

Overall, the printed media discussed social welfare and economic programmes offered by the candidates. Koran Tempo, for example, discussed the idea of social assistance (*bantuan sosial*). It discussed the importance of the programme with some experts.⁶⁷ Same as Koran Tempo, The Jakarta Post elaborated each candidate stance on social welfare and economics, and also provided comments from stakeholders regarding the issues of social welfare and economics.⁶⁸ On the other hand, Kompas discussed the social welfare and economics programme offered by the candidates by bringing up the poll results from its research. The poll indicated that providing employment and prices for basic necessities were the two most pressing problems.⁶⁹

During this fifth debate period, we found some special issues being brought up by printed media. For example, The Jakarta Post wrote about Nahdlatul Ulama split voice in East Java.⁷⁰ Nahdlatul Ulama was one of the largest Muslim organisation in Indonesia. According to The Jakarta Post, NU voice was not solely focused on Ma'ruf Amin as the eldest in the organization, but some of NU voice went to Prabowo and Sandiaga Uno as well.

Another example is Kompas that discussed hoax on the election in an article entitled *Joko Widodo dan Prabowo Subianto Sama-sama Tepis Kabar Bohong* (Kompas, 13/04/2019). This article sheds light on how Jokowi and Prabowo dismissed the hoax about them. Jokowi – who had been accused as communist (or part of Indonesia Communist Party/PKI) since his electoral campaign in 2014 – urged his supporters to fight hoax by clarifying and rectifying false news. Meanwhile, Prabowo in his speech during a campaign questioned the other parties who believed that he was pro-khilafah.

⁶⁷ *Berlomba Janjikan Bantuan Sosial* (Koran Tempo, 13/04/2019)

⁶⁸ *Candidates Set For Final Face-off* (The Jakarta Post, 13/04/2019)

⁶⁹ *Saatnya Menentukan Pilihan* (Kompas, 14/04/2019)

⁷⁰ *NU's Support Split in East Java* (The Jakarta Post, 13/04/2019)

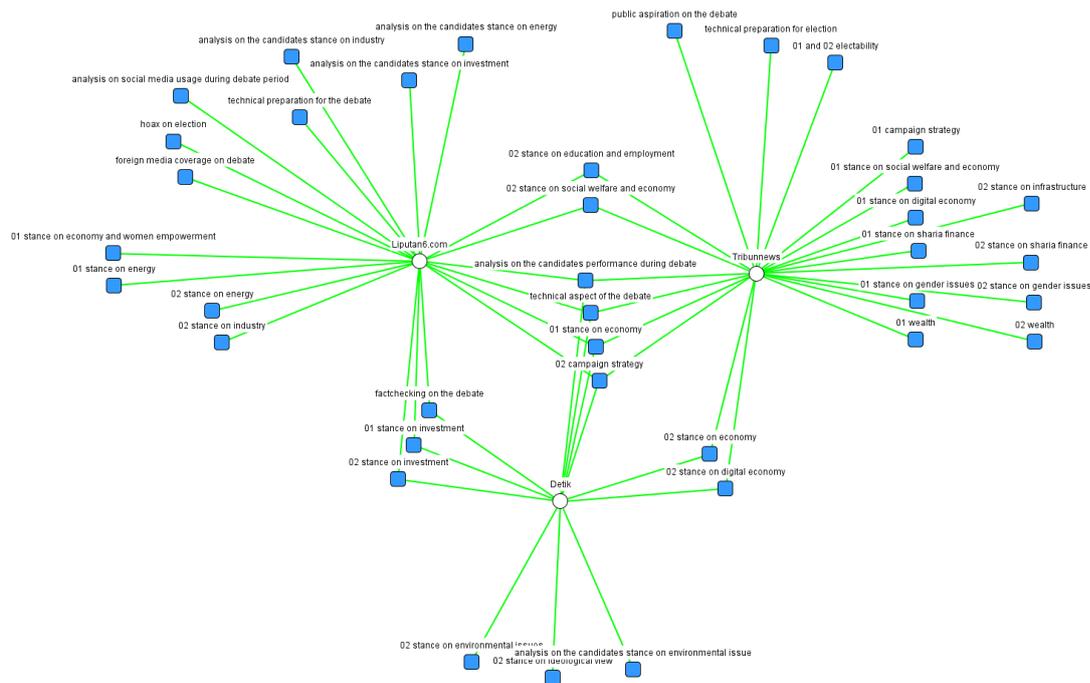


Figure 3.10. Issues covered by Detik.com, Liputan6.com, and Tribunews.com during the fifth presidential debate period

Source: Authors

One of the prominent issues during this fifth debate is tax ratio. Prabowo, explained that the low percentage of tax has hindered the development in Indonesia. Furthermore, he said that economic problems were a long and complex chain created by the previous authorities, such as previous president.⁷¹ Another issue that caught media attention was Prabowo's answer to Jokowi's question on the future of e-sport. Prabowo responded by explaining the necessity of improving agriculture in Indonesia.⁷²

In this fifth debate, Liputan6.com and Detik.com continue to do the fact-checking. The issue in fact-checking themes revolved around the governance of the state-owned corporation (BUMN) and Indonesia's trade balance.⁷³ Tribunews.com, in this debate, however, did not take part in fact-checking.

⁷¹ *PD Kritik Prabowo Singgung 'Presiden Sebelumnya', Fadli Zon Klarifikasi* (Detik.com, 13/04/2019), *Erick Thohir Sebut Pernyataan Prabowo Singgung Soeharto dan SBY* (Liputan6.com, 14/04/2019), *SBY Disalahkan Prabowo, Demokrat Harusnya Tarik Diri dari Koalisi Adil Makmur* (Tribunews.com, 14/04/2019).

⁷² *Jokowi Tanya soal 'Mobile Legend', Dijawab Prabowo-Sandiaga Justru Seputar Pertanian* (Tribunews.com, 14/04/2019)

⁷³ *Singgung Keuntungan Garuda, Prabowo: Kursinya Harus Terisi 120%* (Detik.com, 13/04/2019), *Pamer Rebut Blok Rokan hingga Freeport, Jokowi: BUMN Mampu Akuisisi* (Detik.com, 13/04/2019), *Prabowo: Holding, Holding, yang Sekarang Tak Dikelola Baik* (Detik.com, 13/04/2019), *Di Debat Capres, Sandiaga Bacakan Surat Penolakan Holding BUMN Penerbangan* (Liputan6.com, 13/04/2019), *Jokowi Bakal Bangun Superholding BUMN* (Liputan6.com, 13/04/2019), *Sandiaga Kritik Holding BUMN, Jokowi Mau Bikin Super Holding* (Detik.com, 14/04/2019), *Disebut Goyah, BUMN Justru Untung Rp 188 Triliun* (Liputan6.com, 14/04/2019), *Prabowo: Jadi Benteng Terakhir Ekonomi, BUMN Kita Justru Goyah* (Liputan6.com, 14/04/2019), *Sandi 'Sentil' Neraca Dagang Tekor US\$ 8 M, Ini Jawaban Jokowi* (Detik.com, 13/04/2019)

During the fifth debate period, printed media provide more discussions on the economic and social welfare programmes offered by the candidates. Meanwhile, online media cover a broader issue by also touching upon notion of employment and education. However, in this fifth debate, online media have more articles that focus on the technical aspect of the debate, analysis on the candidate performance during debate, and the candidates' campaign strategy.

3.6. Synthesis

Across five debates, we can see that the most frequently appeared issues both in printed and online media is the analysis on the candidates' performance during debate. However, the media tend to use comments from prominent figures or experts, and rarely provide their own analysis. This phenomenon indicates that media tend to play safe.

A somewhat controversial statement from a prominent figure might draw and trigger both printed and online media to publish more articles on certain issues. This is evident in the first debate period (in which Prabowo said that certain acts of corruption were perhaps not that significant) and in the second debate (in which Prabowo asked about unicorn). The controversial statement serves as an opening or a case to further discuss the issues.

At the same time, online media have more articles discussing the technical aspect of the debate. Online media also tend to provide superficial coverage (mostly in the form of reportage or straight news) with one article gives only one candidate's perspective. This is reflected in the most frequently appeared issues in the online media (across debates): 02 campaign strategy, 02 stance on corruption, 02 stance on defense security, 02 stance on digital economy, 02 stance on economy, 01 stance on investment, 01 stance on good governance, 01 stance on education and employment, 01 stance on defense security. On the other hand, printed media

However, the media standpoint during the period of 2019 presidential debates was not clearly expressed. Only The Jakarta Post (18/02/2019) and Koran Tempo (17/01/2019 and 13/04/2019) provide editorial, giving their critical analysis on the debate substance and comments on the technical aspect of the debate.⁷⁴

The good news is both printed and online media have actively participated in the fact-checking. It helps the public find the truth. Thus, the media are still reliable. In a time when hoax spreads fast, the media become a credible source of information. This condition represents a good sign, but how deep do they go with this habit? This notion is discussed more in the next chapter.

⁷⁴ *Hindari Debat Petai Hampa* (Koran Tempo, 17/01/2019), *Jokowi Stands His Ground* (The Jakarta Post, 18/02/2019), *Masa Tenang* (Koran Tempo, 13/04/2019).

Chapter 4

Media: Polarising or Transcending Differences?

The 2019 Presidential Election is a test for the media. In reporting news, media should not withhold any information, exercise care, represent wisdom in reporting, and not fuel the tensions⁷⁵. However, due to protecting the goodwill of the media organisation, several media tend to take a neutral position. Moreover, the media also tend to avoid delicate information. This condition affects how people see the work of journalists; will media be able to maintain their position as journalists with credibility? Can the media consistently maintain their value, primarily when it deals with sensitive issues?

This section explored journalists' perceptions of the circulation of hoax, propaganda, and religious intolerance issues in the 2019 Presidential Election. This section will be identifying the implementation of media principles and how these principles carried out when dealing with sensitive issues.

4.1. On Religious Intolerance

4.1.1. Reflecting Religious Intolerance Issues to Media Coverage

In general, every media company (or press company) must comprehend the basic principles of journalism written in the Press Law. Above all, it is the *raison d'être* of media to uphold values, not only because laws mandate it. However, based on our discussion with media, each media has its priority principles that used as references in doing news coverage. the principles prioritised by media have become their stances when reporting the news.

This research found that human rights lens is the primary lens used to create a news publication. In addition to human rights; Tirto, Tempo, Kompas, and The Jakarta Post stated that humanism was the primary reference in proclaiming the news. Humanism lens is essential for the journalists because it reminds the journalist to keep their orientation straight, which to facilitate public needs. Moreover, The Jakarta Post and Tirto expressly stated that the victim's perspective is one of the principles that firmly held in conducting coverage. Nevertheless, both of them recognize that the victim's perspective is not necessarily always genuine. The two media always do fact-check to other credible sources, such as applying the perspective of eyewitnesses. On the other hand, Tribunnews.com, Liputan6.com, Detik.com, and CNN Indonesia claimed to use a democratic and justice perspective. CNN Indonesia, in particular, uses a legal lens to correct sensitive cases, such as religious intolerance.

⁷⁵ Endy M. Bayuni, *Why and How Media should Promote Peace between Religious Community*, 05/10/2015. Retrieved on July 26, 2019 from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/10/05/why-and-how-media-should-promote-peace-between-religious-communities.html>.

When reporting the news about religious intolerance, all media chose to be very cautious. Media tend to measure whether particular articles were provocative or not. They also consider news impact for the public in determining articles to be published. Furthermore, several media tend to avoid to become leaders on sensitive news. In this stance, Tribunnews.com, Detik.com, Liputan6.com, and CNN Indonesia stated that sensitive issues had to write appropriately because provocative news tends to trigger conflict.

Concerning sensitive issues, CNN Indonesia decided to publish certain content through a series of meetings involving news gathering, news production, and legal divisions. The editorial team itself tends to use narrative distance in writing, especially when the issue enters the contradicted area. One of their reasons to become avoidant to sensitive issues is that CNN Indonesia is a franchise brand from the United Kingdom; therefore, they should maintain the credibility and reputation of the publication. For example, when discussing the interpretations of religious teachings and practices, CNN chose to invite speakers to debate rather than presenting an issue analysis.

Detik.com journalist admits that they once fell on reporting sensitive issues in 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election. In that period, Detik.com reporting about the prevention to give an Islamic prayer to a person who passed away if she/he chooses Jokowi-Ahok. This news publications raise hatred between voters. Learning from the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election, Detik.com applies a rigorous selection for ethnicity, religion, race and intergroup-based coverage for 2017 gubernatorial and 2019 presidential election.

“On previous 2012 gubernatorial election in Jakarta, we once fell off to publishing news that raises hatred between voters. The theme of the news is about the prevention to give a [Islamic] prayer to people who passed away because of choosing Jokowi-Ahok on 2012 gubernatorial election. Learning from this incident, we have been cautious in reporting sensitive news.

(ED, Detik.com journalist, FGD, 03/07/2019)

Kompas, in particular, states that transcendental humanism is the primary reference for doing coverage. Mentioned by Kompas Institute, transcendental humanism refers to a practical value which oriented from human values of faith and transcendent dimension. This combination becomes Kompas principles when presenting facts in the news.⁷⁶ Specifically, to religious intolerance issues in 2019 presidential election, Kompas uses ‘peaceful journalism’ frame. Kompas tend to raise news that is not provocative. Kompas also create content that prioritises solutions, citing credible sources, and employs the principle of covering both sides. Besides, Kompas makes every attempt to provide data in supporting their articles.

⁷⁶ We investigate the principle of transcendental journalism toward Kompas Institute website, <https://institute.kompas.id/>.

"In conducting coverage, we use peaceful journalism, transcendental journalism, and humanitarian-oriented journalism (humanism journalism) frame. We always strive for news that is not provocative, solution-based, and covers all sides. For example, related to religious intolerance, there are around 20 stories that we write. We always quote credible sources on reporting diversity. One of the news about intolerance is the news 'Fire in Husks, Symbolic Intolerance' [*Api dalam Sekam, Intoleransi Simbolik*]. In this reportage, we use data from the Setara Institute and the State Islamic University [Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta]. In order to maintain the ethics of journalism, we do not include sources [interviewed]."

(AP, Kompas managing editor, FGD, 03/07/2019)

For example, when reporting about the 2019 presidential debate, Kompas often shows its neutrality by providing analysis from Kompas research team (Litbang Kompas). In this reportage below, Kompas descriptively explained and expressed their neutral view on Jokowi-Ma'ruf argument on Pancasila as a national ideology to prospective governing strategy. In this news, Kompas covering both sides, withdrawing a depth analysis. This 'neutral' coverage was consistent with Kompas journalism principles.

"The debates presented in each segment are generally able to answer the existing problems and how to deal with them. In the issue of ideology, for example, Jokowi explained the problem of the application of Pancasila principles or values in everyday life. Conversely, for Prabowo, the issue of ideology will be able to be overcome or strengthened through strengthening the values of Pancasila toward the world of education. In terms of managing the government, Jokowi stated the term 'digital serving' (Digital Melayani - Dilan). Therefore, digital reform and simplification of institutions [systems] are required."

(Kompas, 31/03/2019)

In internalising value to work, Tempo expresses their views clearly. Tempo presents the results of their in-depth coverage and even digs into the role of political elites if religious intolerance cases ridden with political interests. As a media which consistently maintain their value with its bold reportage characteristics, Tempo core policy is to respect religious freedom. For example, Tempo uses the case of Lia Eden⁷⁷ to maintain the appreciation of the human rights perspective in the news. In Tempo, the language used to report sensitive issues should not insult the victim. This policy applies to every sensitive reportage, even if the journalist who covers the news does not interest in the cases.

"The news policy at Tempo is stringent. We always strive to publish news that does not corner certain parties. [For example] we gather every morning and reflect on Lia Eden's case as a reminder of intolerance. Even though Lia Eden gets a certain label from society, we do not use language that bullies Lia Eden."

(LP, Tempo managing editor, FGD, 03/07/2019)

⁷⁷ Lia Eden (Lia Aminuddin) is a cult leader who once claimed to have received a revelation from Gabriel [Islamic angel] in 1997. In 2008, she arrested because of religious blasphemy. More information about Lia Eden can be seen in this link <https://crcs.ugm.ac.id/discovering-the-story-of-lia-eden-prophethood-as-a-living-tradition-in-indonesian-society/>.

Regarding 2019 Presidential Debate, Tempo Newspaper⁷⁸, for example, discussed the idea of social help (*bantuan sosial*) submitted by Sandiaga Uno, 02 Vice President candidate. Tempo Newspaper boldly expressed their views also criticising candidate views. Moreover, to add more analysis in the news, Tempo even consulting to an economist from the Centre of Reform on Economics Indonesia, Ahmad Akbar Susanto.

“An economist from Centre of Reform on Economics Indonesia, Ahmad Akbar Susanto, said that social help had become one of the alternatives to the alleviation of the poor. However, various direct help or other social help has just become a vitamin for decreasing the number of poor people. The real medicine, based on him, is sustainable development, such as infrastructure and easiness to invest, which absorbing labour.”

(Tempo Newspaper, 13/04/2019)

This value and strategy influence how the media gets profit. Some media choose to maintain value, although sometimes it is economically risky. On the other hand, sensitive issues deliberately avoided — the 'playing safe' strategy — which did not endanger the media both politically and economically. The idea that the media should educate the public slowly disappeared. This condition is obvious in an online media publication. With the development of technology, the media is increasingly relying on 'clicks' to translate community interests (or can be described as 'manufacturing want').⁷⁹ Rating, again and again, becomes a major determinant factor.

This condition was not much different from the 1998 post-reform condition. A content created by the media was facing two significant dilemmas. Media stuttered in separating what is 'needed' by the community and what is 'desired' by the community. Meanwhile, in this case, the business perspective works optimally in translating media problem with reinterpreting and shaping the market logic. Industry assumes that what is desired by the community are all things that are needed by the community (Nugroho, 2012).

Moreover, in this sense, we found that the role of influence (Reese, 2007) in the media to build organisational value and principles were still happening. Policy developed in a media still oriented to the purpose of its owner. A top-down approach in the media industry was still happening, which later, the journalist still follows the rule developed by the media owner.

⁷⁸ Tempo has four types of media product: Tempo online, Tempo English, Tempo newspaper, and Tempo magazine. Meanwhile, Tempo editor has the same policies for all three-product. For this research, we use Tempo newspaper publication.

⁷⁹ Online media use Alexa (<https://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/ID>) to determine top sites traffic and rating value.

4.1.2. Challenges in Religious Intolerance News

1. Internal Challenges: Journalist Personal Bias

In reporting sensitive issues, many challenges faced by both print and online media. Based on our research, we found that there were difficulties in supervising journalists working in the field. This condition is increasingly complex if the scale of media publications increases, such as Tribunnews.com. Tribunnews.com acknowledges that because of the broad coverage and area of publications. Tribunnews.com admit that the quality of their content becomes hard to maintain. Now, this condition has successfully dealt through the control of the founder and supervision of the Ombudsman.

The next challenge faced by the media is personal journalist bias. The editors admit that it is difficult to maintain the clarity of journalists' attitudes to remain fair and balanced when covering and writing about something that personally disliked.

Box 4-1 Personal Interest vs Media Needs

During our discussion session with media practitioners, we asked how journalists handle their personal biases on the issue that they dislike. EMS from The Jakarta Post stated that she must prioritise media values and avoid personal values.

For example, EMS does not like Ahmad Dhani. However, when Ahmad Dhani incarcerated because of ITE Law and Sri Bintang Pamungkas was charged with treason cases, she must be able to draw the line between her personal preferences and her obligation as media editor.

"I have to distinguish personal dislikes from what media needs. The Jakarta Post upheld freedom of expression. So, if the newsroom thinks that a piece of news is essential and has to publish, I will leave my dislike personally. I will remain professional in holding the values and fundamental principles of The Jakarta Post."

Maintaining personal value to media interest is considered essential. Journalist sees it as a way to manage media credibility. When we ask about personal preferences to media value, all participants felt that their values were in line with media values. There is no value conflict between journalist as an individual and the media.

As an institution, The Jakarta Post also has a mechanism to minimise personal journalist bias. In order to maintain the values and principles of the company, The Jakarta Post provides training for newly-joined journalists. Furthermore, The Jakarta Post seeks to remain critical to figures that they endorse previously. For example, in the 2014 election, the Jakarta Post openly supported Jokowi⁸⁰. However, when Jokowi became President and re-ran for 2019, The Jakarta Post decided not to support him it. Jokowi, which at the time run the government, did not provide any stances regarding the case of Human Rights (transgender attacks, cross destruction, Meliana appeal). This

⁸⁰ The Jakarta Post Editorial Team. *Endorsing Jokowi*, 04/07/2014. Retrieved on July 29, 2019 in <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/07/04/editorial-endorsing-jokowi.html>.

condition was witnessed and recorded by The Jakarta Post. Learning from this, when Jokowi was nominating again in the 2019 presidential election, The Jakarta Post keep being critical and not supporting Jokowi. In this case, The Jakarta Post hold to their values and principles, which is covering human rights and victim-oriented.

2. External Challenges: Low Media Literacy

Media literacy in Indonesia is considered low. The mapping from JALEPIDI in 2017 found that digital literacy activities organised by universities (5.14%). To be specific, digital literacy from media were still low, which is only at 8,8%. The condition is understandable, reminding that digital literacy movements in Indonesia tend to be voluntary, incidental, and sporadic⁸¹. Based on their research, JALEPIDI found that digital literacy should engage more partnership, such as with media.

Seeing this coming, all journalists and editors agree that they must be prepared to face the Indonesian people who are difficult to accept differences, specifically from media. We found media agreed that the public was more likely to believe in information that was considered attractive to them rather than wisely excerpt the truth. Based on this, media still striving to make content attractive and desirable for their readers, which later influence the content quality in media publication.

4.2. On Hoax and Propaganda

4.2.1. The Implementation of Fact-Checking by Media

The media seeks to ward off a hoax by examining information circulating in the field. The mechanism of work carried out to ward off hoax is through fact checks. Journalists check facts by looking for information directly in the field or looking for information from other credible sources. In searching for facts, extreme steps often carried out by journalists. One of the ways taken by each journalist is to join the WhatsApp group of Jokowi and Prabowo sympathisers – during the 2019 election.

Tribunnews.com and Liputan6.com indicate that they were cautious if the article material came from social media. Tribunnews.com stated that they never quoted information from social media, even the account was verified (for example, who received a blue Twitter check). For Tribunnews.com, the information-driven by social media was used as a supplement to the news, not as the primary material. Tribunnews.com also use layered inspection; therefore, they did not publish the same news with the other media or with their publication.

⁸¹ The Conversation Team, Researchers find Indonesia needs more literacy education, 25/09/2017. Retrieved on July 26, 2019 from <https://theconversation.com/researchers-find-indonesia-needs-more-digital-literacy-education-84570>.

Box 4-2 On Report and Publishing Sensitive Issues in Online Media

Tribunnews.com is very careful in publishing news originating from social media. In the discussion, SM, a journalist representative from Tribunnews.com, explained that there were layered inspections in publishing. Tribunnews.com has internal policies that limit the use of news sources from social media. Besides, Tribunnews.com has a mapping of trustworthy sources to discuss sensitive issues. Before the news is published, Tribunnews.com will consult editors, ombudsmen, and media owners.

"We are cautious when discussing news originating from social media. We have policies in managing content. We never cite news from social media, because, for us, the principle of basic journalism is proclaiming the news. We have a list of trustees to ask for their opinions on sensitive issues. For the news style, we focus on events, not actors. After the news material has been written down, we consult the editor. If the news is sensitive, the editor will consult to Ombudsman and media owner."

(SM, Tribunnews.com journalist, FGD, 03/07/2019)

Furthermore, in the publication of sensitive news, Tribunnews.com even has a blacklist of people who are considered to have provocative statements. Tribunnews.com does not interview or quote people who are blacklisted.

In the 2019 Presidential and Vice President debates, the trend of fact-checking is the essential point delivered by the media. Media note that fact-checking is crucial because it shows their responsibility for reporting news. For example, Ma'ruf Amin, 01 Vice President candidate, elaborate the success story data about stunting prevention by the incumbent. Liputan6.com, in this case, examined the data used by Ma'ruf Amin. This examination helps the public to discover whether the information given by the candidates are accurate or not.

"If we look through the data, there is a high possibility that Ma'ruf was comparing the stunting data from the Ministry of Health in 2013 and 2018. On 2013, stunting prevalence was 32,7percent and in 2018 declined to 30,8%. That is why the data have tendencies to decrease to 7%."

(Liputan6.com, 18/03/2019)

To information checking in the field, the media also plays a role in the fact-checking network, namely cekfakta.com.⁸² The Jakarta Post, Tempo, Kompas, Liputan6, Tirto, CNN Indonesia, and Detik.com have become part of cekfakta.com. In this network, only Tribunnews.com has not joined in cekfakta.com.

⁸² The compilation of media which participate on fact-checking movement can be seen in <https://cekfakta.com/media>.

Box 4-3 A Collaborative Initiative Preventing the Widespread of Hoax

Cekfakta.com is a fact-checking collaborative movement build by MAFINDO – Masyarakat Anti Fitnah Indonesia (Indonesian Anti-Defamation Society). This project is collaborating with AJI – Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (Alliance of Independent Journalist) and AMSI – Asosiasi Media Siber Indonesia (Indonesian Cyber Media Association). Besides, this project supported by the Google News Initiative, Internews, and FirstDraft. The initiative was first launched at the ‘Trusted Media Summit 2018’ event with the signing of the MOU from 22 editor-in-chief of the online national newspaper and chairman of MAFINDO.

The working mechanism of cekfakta.com is with reporting suspicious news to cekfakta.com site. In addition to the cekfakta.com website, user can send an email or send a short message to cekfakta.com administrator. To reporting in cekfakta.com, the user should paste text that containing hoax, add user personal insight to the information pasted along with its pictures. After the reporting process, news that allegedly contains hoax will be examined by national online media. If proven, the news that contains hoax will publish on the website. The good news is that everyone can involve in reporting hoax.

Besides helping society to turn back hoax, cekfakta.com movement also helps the journalist to filter whether the news is accurate or not. By this, the journalist had a preventive mechanism. turn.

Furthermore, Tirto, Tempo, and Kompas included in the International Fact-Checking Network (IFCN). This network had a straight indicator for media to publish news, which help the media to measure whether the news is appropriate or not.

4.2.2. Challenges in Hoax and Propaganda

1. Internal Challenges: Dealing With Speed

Online media journalist has significant challenges in maintaining news accuracy. Besides maintaining accuracy, online media has a nature to publish news with full speed. This condition becomes complicated when it comes to hoax prevention. Without accuracy, articles are vulnerable. A dilemma, the journalists should report every news to the editor before it published meanwhile they should turn back hoax. The condition becomes difficult because news reporting sometimes hindered by the editor. The implication is real; hoax spread massively.

For example, several online media journalists found that news became late to publish because the editorial team caught off guard. Editors, who have to check the news, miss the opportunity to verify content. Meanwhile, hoax producers react with full speed. Media, in this sense, cannot prevent the distribution.

Detik.com once experience this case. Detik.com journalists who were in the field were unable to report actual information because they had to coordinate with the editor. Finally, the hoax news comes first. In the case of Ratna Sarumpaet⁸³, Detik.com claimed to missed. Detik.com journalist knows that Ratna Sarumpaet did not get any violence.

"... during the case of Ratna Sarumpaet, we [Detik.com] missed. Our reporter was in the field at that time. Our reporter learned that Ratna Sarumpaet not beaten. Our reporter even remembers the details. However, we missed because of losing quickly with the hoax. If at that time the editor acted immediately, no hoax will occur."

(ED, Detik.com journalist, FGD, 03/07/2019)

Media need to create a working mechanism content editing between journalists and editors. Therefore, the distribution of hoax can be annulled properly.

2. External Challenges: Time Tickling

The main external challenge faced by online media is online the competition with time to inform the right news. The implication of this condition is clear; the quality of online media content is often inconsistent or not well maintained. Moreover, online media should compete with the rapid hoax distribution using messenger application, such as WhatsApp.

Another irony that becomes media challenges is the high circulation of unofficial news that triggers information accuracy and hoax. CNN Indonesia said that they were a victim of hoax circulation. CNN journalist explained that the title of the CNN Indonesia news that has religious intolerance issues is taken from an online media portal unilaterally, news title replaced, and the news disseminated with different content.⁸⁴

⁸³ Ratna Sarumpaet fondly known as activist in Orde-Baru era. However, after Orde-Baru, Ratna still working in the art field. Ratna later supported Prabowo-Sandiaga in 2019 presidential election. Her name was rising because of hoax cases. She was sentences with two years prison. Further information about Ratna Sarumpaet can be checked in <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2019/07/12/09094291/perjalanan-hidup-ratna-sarumpaet-dari-panggung-teater-ke-jeruji-besi>.

⁸⁴ CNN Indonesia Team, *Warganet Ramai Bahas Edit Judul Berita Jadi Hoaks*, 17/05/2019. Retrieved on July 16, 2019 from <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20190517103702-185-395673/warganet-ramai-bahas-edit-judul-berita-jadi-hoaks>.



Source: CNN Indonesia ([https://www.cnindonesia/teknologi/20190517103720-185-395673/warganet-ramai-](https://www.cnindonesia/teknologi/20190517103720-185-395673/warganet-ramai-bahas-edit-judul-berita-jadi-hoaks)

Figure 4.1 Hoax Production Process in Online Media Publication

[bahas-edit-judul-berita-jadi-hoaks](#), last accessed 16 July 2017)

When addressing information transparency from the government, our discussion with media practitioners had heated up. The benchmarking momentum is when it entered the events of 21-22 May 2019, ahead of 2019 Presidential election announcement. At the moment, journalists claim it is difficult to get transparency from the government. Not only that, when media released news with critical tonality, the government considered that the media criticized the work of the government. The media found that the government is reluctant to open electoral data, and they consider media to preach hoax.

"On May 21-22 2019, ten of our journalists were on the scene to cover the news. Our goal is to record every detail of the event. We are stealthy. We found that some people labeled as rioters. There is already a narrative that certain parties will ride the action on 21-22 May 2019. We record everything. We record every minute. We even visited a victim who was shot by a gun."
 (MK, Tirto Journalist, FGD, 03/07/2019)

Events on 21-22 May 2019 were quite complicated. The media and the police are at loggerheads, while the government is reluctant to become a mediator. The media, which should represent the interests of the people, are shackled because they get threats from the authorities. This condition was in line with the World Press Freedom Index from Reporters without Borders, which shows that Indonesia belongs to 124th rank from 180 countries. Indonesia position was far below from Timor-Leste, which Timor-Leste earn 93rd from 180 countries.⁸⁵

Despite the hindrance by authorities to reporting facts, the journalist also found that Indonesian people hard to disagree on something they do not like. Indonesian tend to prefer to trust news that black-boxing the condition; whether it is black or white. For example, there is a perception that the hoax produced by Prabowo campaign team, or that only Jokowi has been hoaxed. In the

⁸⁵ This website compiles freedom index from 2017 to 2019 can be checked in <https://rsf.org/en/ranking>.

discussion, all journalists agree that both the Jokowi and Prabowo campaign team were producing hoax. Jokowi's campaign team tends to make hoax with glorification content (glorifying Jokowi's figure), while hoax from Prabowo's campaign team to be monotonous with sensational titles, which quickly detected as a hoax (for example Jokowi claimed as communist of Chinese descent).

4.3. Synthesis: How Media Exercise Value

Today's media battles on sensitive issues and hoax are increasingly complex. People tend to choose news that is following their interests. Media also need to be able to present compelling content without ignoring its main tasks, which to inform credible news. As a citizen spokesman and part of the pillars of democracy, the media should provide balanced and correct information. However, with the development of technology, the media faces its dynamics. On the other hand, various political interests still dominate the news tonality.

In order to internalise the value of the media in the way of work, several media such as The Jakarta Post, Tempo, and Tirto consistently conducted training and value appreciation before journalists covered the coverage. Kompas, in this case, takes a neutral position by relying on various research sources. On the other hand, several media such as Detik.com, Tribunnews.com, Liputan6.com, and CNN Indonesia; choose to avoid becoming the first media to report sensitive issues. Moreover, they were reluctant to become the primary source to reportage the news. This condition suits the principles of conveyor belt journalism (Johnston, 2017), which media tend to take the other media stance instead of building their stance.

Based on the explanation mentioned above, we found that media regulation (Law No. 40 year 1999) failed to facilitate a multi-perspective dimension. Media still need to redefine their value; therefore, the publication can answer the principles of human rights. This condition implies media value, which value and principle possessed by several media not oriented to public needs. As a result, news inequality happens in various sectors. For example, media that hold strong principles such as Tirto, The Jakarta Post, and Tempo were successfully internalised value to the quality of work. Most of their journalist was critical and knew how to deal with sensitive issues. Meanwhile, media which not too strict in maintaining value often missed in reporting sensitive issues and observing journalist work.

The condition above mentioned implying to quality of media content. Media that not too keen on shaping their value and principles tend to avoid to become a primary source to publish sensitive issues. They tend to take a safe distance or publishing news that did not represent a specific analysis of news publication. Moreover, this condition becomes complicated when the media owner involved in politics, which imply media biases. Media should maintain positive perception in the eyes of the public to save owners credibility and securing organisation cash flow.

From a policy perspective, the existing policy did not have any mechanism that helps media to report the truth. The situation got worse when the government was one of the agents who prevent data transparency. Journalist gets blackmailed and recording properties unilaterally destroyed. There is no protection for the press to inform the truth. The government, in this sense, violated

citizens' right to information.⁸⁶ In a future study, it is important to note how media channelling the fact when they are publishing news.

⁸⁶ The rights to information was regulated in article 19, Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Moreover, the mechanism of public information disclosure has been set on Law No. 14, 1999.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This study aims to understand how the media cover issues and contribute to public discourse during the 2019 presidential election. In this research, we found that:

1. **The media tend to play safe** during the 2019 presidential election. When addressing certain issues, the media rarely provided their own in-depth analysis based on certain values. They let the public decide by itself by bring debates and use comments from prominent figures or expert to avoid a certain stance on their coverage. In this regard, online media tend to provide superficial coverage, while printed media offer more in-depth coverage.
2. **The media fully aware of the threat of hoax and tend to be cautious in dealing with sensitive issues related to religious intolerance.** This happens because there is a growing concern among the media regarding the impact of irresponsible and inaccurate news coverage which they believe might potentially harmful to democracy and society in general.
3. Thus, in response to the hoax, **the media has been actively contributing and participating in the fact-checking process** by applying certain fact-checking mechanism in their own media organization. Despite the massive spread of hoax, this mechanism helps the public find the truth while proving that the media is still reliable as a credible source of information.
4. Media referred to their **fundamental value when carrying out work/coverage.** However, the degree of importance of value and its application on their work varied among the media. This strategy applied as a means of survival in a competitive media market in order to protect media stance both politically as well as their economic interest.

References

- Ariffudin, 2016. Why political parties colonize the media in Indonesia: An Exploration of Mediatization. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, Volume 20, Nomor 1, Juli 2016. ISSN 1410-4946.
- Jane Johnston & Susan Forde. (2017). *Churnalism*, *Digital Journalism*, 5:8, 943-946, DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2017.1355026
- JAPELIDI. (2017). *Peta Gerakan Literasi Digital di Indonesia*. Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta (UNY), 2017.
- Lindsey, T., & Pausacker, H. (Eds.). (2016). *Religion, law and intolerance in Indonesia*. Routledge.
- Lingkaran Survei Indonesia. (2018). *Tren Persepsi Publik Tentang Demokrasi, Korupsi dan Intoleransi*.
- Marcus Mietzner & Burhanuddin Muhtadi. (2018). *Explaining the 2016 Islamist Mobilisation in Indonesia: Religious Intolerance, Militant Groups and the Politics of Accommodation*. *Asian Studies Review*, 42:3, 479-497, DOI: [10.1080/10357823.2018.1473335](https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2018.1473335)
- Nugroho, Y., Putri, D. A., & Laksmi, S. (2012). *Mapping the landscape of the media industry in contemporary Indonesia*. Jakarta: Centre for Innovation Policy & Governance.
- Nugroho, Y., Amalia, Nugraha, D., Nugraha, L.K., Siregar, M.F., Esti, K., Putri, D.A. (2015). *Unboxing Television in Contemporary Indonesia*. Jakarta: Centre for Innovation Policy and Governance, University of Manchester, Ford Foundation Indonesia.
- Reese, S. (2007). *Journalism Research and the Hierarchy of Influences Model: A Global Perspectives*. Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores em Jornalismo.
- Ross Tapsell. 2015. Indonesia's Media Oligarchy and the "Jokowi Phenomenon". *Indonesia*, (99), 29-50. doi:10.5728/indonesia.99.0029
- Tapsell Ross, (2017), *Media Power in Indonesia: Oligarchs, Citizens and the Digital Revolution* London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield
- Tufte, T. 1996. Issues to study in media ethnographies: Mediation and cultural hybridisation in everyday life. *Firs Brazil-Denmark Seminar on Communication Studies*. Londrina, Brazil.
- We Are Social and Hootsuite. (2017). *Digital in South East Asia, Special Report*. Retrieved from <https://wearesocial.com/special-reports/digital-southeast-asia-2017>, 22 July 2019.

Appendix

Appendix 1. List of FGD Participant

No.	Informant	Gender	Affiliation	Media Type	Title
1.	SM	Male	Tribunnews.com	Online	Journalist
2.	MK	Male	Tirto	Online	Journalist
3.	AP	Male	Kompas	Print	Managing Editor
4.	IDN	Male	CNN Indonesia	Online	Journalist
5.	LR	Male	Liputan6.com	Online	Managing Editor
6.	SP	Male	Tempo	Print - Online	Managing Editor
7.	EMS	Female	The Jakarta Post	Print	Managing Editor
8.	ED	Male	Detik.com	Online	Journalist