

TurnitinCommodificationofonHam balangCorruptionCase

by Chontina Siahaan

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1st Indo IGCC

Indonesia International Graduate Conference on Communication

2017 **POST-TRUTH ERA**
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Research and Governance
FISIP UI, DEPOK • JULY 11-12, 2017

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Conference on Communication**

FISIP UI Depok
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Preface

The Indonesia International Graduate Conference on Communication (IndoIGCC) is the annual conference organized by Department of Communication, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Universitas Indonesia. The goals of the conference are to provide a space in which academics and professional can share best practices and lessons learned in the organisation of communication research that is sensitive to the Indonesian context.

This year, conference speaks of the challenges of Communication Governance and Research in a Post-Truth Era. We received 110 papers from 5 countries. All submitted paper were gone through a double blind peer review by competent reviewers. After that stage, many papers were invited to revise and resubmit in maximum of 3 weeks. The final decision was made on the basis of the revised paper only.

On behalf of the Department of Communication, Universitas Indonesia, I would like to thank our keynote speakers, reviewers, sponsors, all paper contributors, participants in the conference and members organizing committee for their valuable contribution to the successful organization of INDO-IGCC 2017.



Yours sincerely,

Dr. Pinkey Triputra, M.Sc.

Head of the Department of Communication
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Universitas Indonesia



Preface

On behalf of the Organizing Committee, it is my great pleasure to invite you to the 1st Indonesia-International Graduate Conference on Communication (INDO-IGCC 2017) to be held in Universitas Indonesia in Depok, West Java, Indonesia on 11-12 July 2017. The theme of the conference speaks of the challenges of Communication Governance and Research in a Post-Truth Era. The theme encourages graduate students and early career researchers to rethink the way data is collected and organised in a time where ambiguous statements are more believable than facts. It is an event where participants can practice internationalising Indonesian cases in this very specific social turn. This practice is expected to support students and early career researchers to consider new, relevant ways of carrying out research.

Professor M. Alwi Dahlan, the first communication scholar and doctoral degree in Indonesia, and Dr. Ariel Haryanto, the international scholar from Indonesia who contributes on cultural studies, media studies, and postcolonial studies are the keynote speakers that will deliver the characteristics and the phenomena of post-truth in both global world and Indonesia perspectives. In addition, Dr. Daniel Angus, University of Queensland would deliver a specific focus on Australia scholar perspective about post-truth era. Finally, at least two scholars of Universitas Indonesia, Professor Ilya Revianti Sunarwinandi would give a reflection of post-truth era on cultural communication studies, and Professor Ibnu Hamad would deliver a discourse studies about post-truth messages.

One of the unique features of the INDO-IGCC 2017 is a special program for graduate students. Through a paper presentation and discussion sharing sessions, graduate students will have opportunities to interact and share their experiences and academic works with other students from different countries and different perspectives. Panel and parallel session are added for the participants to have opportunities to share views on specialized areas including communication studies, media management, marketing communication management, corporate communication management, political communication management, and cultural studies. We hope the INDO-IGCC 2017 will provide a platform for future co-operation in post-truth research and governance especially for communication studies among innumerable scholars in Indonesia and other parts of the world. Welcome to the conference.



Yours sincerely,

Dr. Irwansyah, MA
Conference Chair



About IndoIGCC 2017

¹ The Indonesia International Graduate Conference on Communication (IndoIGCC) is an event that brings together graduate students and early career researchers in studying media and communication issues in regards to broader social and political transformations. IndoIGCC is hosted by the Department of Communication, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia, realised through a cooperation between the Graduate Programme in Communication and the Communication Research Centre. IndoIGCC 2017 participants come from different academic disciplines such as media studies, communication science, international relations, political science, sociology, cultural studies, anthropology, psychology, economics, architecture, and many others.

The theme of the conference speaks of the challenges of Communication Governance and Research in a Post-Truth Era. The theme encourages graduate students and early career researchers to rethink the way data is collected and organised in a time where ambiguous statements are more believable than facts. It is an event where participants can practice internationalising Indonesian cases in this very specific social turn. This practice is expected to support students and early career researchers to consider new, relevant ways of carrying out research.

This specific social turn is often mentioned by mainstream media and opinion leaders alike as the “post-truth era”, a time in which the direction of official politics all over the world – UK’s Brexit Referendum and the US’ Presidential Elections – are motivated by the influence of emotional appeal rather than objective facts (Higgin, 2016; Wang, 2016; Keyes, 2004). The “post-truth” era is a time where the line between truth and lies, honesty and deceit, fiction and non-fiction has blurred (Keyes, 2004).

Thus, the Graduate Programme of Communication, Department of Communication, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia has selected this theme as a trigger to discuss the current societal context in which social research is carried out. The event is organised under the Communication Research Centre, Department of Communication, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Indonesia.



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Commodification of on Hambalang Corruption Case in Indonesian Lawyer Club (ILC) Talkshow in TVOne

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Abstract

One way of mediatization to influence politicians is by content commodification. The process of commodification is closely related to the production, distribution, and consumption of message content. The process of production and distribution of messages also relates to the worker's function. In the process of committing the content of messages, audiences and workers who produce and distribute the content of messages have become commodities, and have been commodified by the owners of capital. Commodification is a form of commercialization. Just like Hambalang corruption case in ILC talk show in tvOne. Therefore, this study aims to criticize the commodification of Hambalang corruption case in ILC talk show in tvOne. In this study, the researcher uses economic political media theory of Vincent Mosco (1996) and focuses on one of the concepts of commodification with a critical paradigm and case study method containing a comprehensive description and explanation about the commodification of Hambalang corruption case in ILC talk show in tvOne. Data obtained through in-depth interviews with some informants in 2014 ago. Key informant ie presenter (Karni Ilyas), Producer Team, and other supporting informants are Ishadi SK (Trans TV), Johan Budi (KPK Spokesman), Tama Langkun (ICW), Pramono Anung (Vice Chairman of DPR RI), and Tjipta Lesmana (Political Communication Expert). The results showed that tvOne commodified Hambalang corruption case in ILC talk show through the direction of issue and urgency of discussion. The ILC talk show directs Hambalang's corruption case as a major corruption case that is very detrimental to the state through a markup of development funds, presenting testimonies of suspects and perpetrators who have been imprisoned, testimonies in court and protests of the parties involved such as the executive, legislative and businessman. The issue of Hambalang corruption case is also commodified as an urgent issue because it relates to the media's interest to obtain a high rating, the public interest to know the ins and outs, and as a means of constructing meaning for politicians to improve their self-image and self-efficacy.

Keywords: ILC; Hambalang Corruption Case; Commodification of Content; Issue Direction: Urgency of Issue Discussion.

Introduction

Corruption is an extraordinary act that harms the state. Therefore, the public must know the information corruption cases conducted by officials. Corruption is still the biggest challenge to be resolved in Indonesia. The perpetrators of corruption come from various circles with a huge amount of corruption funds. So terrible corruption behavior in Indonesia that incidentally concerns the interests of the people and disrupt the welfare of its people. State money derived from public tax payments is simply being corrupted by abandoning the community. This case of corruption deserves serious attention from all Indonesian people.

Mass media play an important role in informing corruption and eradication efforts. Through the mass media, the public can know everything about corruption



cases from corruptors, corrupted funds, and it's handling. TvOne is one of the television media who care and pay attention to this corruption case to be reported. The corruption cases that have been reported include the Century Bank corruption case, imported beef, homestead athletes, Hambalang and so on.

Hambalang corruption case is one of the issues that interest tvOne. The issue of Hambalang corruption cases is discussed several times in the Indonesian Lawyer Club talkshow (ILC). The case is live and the themes raised are very diverse as well as how to discuss them vary widely. The duration given to the speakers also varies, there are long and some are short, depending on the presenter who guides the program. Presenter presentation style is different from the style of presentation of other television presenter who also discuss Hambalang corruption case. The ILC presentation format is interesting to be researched because of arguments and arguments that say that the discussions conducted in the ILC are sometimes beyond the realm of the media.

Issues raised in an event on the television media can be commodified by the media concerned. Commodification is the capitalism way to accumulates capital. Commodification is the process of changing the value of a function (value of use) into an exchange rate. Content commodification emphasizes how media content produced is transformed into a product can be sold in the media market. Media content is not just in the form of stories, models, creativity in a single program package but all forms of manufactured commodities that are then marketed to advertisers to generate profits for media owners (Mosco, 2009).

Therefore, the media compete in seizing audiences. Media compete to produce programs that can attract audiences that ultimately improve ratings and attract advertisers. No wonder the television media are competing to produce different programs from other television stations. As well as tvOne through ILC talk show that reviews Hambalang corruption case. Commodification of the contents of an event was done.

The above descriptions of the author background on the commodification Hambalang corruption case issues in ILC talk show. This research applies media political economic theory from Vincent Mosco (1996) and focuses on one of the concepts of commodification with a critical paradigm and case study method.

Literature Review

Mediatization as a Political Communication Activity ²⁵

The concept of mediatization itself was originally used to explain the impact of media on political communication and some aspects of politics. According to Stig Hjarvard (2008: 106) the concept of mediatization itself is more viewed as a process (process oriented). It sees as a cultural process that changes the character and function of social institutions due to the response to expansive media exposure (media omnipresence). Hjarvard then proposed the alleged development of the character of the mass media institution periodically-historically in relation to political institutions.

The mass media initially became a means for politics, as a medium for political institutions to disseminate their interests. The media then became important for politics to become the media for certain political interests to spread massively. This is an early





phase when people begin to realize how important the media as an information channel and have a strong impact, this situation is called Strombach (2008) as the first phase of mediatization. This period is often mentioned when World War 1 and 2, when the mass media is used as a propaganda tool.

In the second phase of mediatization, the media began to be independent of government. The media is constantly trying to escape the regime's clutches and try to map its own direction, through professional rules. But the media is not entirely independent of politics, because it still operates within the boundaries of the rules of political institutions. Media increasingly autonomous in building public opinion according to their own norms and values.

In the third phase of mediatization, the media becomes more independent than the second phase. Media continues to move toward professionalism jargon, and establish itself as an economically independent institution as its market grows stronger. Political institutions and actors also consider the mass media as an appropriate external factor given the place. Political institutions and actors began to embrace media to drive the success of his career. Media logic continues to be internalized in politics, so that political institutions and actors increasingly recognize the importance of adopting media work on political behavior.

While in the fourth phase of mediatization, media logic is increasingly internalized in political logic. Political institutions and actors think that they not only join the media when campaigning interests, but also in formulating policies. Political cadres also pay attention to the ability to interact with the media, spinning arguments in media debates, and celebrities have a significant place in politics for consideration of boosting the political image (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999).

Commodification as the Media Economic Political Concept

In general, according to Vincent Mosco (1996: 25), the theory of political economy is a study that examines social relationships, especially the forces of that relationship, which in turn involve the process of production, distribution and consumption of products that have been produced. The beginning of the emergence of this theory is based on the magnitude of mass media influence on changes in people's lives.

With its widespread distribution of power, the mass media is then perceived as not only able to determine the social, political and cultural dynamics at both local and global levels, but the mass media also have a very significant role in increasing the surplus economically. It's off from the assumption that mass media acts as a link between the world of production and consumption. Through messages spread through advertisements in the mass media, increased sales of products and services is possible to occur when the audiences are affected by the messages displayed through the mass media.

In order to understand the concept of the political economy of the media as a whole, Vincent Mosco (1996: 139) offers three basic concepts: commodification, spatialization, and structuration. In this study the concept used is commodification.

Commodification relates to how the process of transforming goods and services along with their useful value becomes a commodity with exchange rate in the





market. There are several forms of commodification according to Mosco (1996: 133-141), namely content commodification, audiences commodification and worker commodification. Then there are two other forms of commodification that are part of the audiences commodification that is intrinsic commodification and extension commodification. This study discusses the content commodification.

Content commodification emphasizes how media content produced is transformed into products that can be sold in the media market. Media content is not just in the form of stories, models, creativity in a single program package but all forms of manufactured commodities that are then marketed to advertisers to generate profits for media owners.

The process of commodification in communication involves transforming the message into a product that has an exchange rate. The process of creating exchange rates on communication content attracts all social relationships into commodification, including labor, consumers, and capital. The mass media in capitalist society have expanded the process of commodity production, producing messages that reflect the interests of investors.

The commodification process of this content begins when media actors change the message through existing technology to meaningful interpretation system until it becomes a selling or marketable message. When economists think of commodities in communication, they have a desire to start with the media content. Especially from this perspective, is a process of commodification in the communication that changes the form of messages, ranging from binary code to the system of meaning, into trade products.

This brief description shows that the process of creating exchange rates in communication content is the whole complex of social relationships of commodities including in workers, consumers and owners of capital. This commodity focuses on identifying the relationship between the content commodity and its meaning. A number of studies have documented the value of the approach and its conclusion that the mass media in capitalist society have diverted the process of production commodities such as content products that reflect the interests of the owners of capital.

The presence of new media extends the opportunity to commercialize media content because it is based on a process of digitizing that refers to the transformation of communication including data, words, images, and sound into common languages. The digitalization process provides a great advantage in transmission speed.

Messages should be the result of the production of a media that can be arranged in such a way that it becomes a high selling point that will be very good for marketing media. Therefore, for the people of Indonesia today, to understand a message is the main thing, especially if the message is nuanced political, would be very important if the important message is actually a commodity of interest of media owners only.

The commodification of Hambalang corruption case problem in this research is to make the issue as a commodity sold to audiences through ILC talk show in tvOne as the main constructor organizing and exposing it so many times that in the end Hambalang corruption case becomes the case which is anticipated by the discussion by audiences. The process of commercialization and commodification became the way of thinking of





ILC talk-show managers directed to moneymaking machines, advertising suppliers and rating hunters.

Television Talkshow Program

The term talk show is an accent from English in America. In the UK itself, the term regular talk show is called Chat Show. Understanding talk shows is a talk show that conveys some information, discussions with specific themes and usually interspersed with some interesting stuff like music, jokes, quizzes, and others.

According to Freed Wibowo (2007: 8) discussion talkshow program is a talk program of three or more people about a problem. In this program each invited character can talk to each other express opinions and the presenter acts as moderator who sometimes also throw opinions or share the conversation.

The talk show format is a reflection of the prominent power of the television medium, the original and credible. The very "vocal" resource person and understanding of the problem is one of the keys to the success of the talk show. In order for talk show to be interesting and weighty, the interviewer must explore the field of issues being discussed in the talk show (Wibowo, 2007: 67).

A talk show is a program that displays one or more people to discuss a particular topic hosted by a host. Invited guests are those who are directly experienced with the event or topic being discussed or those skilled in the issues being discussed.

In this study, the author examines the talk show program "Indonesian Lawyer Club (ILC)" in discussing Hambalang corruption case. This program brings in sources from politicians and outside politicians, both pro and contra on issues raised. The ILC talk show program also invites regular participants and invited participants at any time according to the case discussed.

Research Methodology

The political economy paradigm used in this research is a critical paradigm. The political economy's view of media studies will examine and analyze how the interests of the owners of capital when they are affiliated with the ruler, and what political economic interests will be gained, when investing in the mass media. A critical approach always requires two parties with unbalanced positions. On the one hand there are strong parties that dominate, on the other hand there are weak and dominated parties. This dominance can have political, economic and other dimensions. So the content in the news is not seen as something neutral and free value (value free). The selected method is case study which contains a comprehensive description and explanation of the commodification Hambalang corruption case in ILC talk show in tvOne.

The main subject in this research is the presenter and producer of talkshow Indonesia Lawyer Club. The presenter together with the producer determines the topics to be discussed, the program format, and the resource persons to be presented. The presenter has full authority to guide the discussion, have the authority when to stop the conversation or continue the conversation or interrupt the conversation. Therefore, the presenter is the subject of research that plays an important role in this research.

The object of the research is Hambalang corruption case that aired in ILC talk show in tvOne. Hambalang corruption case is one of the corruption cases reported in a





vigorous period from July 2011 to February 2012. This case dragged the names of the Democratic Party's high-ranking party which in fact is one of the parties firmly reject the corruption behavior that can be seen from his political advertisements. But some of the models in these political ads stumble in this case. For example the former general treasurer of the Democratic party, Muhammad Nazarudin and deputy secretary general, Angelina Sondakh, Anas Urbaningrum, and Andi Mallarangeng.

There are also topics in the ILC, among others: a) Angie oh Angie, b) After Angie Who else, c) Anas Ready Hanged in Monas, d) After Angie Anas is targeted, e) The puppeteers behind Hambalang, f) Hambalang Who's Responsibility ?, g) Hambalang case increasingly bright, h) Anas: SBY New Year Gift, and others.

This research uses Huberman and Miles data analysis technique, which cites Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 428), that the analysis of qualitative research data contains three interconnected subprocesses, ie data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. The process runs from before the data collection, during the design and planning of the research, during the data collection, the beginning of the analysis¹⁷ carried out, to the stage after the data collection as the final product. In this study, the process of data analysis begins by examining all data that has been collected from various sources, interviews with informants, observations and so on.

Commodification of media or commercialization of society leads to media conglomeration. Although it is as if the public has a wealth of information, but has no choice, because the information provided is information that is modified into information that has economic and political selling value.

Results

Media coverage of Hambalang corruption cases can make public aware about the game of corrupt in robbing state money. Media agenda points that are considered important for the public to be criticized by various elements of society through ILC talk show in tvOne.

In this study, the issue of corruption is a commodity traded by the media. One form of commodification that is done is to raise Hambalang corruption case repeatedly with different titles but the same goal is to criticize and reveal who is involved in Hambalang corruption case.

Based on the result of research, it is found that the commodification of Hambalang corruption case in ILC talk show in tvOne is done in two ways, namely the direction of issue and the urgency of discussion of issues. The two results of this study will be discussed below:

1. Direction of Hambalang Corruption Case

The issues raised in the ILC talk show are interesting issues to talk about. In political communication, this issue can be directed in accordance with the wishes of the media. The real small issue can be exaggerated and the big issues can be reduced according to the will of the media. Therefore, the direction of the issue is very much a model for viewers to watch television media.

Hambalang corruption case became a topic discussed by various media both printed and electronic media and tvOne rating even during the discussion of this corruption case is very high. Attempts to eradicate corruption must be sustained by a





strong commitment to safeguard and encourage the ongoing democratic process. Only with the realization of a democratic political climate that can be expected to restore and elevate dignified Indonesians. On the other hand, efforts to maintain a democratic climate must be enhanced. Only by implementing a substantially political system can corruption be eradicated.

Based on the results of interviews with informants in this research indicates that the issue is directed is the issue of cost mark-up from 125 billion to 2.5 trillion. This is evident from the many times the issue was raised in the ILC talk show which means that Hambalang corruption cases are directed towards the markup of funds or mark-up of project funds. In the view of researchers, leading or directing the issue of mark-up funds deliberately lifted the media even if it needs to be dramatized to attract public attention. The problem of mark-ups, is the act of harming the state so that made commodities by the media to obtain or attract public attention. Mark-up is a lot of and visible visible through the collapse Hambalang project.

In the view of researchers, the issue of facilities and infrastructure of sports schools for junior and senior high school is deliberately appointed so that viewers know the actual project Hambalang should not be that big because budget budgeted only 125 billion. Make the sports school as an improvement from Ragunan, not as big as Hambalang which is analogous to transferring Bung Karno's surge to Hambalang. The sports school for junior and senior high schools is for the repair of an existing sports hall in Ragunan, so in fact, the size of the building is like a building in Ragunan with improvements. In fact the building of facilities and infrastructure is meant to replace or match the building of Gelora Bung Karno without regard to the various conditions that are impossible to build such a great sport facilities and infrastructure.

The direction of the issue is done by the ILC to provide the view that corruption is the act of harming others and benefiting oneself. Sports facilities become a "scapegoat" in doing corruption in congregation because the parties involved consist of several agencies. The interests of these sports facilities actually become a boomerang for the government because there is no supervision and or allowed to conceded.

Commodification of Hambalang corruption cases is also directed to the testimony of people in court. This testimony focuses on the parties who also get a share of corrupt funds, the flow of Hambalang project funds, the procedures that are violated, the commission or fee, testimony in court and others.

In the view of the researchers, this testimony became the key commodity issue of Hambalang corruption case. The things witnessed in court, became the topic of discussion in the ILC talk show. Actually, the testimony is only in court but the testimony of the suspects is the subject of discussion in the talk show because the testimony is very important to know that the people who are involved and involved in Hambalang corruption case becomes clear.

Some examples of testimony in the courts raised by ILC talk shows are like the testimony of Angelina Sondakh to the judges as contained in the topic "Anas Ready to Be Hanged in Monas" Part1

Anas Urbaningrum: "KPK is actually not bother to take care about Hambalang problem why? Because it's the origin of unclear babbling, from obscure articles, why bother? That's it.





Reporter: "mas Anas sure there is no indication of corruption?"

Anas: sure, yes sure. One rupiah only Anas corruption Hambalang, hanging Anas in Monas.

Nazaruddin: "What I say about Mas Anas is what it is. Now he wants it all open, so we have opened it and actually the time from the beginning, once finished congress, about the board of branch leaders (DPC) there can be ten thousand there are fifteen thousand there are twenty thousand dollars. Chairman of the Board of Trustees already know koq. He said now want open-openan later if I open, dissolved this republic.

An example of this testimony becomes an interesting thing that is commodified in the ILC talk show because the last sentence of Nazaruddin's testimony says: "if I go, disperse this republic ..." Who is involved? Besides Anas whether the chairman of party also involved? Why does he say this republic will be disbanded if he reveals all? In the view of researchers, this is closely related to the involvement of someone who is very powerful and influential in this country. Because the testimony of Bathoegana also said "sick eating your own child". Recognition Nazaruddin became the "ultimate weapon" actually to examine more about who is involved in Hambalang corruption case. For example a side tie the number of parties involved or from the power side.

In the talkshow, the direction of the issue was also done to show the parties involved in Hambalang corruption case so that ILC directs the topic discussed. For example, "After Angie, Anas Shoted", "After Angie Who else?". In addition, in court testimony and the views of politicians, there are three parties which involved the government, employers and the House of Representatives. This means it is impossible for the government not know because the budget proposal came from the government. It is impossible if the government says it does not know the inflation of Hambalang project funds. Similarly, members of the House of Representatives (DPR) can not also dispose of the body by saying that the involved person not the institution because the process of approving the budget is the institution as a whole is not personal. Employers are always working on how to get their projects approved in various ways including how to "bribe" or "bond" systems can all happen because there is a relationship between government, employers and the House.

For example, the involvement of the three persons, the government, the House of Representatives and the employers is as discussed in the ILC talk show with the topic "Hambalang Responsibility Who" Part 2 as follows:

"There are 11 point indications of irregularities to legislation and abuse of authority committed by a number of state officials, and found more than 243 billion state losses due to the pricing and the difference in advance payments. The alleged responsible parties include 2 ministers of United Indonesia Cabinet Volume 2, namely Minister of Youth and Sports Andi Mallarangeng and Minister of Finance Agus Martowardojo. In addition, Bogor Regent, Rahmad Yasin, former head of BPN Joyowinoto, former Secretary of the Ministry of Youth and Sports, Wafid Muharram and former Director General of Budget Ministry of Finance who is now

Deputy Minister of Finance, Ani Ratnawati. There is a 100 billion deposit from the contractor.

The example above shows the involvement of the three persons: government, DPR and employers. That is, no matter how their testimony in court, even to say hung in Monas, in fact they go to jail. Should, members of the House of Representatives be a watchdog against the policies of the executive branch but in fact it is the House of Representatives who participated to spend the money divided. If the oversight of the members of the House is good, there can be no abuse of authority.

Based on the informant's explanation, it is also known that Hambalang corruption case issue is directed at the games conducted by the Democrats. The perpetrators are mostly Democratic cadres and high officials such as Anas Urbaningrum, Nazaruddin, Angelina Sondakh, Andi Mallarangeng. There is an impression of corruption Hambalang humiliating Democratic party, especially Soesilo BambangYudoyono (SBY) as Chairman of the Democratic Party. Moreover, two of the suspects Anis and Angelina are anti corruption advertisers in 2009.

In the view of game researchers from the Democratic top brass there is a point because the answers and explanations given in the ILC talk show contradict one another. For example, Nazaruddin said to escape when in fact it's who told him to run away. Then Nazaruddin said he was sick and went to Singapore and his weight was reduced by 18 kilos when actually he was picked up by a special plane to Bogota, where he ran away and wanted to watch the world football game.

Various guidance issues Hambalang corruption case can be described as follows:

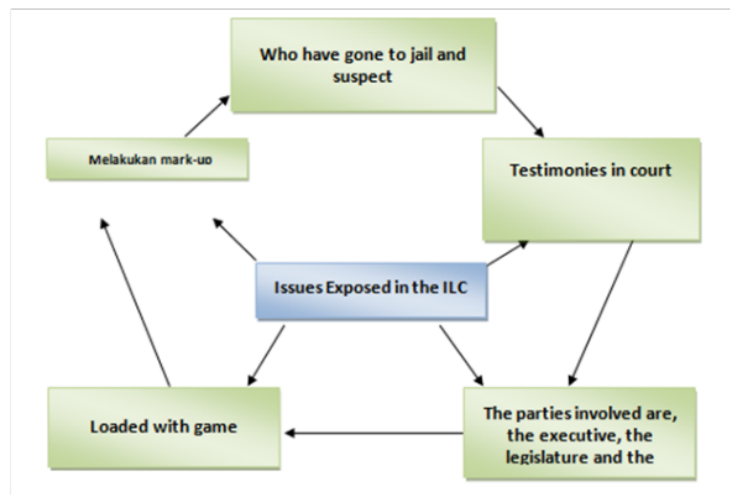


Figure 1. Issues Exposed in the ILC

2. Urgency of Problem Case of Hambalang Corruption Case

When determining content issues, it is important to note why the issue is raised. For who the issue is and how the issue is discussed together in a talk show. Below is an explanation based on interviews with a number of research informants. Interview with informants Ishadi SK, Johan Budi, Tama Langkun, Karni Ilyas, Hambalang corruption case



concerning public interest and become public attention. The following is an excerpt from an interview with one informant, Ishadi SK, that:

“TvOne is a news tv initiated by Karni Ilyas and the issue raised is for the benefit of share and rating. In addition, the issue of Hambalang corruption case is very interesting and is being a public discussion because it concerns the public interest “.

According to interviews with informants, the ILC talk show was one of the shows on tvOne that achieved the highest rating and the most extensive share. Advertisers see the rating of one program when going to market their products through television station. Therefore, it should be directed to one program in order to get a high rating. In addition, Hambalang corruption case is being a public discussion because it concerns the public interest. News scheduled by the media can affect the public agenda. Since tvOne explores the problem of corruption in the ILC talk show, the public also gives attention because it concerns the public interest as well, among others, because the taxes provided by the public used for APBN were corrupted by certain people. An issue that concerns the interests of the people, very sensitive and interesting to discuss.

According to researchers, it is necessary to criticize Hambalang’s corruption case specifically for the public interest. Who does the public and is it true that the public feels significant results when Hambalang corruption cases are revealed? Is it not just the interests of certain people such as lawyers, politicians, executive members, legislators and entrepreneurs who are related to the corruption case? It is often misunderstood or cluttered that the interests of certain people are in the public interest.

What is broadcast by the media, only concerns the interests of the party only. The public only knows what is the punishment for party cadres who violating code of ethics without any relevance to the interests of society. If the corruption of Hambalang is given to the community, for example the property of the corrupt confiscated and then distributed for the public interest, such as building schools, care and education costs, may become felt public interest.

When discussing Hambalang corruption case in ILC talk show often shows the politicians and or other speakers mutual tongue, humiliation, scorn, and others that turned out to be an spectacle that appeals to the viewers. Informants from ICW, Tama Langkun said that Hambalang case was raised for several things as the following interview quotation:

“Media looking for a sexy news angle and Hambalang case is important for the community, in addition to its high political dimension. News issues talking about ratings mean that they pay attention to the ratings of their many influences, such as how sexy, how much news it affects society, how high the spectator’s spectacle, segmented height and Indonesians love watching people who fight “

From the above explanation note that the issue of Hambalang corruption cases raised because the media looking for a sexy news angle and because Indonesian people like to watch people fighting. In the era of information disclosure especially with the rise of social media, people want to know what happens every day in the environment.



Information about corruption cases is no longer covered even though there are government or officials involved.

The high ratings show that the media always try to find news or create a good program in order public interesting to watch. Without the audience, there is no meaning made a good program. Media looking for sexy news. Called sexy because it has a high attraction for example that is reported it is the artist, officials, public figures and others. ILC talk show a certain segment. In the ILC talk show, there are occasions between sources that argue with high tensions when mutually confirming opinions, especially lawyers. Scientists, politicians, lawyers can fight each other for defending their clients or their institutions, so they no longer realize that they are being watched by hundreds of millions of Indonesians and without them knowing it That all the people who watched were also berating them and ridiculed about the behavior they were showing.

In the view of researchers, sexy news is more attention and put forward by the media because it has its own charm or have a magnet for viewers. That is why, in choosing the issues to be discussed in the talk show, the media noticed the sexiness of the news. But the sexiness of the news is not for all audiences though because newscastings that are considered sexy are sometimes not needed by many people. For example, Hambalang corruption cases are repeatedly discussed in tvOne as if nothing else is more important. It may be that viewers need more information about the impact of rising fuel prices or government efforts in promoting people's welfare, providing employment and so on.

Several informants stated that construction has been done to Hambalang corruption case. They also stated that the urgent Hambalang case was lifted due to the interests of media owners. The importance of the media becomes prominent in Hambalang corruption case. In addition, the presence of resource persons in the ILC talk show was exploited by politicians to show self-existence, want to be known to the wider community, to increase experience with the hope of being elected in the General Election. The politicians who are happy to appear in an effort to attract public attention in legislative elections are in fact unaware that the construction is being built media against them.

In addition, corruptors who, before proven guilty under established fixed law, can still smile when appearing on television, convinced innocent, innocent even though they end up in jail. The constructions of media constructions made against corruptors of Hambalang corruption cases are "congregation corruption", corruption from upstream to downstream, in violation of various laws and systems.

From the informant's opinion it is known that tvOne raised Hambalang corruption case due to commercial factor. Commercial profits are derived from the advertising company. Based on the observation, every time Hambalang corruption cases are discussed in the ILC talk show, the advertisement that aired was a lot. The problem is not just because you want to get a lot of profit commercially then the public interest to obtain useful news is neglected.

Another finding of this research is that the media as mediator often changes the function because it is no longer merely as an intermediary but rather as a breaker like a judge. This means that good and bad, life and death are in the hands of presenters. Ideally, the presenter does not act as a judge but educates the audience. One example

when the conversation occurred between Karni Ilyas and Lucky Sondakh, the father of one of the suspects, Angelina Sondakh. Karni Ilyas declares Lucky to tell the truth as the court wants. A glimpse of Karni Ilyas as a presenter is so patronizing that she feels as smart as any invited guests, or whatever her work, is still the dominant presenter even the questions are often out of context.

Various urgency of Hambalang corruption case that commodified by tvOne in ILC talk show can be described as follows:

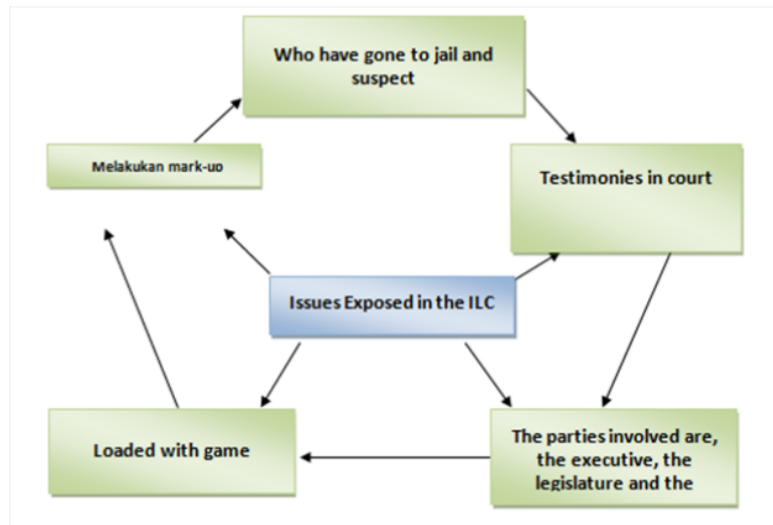


Figure 2. Urgency Discussion of Hambalang Case

Discussion

The case of corruption was originally a political science study area, but in its development, political people conveyed various messages (aspects of communication) which in its execution required funds (economic aspect). The results of the exchange of these messages can be measured or recognizable on the basis of social relationships between the various parties who have the means of production, distribution and message consuming. To analyze the political economy of communication, according to Mosco (2009: 11) one of them by analyzing the process of commodification.

Commodification describes how capital owners accumulate capital. Hambalang corruption case that should convey what happened to change. In addition to being a political battle, it also becomes a place for the benefit of politicians, looking for images and forming public opinion. Media commodification process that is changing the value of news (use value) into exchange rate (exchange value).

In addition, the assumption in commodification is that the better the production of television media, the more audiences, the more advertisers, the higher the rating. Therefore, all media content is made into commodities to profit commercially from advertisers. The same thing was also done by TVOne television media in accommodating ILC talk show which discuss Hambalang corruption case.

An issue raised in an event is a commodity that can be sold through entrepreneurs who advertise. The issue should be interesting, sexy and important as Hambalang corruption cases concerning the high officials of this country so it is worth



selling to advertisers. A media content is created in such a way as to attract the market so that it is called a marketable commodity that can be sold and then spread that can also impact the standardization of the commodity. Commodification is described as a change in the value of a function or value to an exchange rate.

The actual content commodification carried out by tvOne through the ILC talk show is the guidance of the Hambalang corruption case and the urgency of the discussion. Briefing issues or spin issues done carefully. Spin techniques are usually performed include: timing or the use of effective and short time; The facts presented are very selective; Careful selection of words; Selection of sound bite or speech emphasis; And redefine the terminology and sentences described earlier. Usually people who do political spin is called "spin doctor". (Subiakto: 2012: 30).

After raising Hambalang corruption case, one by one the suspects start from party members, party chairman until minister level has been processed and already go to jail. The media has done its social control function to provide the right information to the public. The names of officials and information corruption case is a commodity traded by the media. The authority of the media is very powerful in lifting the case.

In addition to the information submitted by the media, it turns out that the court is open to the public is helping the public to obtain information about corruption cases Hambalang. The testimonies of Angelina, Nazaruddin, Anas Urbaningrum and Andi Mallarangeng coupled with testimony from witnesses, who know and are involved in Hambalang corruption case, make it easier for media to commodify the contents. These testimonies can be seen when Angelina lies in court when giving testimony, as saying not yet have a blackberry, denied all the contents of black berry messenger (BBM) addressed to Rosa. Refute about the contents of BBM addressed to her husband Aji Massaid and so forth.

The ILC talk show hosted Hambalang's corruption issue as an important issue for the public as Hambalang project uses APBN. The issue of Hambalang corruption case is a commodity sold by tvOne because it concerns the public interest. Hambalang issue is a "magnet" for the community so that the rating is very high. Ratings are the objects that are traded visible from the number of companies that advertise in ILC talk show. The media authority determines the topic Hambalang shows the existence of exploitation and domination.

According to Peter Golding (1997) in the political economy of the media, that the media is an economic and political device. So there is always an element of good media interest related to politics, media and business. If you pay attention to Hambalang case issue, it is full of political aspect. The political economy's media aspect in Hambalang corruption case is more emphasizing its political aspect than with interests of society. So the speakers often question whether Angie's case includes the legal or political sphere. If the legal domain then the settlement in court is not in the media or move the trial to ILC talk show (processed from script talks with speakers Pasek and Tomi).

When tvOne discusses Hambalang corruption cases for several episodes, the results provide enlightenment to the public, providing transparency to the public. What was previously unknown to the public became known, for example being able to judge the views of judges and prosecutors. Public awareness of the Hambalang corruption case may affect public opinion including politicians who are members of the House of



Representatives (DPR) who requested that Anas resign. Such is the request of Ruhut Sitompul in one segment of ILC talk show talk.

The community became aware and knew that Hambalang corruption case was done in a congregation or collective including from upstream to downstream. The public became aware of the cause of the project Hambalang failing, partly because the land is vulnerable to move, Hambalang should be built only two floors up and two floors down. Even it is known that West Java got a gold medal for landslides. The interpretation that there is "forced coercion" in the construction of facilities and infrastructure of this sports school and seemed to be covered up by the relevant officials.

In the view of researchers, the impact of Hambalang case reporting is very complex. For example, for the government this case is a "slap" because many procedures are violated and the House seems to close its eyes and say not knowing the budget raised up to 1.2 trillion even pointed out to 2.5 trillion, seemed irresponsible. On the other hand, people get enlightenment because they know how Hambalang's true portrait starts from the attitude of judges, prosecutors and lawyers.

Raising an issue requires an instinct, a hunch, whether the issue will be watched by the public or not. Determining issues or topics requires collaboration between the producer and the program host. Seeking an issue requires perseverance by searching from a variety of sources from reading, listening, knowing, seeing and experiencing. Determining the issue also deals with the people who will attend the talk show or whether enough information to be raised, whether enough data, whether not confusing and other considerations that must be considered. Hambalang become an issue that is sold because in it there are state officials and party officials. The interpretation has a good relationship between party leaders and state officials in passing projects that use this enormous amount of funds.

From the analysis of issues raised in the talkshow Indonesia Lawyers Club, it was found that in general the media wanted to reveal and tell the viewers what exactly happened in Hambalang project corruption case. All efforts made by the media include determining what issues are raised when Hambalang case aired on television media. Issues must be sexy and interesting. Issues should be important and have magnets. Issues must have a sale value because the issue should be eligible to be traded so that advertisers are interested in advertising when the show airs on air. That the issues raised in the ILC talk show are very diverse and can not be summed up to one type of issue. Each of the topics discussed has its own issues that require the opinions of the resource persons.

From a special ILC talkshow Hambalang corruption case, the issue can be classified to several properties as follows:

First, the nature of the issue clarifies, where the presenter asks one thing to the informant who is only clarifying. For example, the presenter asked the resource person if it was true that Angie was transferred from Commission 3 to Commission 8.

Second, the nature of the accusing issue, with no clear evidence but a statement. For example, when it says Angelina Sondakh pairs the body that should be someone else



who pairs the body. But then Angelina became a suspect. It's alleged that Angelina is just a victim of the system, innocent but in fact in jail.

Third, the nature of the suspect issue, because there is information grapevine without any evidence but discussed. For example, when the presenter asks the resource person whether it is true in the Bandung Congress, there is a distribution of money to the Branch Board (DPC) and the Regional Leadership Council (DPD) for the winning of Anas Urbaningrum as Chairman of the Democratic Party.

Fourth, the nature of the issue of judgment, for example, ask repeatedly to Sutan Bhatoegana whether he as Chairman of the DPC did not get the money Congress in Bandung. Although already answered the resource does not get the money, but the presenter still asks by saying cooking Chairman of the DPC not miss out? There is a suspicion that the Chairman of the DPC must get the money, but there is no recognition from the concerned.

Fifth, the nature of investigating issues, such as looking for evidence of who is actually the owner of Permai Group company. Although there has been recognition from the lawyer Nazaruddin that the owner of the company is Anas Urbaningrum, but the presenter still investigate who actually owned the company.

Sixth, the nature of the issue of directing, for example requesting that Angelina Sondakh and Rosa confronted in court. Do not hear the testimony separately but simultaneously to get the truth.

Seventh, the nature of the investigative issue, for example when the presenter asked the Director of Building and Environmental Management about the collapse of Hambalang building.

Eighth, the nature of the issue memojokkan, for example when the presenter asked about the proximity of Tri Dianto with Nazaruddin, Junimart Girsang suddenly judge, cornering and embarrass Tri Dianto. There is no presenter attempt to stop or reprimand. Or the presenter let Ruhut Sitompul speakers with Hotman Paris Hutapea mutually insulting, humiliating and discrediting even if reprimanded will be issued, but still left.

Ninth, the nature of show or entertainment issues, for example, when the presenter asks Anwar Fuadi that his name is not listed in the guest book and asks how many types of criminal penalties in Indonesia are like meguji students. And when Anwar Fuadi explains that Angelina Sondakh is not an artist but an Indonesian princess. The nature of the show is also visible from the game puppet that played by Sudjiwo Tedjo.

Tenth, the nature of the issue reveals something new, for example when the presenter asked about Hambalang project, it was revealed that the project became a multi-year, land acquisition system, and a land allocation of 300 hectares was allocated to the community as land reform land.

The results show that the issues raised in disclosing Hambalang corruption cases vary greatly, sometimes in one segment, clarifying but occasionally in one segment, some of the nature of the issues appear at once. When addressing this issue there are resource persons who realize that the question is not worth discussing in the ILC talk show because it is not the media sphere. For example Gede Pasek always said that the question that the presenter addressed to him was not answered because it is the realm of the court. When the researchers asks this question to the presenter, it is





said that the right informant to answer or not and the presenter's right to inform the viewer for the sake of justice and conscience.

Whatever is raised in the ILC talk show as long as it is discussed in court, because it is open to the public, it is not wrong if tvOne discuss it in ILC talk show. Such media behavior is very much against the principles of journalism. Mc Quail (2005: 196) says that media should apply the principle of equality (justice and equality). One principle is that the media must provide fair access to different groups.

The results of the research that have been described can also be associated with critical theory which emphasizes the constellation of forces that occur in the process of production and reproduction of meaning, then the individual is not regarded as a neutral subject that can interpret freely according to his mind. Then the position of the media itself is an elite instrument for spreading the dominant ideology (Barrat, 1994: 48). Because the media is an instrument, it can be used in accordance with the thinking, strength, and desire of the media.

The assumption of reality proposed by the critical paradigm is the assumption of reality that is not neutral but influenced and bound by economic, political and social value and power. Therefore the main project of the critical paradigm is the liberation of the dominant value of the oppressed group. The position of journalists in this case the presenter, still be a participant of the existing group in society. Journalists have a social background, ideology, political value that ultimately affects how presenters produce, choosing words and symbols in all their preaching. Then the results of objective media coverage into something that is always questionable. In critical theory, what is seen is not the objectivity of the news that should be sought. The problem is that the news produced is biased. Which are more it is crucial that journalists are a small part of the whole larger social structure outside of journalists that can affect the entire contents of mass media news.

Critical theories try to see that the issues raised are those that benefit the media. For the presenter, he will raise the issue if interesting and important. If the issue is only important and uninteresting, it will not be discussed. As one of the informants from ICW, the case of corruption in Riau, it is important to reveal but not interesting. From the economic aspect of the media must consider whether the event will be watched by people or not. Keep paying attention to the benefits on the part of the media. If you need to dramatize the event.

The findings in this study can also be analyzed from a political economy perspective by Mosco. Mosco (2009: 3) reveals that "Political economy as the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, the distribution, and the consumption of resources. Analysis of the political economy aspects of an institution's behavior can be based on the ownership of the means of production, also on the basis of various social relations, especially the power relations in the production, distribution, and consumption of various resources.

Further Mosco (2009: 6) argued: "The political economy of communication as the exchange of meaning whose outcome is the measure or mark a social relationship". The political economy of communication is a study that combines the frame-





work of communication theory with the framework of economic and political theory. Communication is a domain that is vulnerable to economic and political influence.

Hambalang corruption case is packaged in ILC talkshow that reveal and reveal what exactly happened in Hambalang corruption case. Viewers can watch intensely how tvOne packs talk shows so that the rating is very high and in demand by the public. Thus, the media still strive for the audience interested in this program so that advertisers are competing to advertise. According to Karni Ilyas, ILC's talk show ratings include the highest rating. Karni's success in packing this event is to tell how about Hambalang corruption case through information extracted from sources directly related to corruption cases or related to people around the corruption case. The speakers seem too much present in every discussion Hambalang corruption cases though in Observation of the author when watching the show directly, not all participants got a chance to speak. That is, to maintain the authority of the ILC, it's good only credible and competent people who are given the opportunity to talk and really involved with the topic discussed.

Conclusion

TvOne shows its dominance in presenting ILC talk show and commodification. Commodification is done by way of spin Hambalang corruption case and urgency of discussion. The presenter in ILC talkshow manages the issue of Hambalang corruption case by discussing it over and over again. TvOne through an ILC talk show hosted the issue of Hambalang corruption case as a major corruption case that seriously harmed the state through the mark up of development funds, presenting testimony of suspects and perpetrators who had been imprisoned, testimonies in court and protests of the parties involved such as the executive, Legislative and entrepreneurs. The issue of the corruption case the urgent hobbyists are discussed because it relates to the media's interest to gain a high rating, the public interest to know the ins and outs, and as a means of constructing meaning for politicians to enhance their self-image and self-efficacy.

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