# Peace Journalism vs Provocative Journalism: Reading the Political Identity Models of Mass Media in Indonesia

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Abstract: Since the era of press freedom in Indonesia, mass media has emerged as a stunning civil society arena in its role to proclaim any news to the public. The highest risk, however, arises as the phenomenon of identity appears beyond the religious and daily life affairs, in spite, they are alternately utilized concerning ideological interests and in turn to politic. This paper argued that the mass media in Indonesia had been recently trapped in crossing interests; between peaceful and provocative journalism. Various identity-based press play a role, in contrast, media identity is constructed under the shadow of interest, and this is called the political identity of mass media. This paper analysed that there are several models of media identity polities, i.e., via news construction, re-framing news, characterizations, and online distribution. The authors offered three opportunities to overcome this: strengthening the Press Council, collective deconstruction, public education, and journalistic professionalism. The public, in general, expects to create media objectivity in the middle of political and identity interests if it is collectively aware of the role as well as the risk of their development without provocative journalism phenomenon control.

# **1 INTRODUCTION**

Mass media is primarily a means of accurately and evenly distributing information to the public. It has been widely known that mass media is one of the critical democracy pillars in which its basic order is a civil society. Well, the idea of it then delivered to what was called as civil journalism emphasizing that mass media played a role in contributing to the democratic principle in socio-political issues (Cangara, 2009), (Syahputra, 2006). Mass media has recently played an important role to improve the quality of community life in civilization.

Indeed, besides being trapped in a political economy dilemma, mass media is also faced with a big responsibility, that is how to become an important agent for strengthening the quality of life in the midst of society. Mass media tends to be accepted as a new locus of power that has a vital role. Amid the debate over the seizure of power in mass media, there is an important issue that cannot be ignored, namely the central character in creating social construction apart from the shadow of disunity. Mass media then emerges as a new agent that must be good in swinging its role in the midst of immature situations, either its social culture or its internal level. If it is successful, thus mass media will become one of the most critical pillars in guarding the reform transition in the country.

Simply put, it could be said that mass media has been the front face of civilization. The issue complexity is mixed in such a way in the forefront by mass media. Therefore, it does not only become a medium of information, but mass media has also contributed to promote development. Of course, it does not just stop here. There is another important role waiting, i.e., its penetration in creating peace in society. Although mass media has its laws, the chances of agency integration in the quest for democracy have been the professional responsibility that cannot be ignored. The point is that mass media must participate in the effort to create principles of publicity that depart from the bases of egalitarianism, honesty, justice, and peace.

Mass media has currently appeared in various forms. Amid the debate about identity attraction in multiple facets of life, mass media is linearly

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growing along with the growth of identity-faced politics. Mass media is less convincing to be positioned as an agent of peace as many press even play a provocative role. Instead of being a peacemaker, media then partially appear in a dark face named identity production. This paper departed from the significant anxiety that mass media currently have various faces. By applying observation method on several journalism product examples and supported by relevant kinds of literature, this paper read the political identity models of media so vulgarly displayed as this country is dealing with the issues of radicalism, religious sentiment, and potential disintegration.

# 2 BETWEEN HAPPINESS AND HATRED SOURCES

Since escaping from the New Order confines, mass media dynamics in Indonesia have tended to form a new power axis. It is no longer limited regarding news, as well as access to information sources. The openness that was born by the mass media has given birth to the one in the middle of the force of the power vortex formation. Mass media has become so powerful, even Sudibyo (2004) stated that it functions as a tool to subdue the class and becomes a vital institution in modern society (Sudibyo, 2004). Therefore, it's not a few new issues arising. Mass media has shifted from an information medium to a contention that has tremendous charm. Some of them, for example, is about the growing mass media industry and not all of them are sterile from negative things (see Suranto et al., 2005) (Suranto, Harvanto, & Lasmina, 2005). Another one is the ownership issue tended to be no longer exempt from elements of political interest. The political economy of the mass media then becomes an exciting thing to discuss.

Mass media deregulation has spawned euphoria, in which there is a dynamic that cannot be regarded as pure. Some mass media grew as a new industry that gave birth to privatization (Ibrahim, 2013), and some other grew as the power mouthpieces, as well as power instrumentation. The positive side of all this is however the accessibility to information becoming almost limitless. In fact, we understand that the appearance of variation media alternative also has positive potential in stimulating the presence of discursive public debate. For the community, especially at the level of media literacy society, mass media has helped to brighten the view and update the accuracy of public information in general. However, the content of press reflects the context of the society (Fuchs, 2010). And that open discussion is the core of democracy (Turnšek & Jankowski, 2008), (Michaelsen, 2011).

At the same time, the question of mass media ideology that often departs from the ideological base of its journalists is another problem that is no less problematic. The mass media are prone to hegemony, domination, and intervention by certain forces. Not surprisingly, the mass media appear diverse with such complex news content and complicated to be objective (Kalvø, 2015).

Mass media condition has been more problematic as the online media industry well develops and easier to be produced and distributed in cheap ways. The information is crossing each other and thus the opportunity to penetrate the information will be more easily. Setting agenda provocation and the image construction have been faster and massive. Many interests are easier to meet each other and difficult to be sorted. In this context, propaganda, provocation, and discrimination in mass media will be easier to be performed. Mass media grows as a very powerfull agent then.

Indeed, mass media in Indonesia grow along with the emergence of identity frictions that are not easily reconciled. In the midst of such situations, the media is present in two faces side by side, one as the mediator and another as the press of a herald. The authors did not need to describe how the mass media was then instrumented in such conditions, but it needed to be emphasized as how important the mass media becomes one of the important agents in creating peace. The media should not only be seen as a mirror of reality; however, it should also be seen as the framing used and the construction chosen.

The concept of peaceful journalism (peace journalism) is referred to an effort to proclaim something by minimizing the gap between the opposing parties in order not to repeat the 'facts'. Peace journalism is ways of framing broader, balance, and accurate news by encouraging efforts to prevent widening the conflict (Syahputra, 2006). Peaceful journalism keeps focusing on the facts, but attention is more focused on facts that emerge of human and cultural values (Siregar, 2008). In the centre, peaceful journalism should be carried out in a more optimal early detection to potentially emerging potentials to be anticipated. Journalists are required to framing the news responsibly, not searching for its medium-read order called by as trivialization (Putra, 2004). Peace journalism requires social responsibility that is born internally in journalists.

The word responsibility here is a daunting task in the preparation of an insensitive report on the importance of public integration.

These days, the concept of peaceful journalism is directly opposed to the ideology of mass media in identity framing. There have emerged various media, either printed or online, audio or visual, or a combination of everything, which deliberately take a different position. Many media are controlled for the benefit of propaganda wrapped on behalf of both proclamation and press freedom, without concerning mass media profit and loss. Mass media serve as a tool for disseminating a radical ideology, building arguments on sentence logic, and it is even consciously or unconsciously used as the arena of identity struggle.

The concept of provocative journalism, of course, in this case, is not built as an identity by the media journalists having such orientation; however, it is constructed as a media proclaiming the truth of the media correctness. The authors called this as hijacking the mass media innocence as a means to deliver the news to the community in general.

## 3 IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION MODEL

How does the mass media construct its identity? Various ways have been conducted; however, it is generally shown in the media innocence as an information tool for the community. The authors identified the following models:

#### 3.1 News Construction

Since the era of press freedom has begun, it emerged various mass media taking positions as information media based on religious ideology or certain identity. This sort of mass media deliberately emerges to produce news directed as a tool of ideological and identity propaganda, more often as a religious identity.

Media established for the benefit of this identity propaganda will build news of its construction for the promotion of an identity. This identity will be widely reproduced when news tends to target certain personalities. Religion, for example, many mass media wrapped their news for the importance of the construction of religious news with the arguments that supported it. Furthermore, the media represent religious identity, and ultimately the public loses the opportunity to get balanced news. Interestingly, the growth of mass media based on the certain religious identity is not only happening in new media but also on the one which is also known as national media but with a smoother wrap. When the era of press freedom opened the space in 1998, mass media was initially shy as the one with a bundle of religious identities, and it increasingly found its place. Many national mass media industries have firmly established their media as propaganda agents of ideology.



#### (Mabruroh &. R., 2018)

#### 3.2 Re-framing News

When an issue is busy targeting an event related to particular religious ideology, and thus the crowds of such media will build new construction. Re-framing news following the interests of the media becomes easy to find in a news issue. It is clear how certain mass media do not 'sincerely' release the battle over their identity. It is not surprising that many news stories are constructed with different frames from each other. An ideological point of view ultimately plays in a realm of news that causes the public to lose space to obtain accurate and balanced information.

Re-framing news is usually aimed to counter mass media news that is considered cornering. There has been a struggle for public space amongst the mass media. In this condition, the intermittent, informative and counter-informative hemispheres are inevitable. It is found that the mass media lost its sacred duty as a 5W1H reporter, but transformed into partisan, non-neutral, and political media.

#### PKS-PAN Dukung HTI Ajukan Banding

Senin 07 May 2018 18:09



DLITIK HUKUM PENDIDIKAN UMUM NUSANTARA JABODETABEK NEWSANALYSIS TOKOH PERUBAHAN S REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, JAKARTA -- Ketua DPP PKS Mardani Ali Sera mendukung eks perhimpunan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) mengajukan banding ke Pengadilan Tinggi Tata Usaha Negara. Namun demikian, ia tetap menghormati hasil putusan tersebut.

"PKS menyerahkan pada HTI, tapi untuk menjaga kebebasan berkumpul dan berserikat sebaiknya HTI banding," ujar Mardani saat dihubungi wartawan, Senin (7/5).

Menurut dia, HTI memiliki hak untuk banding atas putusan tersebut. PKS juga, kata Mardani, beranggapan bahwa kebebasan berbicara dan berserikat adalah hak asasi.

"Karenanya PKS mendukung penegakan hukum yang adil dan transparan," ujar Wakil Ketua Komisi II DPR tersebut.

Hal sama diungkapkan Ketua DPP PAN Yandri Susanto. Secara hukum, kata Yandri, HTI memiliki hak untuk mengajukan banding. Sebab, pembubaran ormas, kata Yandri, harus didahului proses peradilan.

"HTI kalau ingin melakukan banding itu benar, *kan* jalur hukum *kan*. Karena (Mursid & Ramadhan, 2018)

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### 3.3 Characterization

Different models are chosen by the mass media to construct ideological constructions and/or justifications for information. Mass media usually wrapped with identity interests does not hesitate to personify someone openly. The model is by using certain characters to be the main reference. The contents of references will be very tendentious and tend to be directed to justify the coverage presented by the mass media. In this case, the media utilizes certain characters to influence the reader's mind.

That is why; the selection of news sources will greatly influence the direction of media writing. This condition is certainly related to the fact that many figures are popular in the media, born because of media packaging and its presence as a mouthpiece. Newsperson selection can affect media construction. The public, in general, will be certainly affected much by the character framing used by the mass media in presenting the news.



(TSaqofah, 2017)

#### 3.4 Online Distribution

interesting thing at the moment is the The phenomenon of digitizing the news. Technology has changed the face of mass media. Although the print media has not lost its position as an informative one that is physically read, many mass media are beginning to combine online news as an efficient option. Some print media has even been fully transformed into online media. At the same time, the growth of online media is also not less much. Social media has helped to accelerate the expansion of online news. This is also the key issue for politician in making use social media variation so tendentious for the sake of their groups' profit and political interest. Social media is a public sphere in widely connecting their followers and public as a political communication arena.

The authors sees that in many cases, social media such as *Facebook*, *Twitter*, and *Whatsapp* served as an effective means to connect readers in cyberspace with the news already controlled from the news production side. Online news links rotation currently mushrooming has been as an option to strengthen the penetration of mass media based on a particular religious identity. In social media, it is easy to find such vulgar news links proclaiming the provocation or construction news in unbalanced way and far from the rules of journalism.

Sebelumnya, pengamat politik dari Media Survei Nasional (Median) Rico Marbun menilai, langkah PKS jelang pendafuran peserta Pilpres 2019 seolal terkunci setelah elite Prabowo, SRY, dan Zulkifil bertemu, PKS berada dalam kondisi yang mengharuskannya mendukung Prabowo.



Tang oigandeng dudan tu kan yaki tekena ene berhovat dan berhova bertemu). Kenapa tidak PKS duluan? Kalau Gerindra, Demokrat dan PAN itu sudah bergabung itu PKS enggak ada kemungkinan enggak ikut. Jadi terkunci langkahnya," kata dia kepada Republika.co.id, Rabu (25/7).

Dalam kondisi demikian, lanjut Rico, mau tak mau PKS akan ikut bergabung dengan koalisi yang dibangun Gerindra, Demokrat dan PAN. Namun, ini akan berbeda bila terus mengingatkan kembali Prabowo untuk memilih cawapres dari tokoh yang diajukan PKS.

"Jadi mau enggak mau PKS pasti ikut, kecuali PKS serius mencoba membangun lobi lagi atau mengingatkan kepada Prabowo akan janji-janjinya dulu," tutur dia.

Apalagi, Rico memandang, PKS selama ini selalu menunjukkan seolah partai tersebut amat bergantung dan menaruh kepercayaan yang berlebih kepada Gerindra. "Selama ini PKS terlalu sering mengkomunikasikan ketergantungan dan kepercayaannya terhadap Gerindra. Suasana ketergantungan PKS (kepada Gerindra) sangat terlihat? paparnya.

(Moslem Community, 2018)

#### Membungkam Islam

Usulan sertifikasi dai dan ustadz yang diusulkan BNPT selain menganggap para ulama sebagai penyemai bibit terorisme, juga dikhawatirkan akan menjadi alat untuk membungkam para ulama yang ikhlas dan istiqomah dalam memperjuangkan Islam. Sehingga akan melanggengkan status quo.

Demikian pula para dai dan orang-orang yang menyuarakan kebenaran mengkritisi kepentingan penguasa atau kebijakanwar on terror yang dilakukan BNPT, bisa dimasukkan sebagai pelaku kriminal bahkan teroris. Ansyad Mbai, misalnya, menuduh para pengamat yang mengkritik BNPT sama dengan teroris. "Saya tegaskan lagi, jadi pengacara teroris dengan jalan seperti itu sama saja dengan teroris," ungkapnya (eramusim com, 11/9).

Ironis, ulama yang menjadi corong kebenaran dan pembawa amanah umat justru dianggap pelaku kriminal manakala menentang kezaliman penguasa dan kepentingan asing. Para dai yang berani menyampaikan halal dan haram, mengungkap kesalahan penguasa dan strategi para penjajah Barat, justru akan diberangus karena dianggap menyebarkan kebencian dan radikalisme.

#### (Al-Islam, 2012)

Menurut Alem, pendukung Jokowi sedang mengubur elektabilitas Jokowi dengan menyatakan mendukung massa yang mempersekusi Neno Warisman. "Lihat saja, di Twitter pendukung Jokowi mendukung aksi menolak Neno Warisman dengan alasan demo itu hak setiap warg papar Alem.

Alem mengingatkan, masyarakat menilai ada perbedaan yang jelas antara pendukung Jokowi dan Gerakan 2019 Ganti Presiden. "Aksi pendukung Jokowi dalam berbagai kesempatan, motifnya uang. Sedang gerakan 2019 Ganti Presiden lebih ideologis dan punya akar yang kuat," jelas Alem.

Terkait hal itu, Alem mengatakan, gesekan pendukung Jokowi dan antiJokowi akan semakin memanas sampai Pilipres 2019. "Kalau dicermati, persinggungan kedua pendukung makin memanas, terutama c Medsos," pungkas Alem.

Usia deklarasi #2019GantiPresiden di Batam, Neno Warisman mengaku, usai peristiwa pengadangan yang membuatnya menunggu di Bandara Hang Nadim, sejak Sabtu (28/7) hingga Minggu (29/7) dini hi tekanan dari kubu lawan masih ada, walau tidak terlalu frontal seperti saat di Bandara.

"Mobil yang kami tumpangi menuju hotel untuk deklarasi dilempari batu. Tapi kami sudah dikawal polisi dan banyak ummat dan relawan yang ikut bergabung," kata Neno seperti dikutip CNNIndonesia.com (30/07) (kk/itd)

(Era Muslim, 2018)

## **4** AVAILABLE CHOICES

#### 4.1 Strengthening the Role of Press Board

Mass media monitoring has been held within the Press Council authority; an institution established to control both content and dispute concerning the press. The overly high growth of mass media as well as its variation, however, has resulted in Press Council as not being so optimal in carrying out its duties. Nevertheless, there has been a wide range of opportunities to encourage the tightening of the provocative and destructive media existence.

The impression that has been captured is that the country is still so weak when facing with the identity aggression wrapped and developed by the mass media. Unfortunately, the public in Indonesia has not been so news literate that it tends to incompletely catch all information reaching the reader. The state provides an overwhelmingly wide space of permeability, and its impact is the inevitable provocative and partial media growth.

The Press Council as an official institution must be able to reach a more substantive dimension regarding the news designed to bring a specific ideological identity. The identity attachment to mass media will be very destructive for the nationalism building since the fact that mass media is very quickly accepted by the public, especially among the middle to lower class.

#### 4.2 Collective Deconstruction

A provocative media tending to raise the identity issue as a selling item in which its motive is very diverse must be opposed collectively. Deconstruction of partisan news can be overcome by building a collective awareness among media actors themselves. This deconstruction can be conducted by counter model over the news considered as not neutral and free from the principles of journalism. The authors assumed that neutral media should be able to expand the news neutrality movement in common ways. Building commitment among media leaders is one of the rational choices, beyond which journalists' crew can do so together by communicating and coordinating between neutral and objective media to narrow the partisan journalist movement.

#### 4.3 Public Education

Educating the public to be more news and media literate is a more substantive and long-term vision. Mass media is in charge as one of the democracy pillars demanded by its objective ability; this becomes the fundamental principle that must be known by the public in general. Therefore, a joint movement is needed to encourage public awareness in reviewing any information reported by the media.

It's meant that there is a need to be selective towards the mass media. A high rating media is a form of success. Resistance can begin by reducing the volume of mass media legibility. The public in general, particularly the lower-middle class needs to be advocated leading to critical awareness and conducting it as being the shared need.

#### 4.4 Journalist Professionalization

There is a tendency that so far the news presented by a journalist in the provocative media tends to reflect his ideology. It cannot be denied that the writing in a mass media consumed, its news has been much set by how framing owned by the journalists. Therefore, encouraging journalist professionalism is a challenge in the midst of increasingly worrying partisan journalists.

A journalist is required to get out of his psychological condition and personal emotionality so that the news he presents remains informative, not subjective or personal opinion. A journalist must be able to avoid continuously producing nation anomalies and negative attachments regarding this nation. Journalist professionalization can be performed through intensive coordination and communication. Of course, firstly, the government and the Press Council must have an important record of which figures play a role in reproducing hatred and identity propaganda.

## **5** CONCLUSIONS

Several cases sticking out in mass media have repeatedly proclaimed conflicts having some nuance of SARA (tribe, religion, race and among groups) and certain religious identities. If journalists are not smart in objectively and interventively placing news framing; therefore, it is very likely that the news will even exacerbate the potential of further conflict. News construction thus plays an important role in editorial spaces so that the emerging news can be constructed without the potential for discriminatory bias.

Another thing to note is to avoid the birth of mass media as a new power locus. We are concerned that journalism tending to be economically and politically politicized will undermine the principles of peaceful journalism in this country. We suspected that mass media managed by the profit logic will give birth to a new tyranny, instead of being the pioneer of peaceful journalism, it will bring about a media phobia that will degrade the substance of the media as a counterweight. It is important for journalists and media actors to avoid mass media instrumentation as a tool of unilateral political economy by ignoring their social responsibility.

Meanwhile, the ideological identity of mass media is another aspect of its development that needs attention. Such strong media dynamics have contributed to expanding media coverage as well as accessibility. Mass media that tend to be dominated by certain ideological groups is prone to be slipped as the interests of the perpetrators. It is not surprising that mass media needs to be sorted and selected based on its mission, although it's complicated by people who have not been included as the critical reader category. Insofar as the identity ideologization, mass media is potentially destructive for the spirit of integration. At this point, mass media may be present as a breakaway of peaceful journalism. It should be noted that mass media identity ideology colonialization will have the opportunity to bring up the seeds of conflict if it's not carefully managed.

In the end, actors and mass media activists have the opportunity to become saviours for the wider public - whose merits may not be recorded and become enlightened for all elements by promoting the peaceful journalism principle as the primary basis for carrying out its role. This is what the media called as the public sensitive one, a media principle that does not lose its alignment to the public interest. Quoting Mongare Serote in Ma'ruf (2002), the writers are humanity maids insofar as they used the word to believe the truth complexity and presented it objectively: that is where the direction of peaceful journalism is directed.

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