

## PREVENTION OF IDENTITY POLITICS THROUGH MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

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### Abstract

The importance of multicultural education for journalists to serve as a capital in perceiving the reality of facts to shape media reality to build the opinion of the electorate. The research method used is qualitative research with Entman framing analysis. The data collection method uses documentation in the form of news text published by Pacitanku.com and Lintas7.net regarding candidates in the 2020 Pacitan Pilkada. Data analysis uses Entman framing analysis with emphasis, prominence, definitions, explanations, moral reasons, and text recommendations in news discourse. The results of local online media research with emphasis and prominence using identity politics such as; the brother of SBY, Nahdatul Ulama, Gagarin, a member of Nahdatul Ulama, the struggle of clerics with inspiration to build Pacitan, SBY founding father of the Democratic Party, Indrata Nur Bayuaji is similar to Indartato 2020. Local online media framing in perceiving the candidates for regent and deputy regent of Pacitan still uses identity to build public opinion. Increase electability and vote support of candidates. The need for multiculturalism education, especially in local online media as agents of reality construction, by prioritizing the construction of work performance and the quality of candidates. Local online media must become guardians of information to provide useful messages for the welfare of citizens to maintain the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia by upholding diversity.

### Keywords

Multicultural, online media framing, 2020 Pacitan election.



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## INTRODUCTION

The 2020 Pilkada was held during the Covid-19 pandemic, becoming the toughest democratic party in the history of general elections in Indonesia. This was also felt in the 2020 Pacitan Pilkada, part of the 270 regions that carried out the simultaneous local elections on December 9, 2020. Sharp criticism of the continued election policy resulted in the transmission of Covid-19, which would become more widespread. Finally, the government, the DPR, and the KPU issued (UU Nomor 15, 2011), regarding the follow-up Pilkada which carried out the stages of candidacy, determination of candidates, campaigns, and voting on December 9, 2020, and the announcement of election results must be following the health protocol.

Indonesia with various ethnic, racial, cultural, and religious diversity makes diversity in the spirit of making electoral contestation in the regions more democratic. One of them is by reducing identity politics, especially local online media in choosing text in news discourse. Journalists' knowledge is related to multiculturalism by prioritizing the interests of the electorate compared to political and economic interests.

Visible text protrusion such as; brother of SBY (Pacitanku.com, 2020), Nahdatul Ulama (Pacitanku.com, 2020b), SBY Founding Father of the Democratic Party (Lintas7.net, 2020) these identities are still the choice to frame certain candidates. Even though this identity is inherent in humans, at least it must be able to be reduced in the choice of online media text in the news discourse.

The concept of multicultural education (Wahid Abdurrahman, 2010), is not a matter of interpretation. It is no longer a theological problem but is related to thinking, namely accepting good teachings from all religions that teach and practice tolerance and mutual respect for everyone's beliefs. Multicultural education is one way to develop human resources by instilling tolerance, equality, justice, togetherness, peace, and the like so that a safe, peaceful, and prosperous life can be realized without polarization in society.

Andersen says the concept of multicultural education emphasizes the educational process in cultural diversity Andersen, (1994). This is very necessary for areas where the population has begun to be heterogeneous from various ethnic groups in Indonesia. Even in Pacitan, there is an area where there are already many Indonesian citizens from foreign nations. Therefore, based on the concept of educational figures above, multicultural education is a process of educating the nation's children through both formal and non-formal institutions with the principle of making dynamic diversity the basis of education. This will create an experience that is imprinted in the minds of students or

everyone who has experienced education with mutual respect, and tolerance for diversity to create a spirit of unity and oneness.

The political world is full of competition between several existing political forces using different categorizations that show the basis and claim of victory for each (Eriyanto, 2015). Identity politics easily emerges and becomes more open, along with the emergence of a spirit of decentralization (Nasrudin, 2018). Therefore, the two candidates increase the popularity, electability, and support of the vote of the electorate with news that has been framed by emphasizing and highlighting identity texts.

Abdillah S., (2002), identity politics is a concept and political movement that focuses attention on difference as a major political category. Castells, (2010), identity is a source of self-meaning that emerges and is given by an individual to himself or from a group of people to their group and internalized by society outside of himself. Identity politics is closely related to differences and is internalized by people outside of themselves. Local online media as one of the outsiders chose certain identity texts to frame the candidates for deputy regent and deputy regent of Pacitan.

Framing or frames are central organizing ideas that provide coherence to a set of defined idea elements (Ferree, M. M., et al., 2002). Framing or likened to a photo frame, putting a boundary around something, distinguishing it from what is around it, which is a highlight that attracts the attention of the audience, highlighting certain aspects of a problem, and keeping it away from other aspects (Gamson, 2004: 245). Information in public spaces as a result of framing with emphasis and prominence of certain texts to present the reality of the candidate pair builds opinions.

The previous research references are as follows; research (Ibrahim R., 2013) on multicultural education, namely to create a harmonious life in a pluralistic society. Amin M., (2018) states that multicultural education is education that gives emphasizes the process of cultivating a way of life that is mutually respectful, sincere, and tolerant of cultural diversity in the midst of a society with a high degree of plurality. Development of multicultural education, education that provides equal opportunities to all children of the nation without ethnic, cultural, and religious differences, that respects diversity, and that provides equal rights for ethnic minorities, to strengthen unity and oneness (Rosyada, 2014). Multicultural education to equalize perceptions of journalists in reporting related to the importance of maintaining diversity in building national identity opinions and the nation's image.

Awaluddin's research, (2019) electoral political education is urgently needed for the holding of the 2019 elections, which are characterized by the spread of hoaxes, hate speech, the politicization of religion, money politics, threats of violence, and manipulation of election results, forms of citizen immaturity in electoral politics. Nurul Syobah, (2012), the results of the study explain that in the context of modern politics, the mass media is not only an integral part of politics but also has a central position in politics. Research by Hamdani Haerudin W., et.al, (2020), shows that local media as a political communication channel for regional political elites is still strong. The mass media has a very central role, especially in the field of politics and the need for political education for the electorate.

Elements of research novelty as follows: 1) the research location in Pacitan Regency which has different characteristics; 2) the time of the research in the abnormal situation of the Covid-19 pandemic; 3) the uncertainty of the 2020 Pilkada schedule with the shadow of a postponement in 2021; 4) identity politics is an easy way to increase popularity and candidate electability; 5) data sources from Pacitan local online media; and 6) using Entman framing analysis.

This research aims to find out the use of identity politics in the 2020 Pacitan Regency regional head election. As well as the theoretical significance of developing political education discourse through formal and informal education. Meanwhile, its pragmatic significance is to provide an overview to the younger generation who are just using their right to vote to understand identity politics. So that they have awareness in exercising their voting rights to provide support to candidates who have real identities not framed by the framing of national figures or certain social organizations.

## **METHOD**

Qualitative research by looking at the overall reality of the Pacitan election related to the use of identity politics both for candidacy and candidate campaigns. The concept of qualitative research on symptoms is comprehensive so that it cannot determine research based on research variables but as a whole the social situation which includes aspects of place, actors, and activities (Sugiyono, 2013).

The technique of collecting data is by documenting news texts in two local online media Pacitan Pacitanku.com and Lintas7.net, which were published from September 2019 – December 2020. The technique for collecting data is by documenting news texts. Documents that record events that have passed, in the form of writing, drawings, or monumental works (Sugiyono, 2013). The

primary data is in the form of news text data on Pacitanku.com and Lintas7.net related to identity politics in the 2020 Pacitan Pilkada.

Analysis of news text data uses the Entman concept with emphasis and prominence, with definitions, explanations, moral reasons, and recommendations. Referring to the Entman concept, the researcher classifies the data that has been collected into five columns consisting of text prominence, definition, explanation, moral reasons, and recommendations in news text discourse.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### Findings

The research results refer to the Entman concept divided into several columns, such as emphasis and prominence, problem definition, problem causes, evaluation, and decisions or recommendations. News is the construction of the reality of regional elections so that researchers share it based on the subjectivity of journalists in seeing the facts that researchers can present in table 1 below.

**Table 1.** Identity Politicization Framing in Pacitanku.Com and Lintas7.Net Online Media News

No	Data	Emphasis and Prominence	Define Problems	Diagnose Causes	Make Moral Judgment	Treatment Recommendation
1	News 1 <a href="https://pacitanku.com/2020/08/03/aji-dinilai-pantas-dapat-rekomendasi-dpp-partai-demokrat-istri-indartato-berpeluang-jadi-cawabup/">https://pacitanku.com/2020/08/03/aji-dinilai-pantas-dapat-rekomendasi-dpp-partai-demokrat-istri-indartato-berpeluang-jadi-cawabup/</a>	Brother SBY	Indrata Nur Bayuaji in the nomination process in SBY's nephew	Democrat ic party	Aji's progress is proven as a politician	Aji deserves a recommendation
2	News 2 <a href="https://pacitanku.com/2019/08/25/ini-pesan-sby-untuk-afghani-yang-hendak-maju-jadi-cabup-pacitan/">https://pacitanku.com/2019/08/25/ini-pesan-sby-untuk-afghani-yang-hendak-maju-jadi-cabup-pacitan/</a>	Brother SBY	Afghani is running for the Democratic Party	<i>Misan</i> Brother	<i>Sowan</i> SBY in Cikeas	Afghani must do socialization and effort
3	News 3 <a href="https://pacitanku.com/2020/08/16/isyah-ansori-taati-amanah-kyai-dampingi-gagarin-di-pilbup-pacitan/">https://pacitanku.com/2020/08/16/isyah-ansori-taati-amanah-kyai-dampingi-gagarin-di-pilbup-pacitan/</a>	Nahdatul Ulama	<i>Halaqoh</i> DPC PKB Pacitan	<i>Sami'na</i> Wa <i>atho'na</i> We Hear we Obey	Scholars' meeting	Insyah Ansori Gagarin was supported by Nahdatul Ulama

No	Data	Emphasis and Prominence	Define Problems	Diagnose Causes	Make Moral Judgment	Treatment Recommendation
4	News 4 <a href="https://pacitanku.com/2020/07/26/pkb-pacitan-dan-pcnu-resmikan-dukungan-untuk-gagarin-di-pilbup-2020/">https://pacitanku.com/2020/07/26/pkb-pacitan-dan-pcnu-resmikan-dukungan-untuk-gagarin-di-pilbup-2020/</a>	Gagarin Nahdatul Ulama Citizen	PKB and NU Unite steps to support Gagarin	Pilkada	Agree to carry Gagarin	The NU family's instructions support and win over Gagarin
5	News 5 Pacitanku.com <a href="https://pacitanku.com/2020/09/30/perjuangan-ulama-jadi-inspirasi-mbois-membangun-pacitan/">https://pacitanku.com/2020/09/30/perjuangan-ulama-jadi-inspirasi-mbois-membangun-pacitan/</a>	The Struggle of Ulama Inspired to Build Pacitan.	Protect Pancasila.	Pancasila Sanctity Day	Together with the clergy, always guard Pancasila	The struggle of the Ulama was not the inspiration to build Pacitan
6	News 6 <a href="https://lintas7.net/historis-pak-sby-pacitan-jadi-prioritas-kemenangan-di-pilkada-serentak-2020/">https://lintas7.net/historis-pak-sby-pacitan-jadi-prioritas-kemenangan-di-pilkada-serentak-2020/</a>	SBY Founding Father of the Democratic Party	History of SBY	SBY Founding Fathers of the Democratic Party	Party Consolidation	Democrats Prioritize Victory in Pacitan
7	News 7 <a href="https://lintas7.net/lintas7-netpacitan-petinggi-banser-jawa-timur-yunianto-wahyudi-merasakan-auro-positif-indrata-nur-bayuaji-dalam-pemilihan-bupati-wakil-bupati-pacitan-tahun-2020/">https://lintas7.net/lintas7-netpacitan-petinggi-banser-jawa-timur-yunianto-wahyudi-merasakan-auro-positif-indrata-nur-bayuaji-dalam-pemilihan-bupati-wakil-bupati-pacitan-tahun-2020/</a>	Indrata Nur Bayuaji is similar to Indartato 2020	Volunteer Stories	Indrata and Indartato's close relationship	Electoral politics are both high	Indrata is similar to Indartato

Source: Pacitanku.com and Lintas7.net

Table 1 above refers to the concept of Framing Entman, with emphasis and prominence of the text supported by definitions, problem explanations, moral reasons, and discourse recommendations in news texts. The researcher divides the column into six and is equipped with news sources. The table is the basis for the discussion related to the importance of multicultural education to reduce the use of identity politics.

## Discussion

### News 1

News 1, framing by highlighting SBY's nephew Indrata Nur Bayuaji, shapes media reality to increase popularity and electability, not for other candidate pairs. The media accentuated the identity of SBY's brother to cover up the real identity of Indrata Nur Bayuaji. The goal is very clear that identity as SBY's nephew will shape media reality, and build positive opinions to increase his popularity and electability.

The framing element resulting from the journalist's perception of the reality of the candidate for Indrata Nur Bayuaji with the definition of news discourse namely "Indrata Nur Bayuaji participated in the struggle for recommendations from the Democratic Party" with the identity of SBY will increase the electability of the candidate for Indrata. Defining problems or defining problems is the first element that researchers can read about framing, which can be called the most important master frame (Eriyanto, 2015).

Diagnosing causes is a framing element to frame who is considered the main actor of an event. Cause here can mean what (what), but can also mean who (who). The cause of the female framing problem, namely Indrata as the nephew of SBY, will cover up the original reality of his true identity as a politician who sits as a member of the 2019-2024 Pacitan Regency DPRD legislature. The context of regional leaders should explain not only the subjectivity of journalists towards candidates. The quality of a candidate for regent must be the reality that speaks not only based on the perceptions of journalists.

The moral reason is based on the quote "Aji is still his nephew and his work in politics has been tested. During three periods he sat as a member of the Pacitan DPRD and currently sits as chairman of the council," journalists in their reports still use the identity of Indrata as SBY's nephew, which greatly benefits Indrata Nur Bayuaji and is supported as a politician so he deserves a recommendation from the supporting party. Make moral judgments or moral reasons for framing elements that are used to justify arguments in defining the problem that has been made. The ideas quoted are related to something familiar and known by the audience (Eriyanto, 2015).

Kieran, (1997), states that the news is not formed in a vacuum but is produced from the dominant ideology in a certain area of competence, how the world is reported from a certain side of reality. Therefore, in the recommendation of the subjectivity of journalists, "Indrata Nur Bayuaji deserves a nomination recommendation". Recommendations for solving problems or treatment

recommendations, namely offering or justifying a way of solving problems and predicting the results (Eriyanto, 2015). Indrata Nur Bayuaji deserves a recommendation from the Democratic Party, subjectivity, and Pacitanku.com's alignment with candidates.

Research by Hamdani Haerudin W., et al., (2020), the results of his study show that local media have not fulfilled all the requirements for creating a media system as guardians of democracy because economic and political interests still dominate, which still affects the content of the news. The need for the hard work of all parties, especially the government, private sector, community, and media parties, to work together to build a journalistic climate. Among the biggest challenges of the mass media are the culture of society and the media elite's (media owners) paternalistic Morissan, et al., (2017). Media elites or owners can control information or news that is considered to benefit them, which is a matter of media neutrality.

Underwood, J. D. M., et al., (2011), with the results of a simulation study of social reality that is currently happening intensively in new media (new media) using or through instant messenger applications, as well as with social networks. Certain words chosen can limit someone from seeing other perspectives, by highlighting certain aspects of an event to direct certain logic in understanding a problem (Eriyanto, 2015).

## **News 2**

News 2, identity politics framing with the emphasis and prominence of the news text "Afghani as SBY's cousin". The prominence of Afghani as SBY's cousin in the news discourse has shaped the reality of local online media portals which has led to public opinion increasing popularity and electability. Identity as SBY's brother will cover up the real reality of the candidate. Hence information is the result of the subjectivity of the media to cover up the "capability and credibility" of the prospective pair of candidates as leaders of Pacitan 2020-2024. So that what the public reads is the figure of Afghani as SBY's cousin.

The definition of the problem or define problems, "Afghani is running for the Democratic Party" is the first element that we can see in the framing, which is the main master frame in Pacitanku.com news. Defining problems or defining problems is the first element that researchers can read about framing, which can be called the most important master frame (Eriyanto, 2015). As a brother of SBY, Afghani is fighting over the nomination in the bearer party. This is to compete with other SBY brothers who also participated in the nomination process in the Democratic Party. It can be seen that the party does not belong to the state, so family relations are one of the ways to smooth



candidacy.

The next framing element is an explanation of the problem, with the repetition of the text "Afghani brother misan SBY" which is perceived as the main actor in the Pacitan Pilkada campaign to gain the support of the electorate. The local online media's perception of reality for the Afghani candidate seems to prefer the word family ties in its news. Diagnosing causes is a framing element to frame who is considered the main actor in an event, which can mean what, but can also mean who (Eriyanto, 2015). Repetition of the same text so that the reader is easy to understand to build opinions according to the framework formed by the media.

Make a moral judgment or the moral reason "go to SBY in Cikeas", the choice of the sentence is an element of the framing used by online media Pacitanku.com to justify the argumentation on defining the problem that has been made. Sowan to SBY's house in Cikeas was used as a moral reason in online media news. Making moral judgment is a framing element that is used to justify arguments in defining the problem that has been made. The ideas quoted are related to something familiar and known by the audience (Eriyanto, 2015). The construction of media reality with framing elements is a differentiator from other candidates who did not pay a direct visit to SBY's house in Cikeas, to further strengthen the imitation reality built by online media. SBY still has influence, especially in making decisions to provide recommendations for candidacy in the Pacitan Pilkada.

Treatment recommendations or online media recommendations, "Afghani must do socialization and effort" are used by the local online media framing Pacitanku.com to assess what journalists want. However, in a recommendation in the news discourse of the local online media portal Pacitanku.com, Afghani was advised if he wanted to continue his candidacy through the Democratic Party, he should continue to introduce himself to the Pacitan audience. Recommendations for solving problems or treatment recommendations, namely offering or justifying a way of solving problems and predicting the results (Eriyanto, 2015).

Referring to Boomgaarden's research (2017), Schmuck, et al., (2017) frame games tend to present politics as a competition or game between parties and/or candidates whose aim is to influence public opinion and to gain an advantage in the electoral race. The media perceives Afghani as a relative of SBY, to increase electability as a basis for obtaining recommendations. The media puts pressure on an event, so the media will influence the audience to consider it important (Pamela J. Shoemaker, 1989). The framing was not lying but subtly distorted the facts by emphasizing SBY's cousin Afghani. Recruitment and selection of regional head candidates is the most crucial thing that

is carried out by political parties, don't let the process be carried out in an instant way (Dini Suryani D., Latifah Letty Aziz N., 2018).

The prominence of the text will cover up the reality of Afghani as SBY's half-brother, replacing the real reality of Afghani. Therefore the construction of the candidate's reality will accentuate the positive side and eliminate the negative side which will make it difficult for the public to obtain actual information. This is true information regarding Afghanistan will mix with wrong information but become a reality shaped by the media.

### **News 3**

News 3, framing identity politics, highlighting the text of the Islamic mass organization Nahdatul Ulama became Pacitanku.com's media choice to increase Insyah Ansori's popularity and electability. Framing identity politics with the emphasis and prominence of Nahdatul Ulama, to frame the prospective candidate pair, namely Insyah Ansori. The local online media news portal Pacitanku.com in the framing of Nahdatul Ulama by highlighting the local online media news text namely "Insyah Ansori sami'na waatho'na" or interpreted as "Insyah Ansori we hear and we obey," when elected in the halaqah of the clergy as a candidate for deputy regent of Pacitan.

The framing element, namely the definition of problems or define problems, with the choice of text "halaqoh DPC PKB Pacitan" is the most important master frame in Pacitanku.com news. The definition of the problem in the PCT-BP-Iden-3 news framing emphasizes how journalists construct the candidacy of the party carrying the identity of Nahdatul Ulama. Even though it is not related to a political party, the personnel in it who are also party administrators are constructed to build the image of Insyah Ansori. Defining problems or defining problems is the first framing element, researchers can read about framing, it can be called the most important master frame (Eriyanto, 2015).

The explanation of the problem, "sami'na wa atho'na we hear we obey" is a framing element to frame Insyah Ansori as the main actor in the Pacitanku.com media framing. Facts are constructions of real reality, therefore the truth of an apparent fact in the media is relative, and applies in a particular context. Therefore Pacitanku.com media is a message construction agent. The use of religious symbols of choice of text in the news discourse "stamina wa atho'na" we hear we obey, is the journalist's frame of mind to building a positive opinion of Gagarin and Insyah Ansori who are claimed to be the champions of Nahdatul Ulama.

Make moral judgment or the moral reason of "deliberation of the scholars", the choice of sentences is an element of framing used by Pacitanku.com online media to justify the arguments on defining the problem that has been made. Kieran, (1997) explains that news in the media is not formed in a vacuum, but is produced with the influence of the dominant ideology in a certain area of competence. Therefore, the moral reason in the form of an idea resulting from the perception of the reality of the Pacitan Pilkada campaign cited is related to something familiar and known to the public.

Treatment recommendations or online media recommendations "Insyah Ansori and Gagarin are supported by Nahdatul Ulama" are used in the framing of local online media Pacitanku.com to assess what journalists want. Recommendations for solving problems or treatment recommendations, namely offering or justifying a way of solving problems and predicting the results (Eriyanto, 2015). Moreover, the identity of Nahdatul Ulama in every democratic party in Pacitan has always been a bone of contention to increase electability and support.

Framing its building elements with the choice of text "Nahdatul Ulama" both in prominence, definition, explanation, moral reasons, and recommendations with emphasis and prominence "Insyah Ansori santri who obey the orders of the clerics" is prominence with choice of words, forming a world of reality like the framework of a news portal, aims to lead the public opinion of Pacitan voters to increase their popularity and electability. Public opinion becomes a barometer of people's aspirations which can become a force in decision-making based on the behavior and preferences of millions of citizens who have voting rights.

Framing is a sensitive analysis emphasizing that the framing of the reality of the issue of events by the media, does not develop in a political vacuum, but is shaped by frames sponsored by many social actors, including politicians, organizations, and social movements (Beckett, 1996) (Gamson, W., & Modigliani, 1989). News is a mirror and reflection of reality, highlighting, defining, and explaining, moral reasons and recommendations from media reality which is the construction of reality.

The reality of NU is not political like the decision of the 1983 NU Alim Ulama National Conference in Situbondo and confirmed in the 1984 Mukhtamar in the same place, NU declared a return to the 1926 Khittah and organizationally broke away from the ties of political organizations and community organizations (Staialanwar, 2017). Therefore the need for multiculturalism education for journalists so that in the choice of text in the framing of the 2024 electoral political

contestation to eliminate the use of identity texts. The identity of ethnicity, nation, religion, race, family, and descent must be eliminated in the choice of text in news discourse. Prevention of identity politics in online media with multicultural education for journalists, politicians, government, and society to improve the quality of democracy to elect quality leaders.

#### **News 4**

News 4, the result of the construction of local online media by highlighting the text of the news discourse "Gagarin is a resident of Nahdatul Ulama". Gagarin as a Nahdatul Ulama member implies having a purpose during the nomination process in the bearer party. Facts are constructions of reality, with a relative truth value, which is behavior in a particular context. The context of the Pilkada reality was that all of Gagarin as NU members were part of political communication to increase Gagarin's electability. This is to build opinion among Nahdatul Ulama that Gagarin is a member of Nahdatul Ulama and must be supported.

Framing is formed from various supporting elements. An important element, namely the definition of the problem or define problems, "PKB and NU Unite steps to support Gagarin" can be read for the first time in news discourse. Is the most important master frame in Pacitanku.com news. The definition of a problem in journalist news framing emphasizes how the Pilkada campaign events occurred during the Covid-19 pandemic. This is also very related to how journalists or local online media journalists understand the reality of the future pair of Gagarin candidates, by defining PKB and NU to unite in supporting Gagarin. This was clarified by the NU and PKB agreement to carry Gagarin.

Explanation of the problem or causes of the local online media framing problem "Pilkada" is an element to frame Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin as the main actor in a Pacitan Pilkada campaign to gain support from the electorate. Explanation of the problem of successful opposing political teams, emphasizing how events are understood by Pacitanku.com media journalists regarding the events of the Pacitan 2020 Pilkada campaign. Diagnosing causes is a framing element to frame who is considered the main actor in an event. The cause here can mean what (what), but it can also mean who (who) (Eriyanto, 2015).

Make a moral judgment or the moral reason "agreed to carry Gagarin", the choice of the sentence is an element of the Pacitanku.com online media framing to justify the argument on defining the problem that has been made. Therefore, the moral reason in the form of an idea resulting from the perception of the reality of the Pacitan Pilkada campaign cited is related to something

familiar and known to the public. Making moral judgment is a framing element that is used to justify arguments in defining the problem that has been made. The ideas quoted are related to something familiar and known by the audience (Eriyanto, 2015).

Treatment recommendations or recommendations for online media "instructions by the big NU family to support and win Gagarin" framing the local online media Pacitanku.com to assess what journalists want. Recommendations for solving problems or treatment recommendations, namely offering or justifying a way of solving problems and predicting the results (Eriyanto, 2015). Therefore, in the recommendation of discourse on local online media news portals as a basis for instructing the NU extended family to support and win over Gagarin. Therefore framing is a journalist's perspective in perceiving the reality of an issue to become news that is published to the electorate.

Even though as a Nahdatul Ulama organization based on the NU Alim Ulama National Conference in 1983 in Situbondo and confirmed in the 1984 Mukhtamar in the same place, NU declared a return to the 1926 Khittah and organizationally broke away from the ties of political organization and community organizations (Staialanwar, 2017). The emphasis and prominence of symbols in the form of the choice of text "Gagarin is supported by Nahdatul Ulama" forms the reality of leading public opinion, especially Nahdatul Ulama members, to support Gagarin. Media framing distorts the facts and even the pseudo-reality of NU to support Gagarin, as a message construction agent.

Framing Gagarin, a member of Nahdatul Ulama, is only a momentary interest to be more popular and increase his electability among Nahdatul Ulama Pacitan. Philosophers' (Taylor, 1989; Young, 1990) opinion on politics illustrates that socially recognizing the nature of group differences that have been built does not preclude organizing around the identity that marks the group. Because Gagarin's framing was supported by Nahdatul Ulama, it was chosen by the local online media to try to win support from Nahdatul Ulama circles.

Based on the opinion of Hasan K., (2016), the opinion in the perspective of political communication is seen as an active response to a stimulus, namely a response that is constructed through personal interpretation that develops from an image and contributes to an image. The media is the gatekeeper of the implementation of democracy which gives equal rights to citizens to be elected or to vote. The role of journalists and editors, as well as media editors in selecting or filtering information to audiences to select quality leaders, does not use a certain identity to gain

audience support.

#### **News 5**

News 5, the local online media Pacitanku.com chose the framing of emphasis and prominence, namely "the struggle of the ulemas for inspiration to build Pacitan". Media selects, connects, and highlights events so that the meaning of an event is easier to touch and remember. Therefore research (Durham, 1998) framing makes the world easier to understand and know.

The local online media framing of "the struggle of the inspirational cleric Yudi Sumbogo-Insyah Ansori to build" places one aspect of this information very prominently compared to others, is more conspicuous and repeats information. Moreover, the Pacitan social organization (Ormas) Nahdatul Ulama has taken root among the Pacitan electorate. The language symbol in the form of a text with the Ulama means that we have safeguarded Pancasila, to highlight a reality so that it is more meaningful and easier for the electorate to perceive.

The definition of problems or define problems, "safeguarding Pancasila" is the first element we can see in the framing, which is the most important master frame in Pacitanku.com news. News frames are formed from keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and images contained in news narratives (Eriyanto, 2015). The definition of the problem in news framing emphasizes how complex reality is related to the campaign carried out by Yudi Sumbogo-Insyah Ansori to gain support.

Opinion of Eriyanto, (2015) the framing element, namely the diagnosis of causes, is a framing element to frame who is considered the main actor of an event. Cause here can mean what (what), but can also mean who (who). Explanation of the problem, "commemorating the sacred day of Pancasila" so that this moment is associated with one of the candidates framed by local online media close to the clergy. The news frame is formed from keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and images contained in the news narrative (Eriyanto, 2015). News is not a mirror and reflection of reality, because the media constructs reality to produce news.

Make a moral judgment or the moral reason "together with the Ulama always protect Pancasila", the choice of the sentence is an element of the framing used by online media Pacitanku.com to justify the argument on defining the problem that has been made. Kieran, (1997) news is not formed in a vacuum but is produced from the dominant ideology in a certain area of competence, how the world is reported from a certain side of reality, where events are mediated by categories, interpretations, and evaluations of that reality. Therefore, moral reasons in the form of

ideas resulting from the perceptions of journalists can be seen from the ideology of journalists in constructing the reality of candidate Yudi Sumbogo-Insyah Ansori during the Pacitan Pilkada campaign.

The treatment recommendation or online media recommendation "Yudi is not a Statesman" is used by local online media Pacitanku.com to assess what journalists want. Recommendations for solving problems or treatment recommendations, namely offering or justifying a way of solving problems and predicting the results (Eriyanto, 2015). Recommendations for local online media framing Pacitanku.com "The struggle of the inspired Ulama Yudi Sumbogo-Insyah Ansori to build Pacitan is closely related to the Nahdatul Ulama culture which makes the Ulama a source of answers to problems in developing Pacitan.

Referring to Entman's conception, framing the identity "Nahdatul Ulama" is based on the history of Nahdatul Ulama as a defender of Pancasila. Therefore the events of October 1, 2020, are associated with the support of the Nahdatul Ulama identity for Yudi Sumbogo-Insyah Ansori. News is wrapped in a journalist's point of view, by highlighting an event by the media to form a certain impression that is more meaningful, especially to the electorate. The aim is to shape the reality of local online media to build opinion among the electorate of the kyai, santri, ulama, and around the huts spread across Pacitan.

The prominence of the identity of Nahdatul Ulama, to perceive the reality of the Yudi Sumbogo-Insyah Ansori candidate as a result of perceptions by local online media, increased vote support. Politics in Edelman's point of view is nothing but a game of symbols (Edelman, 1977), political reality is created and formed through symbols to invite the electorate to think with the words or symbols formed to win public support (Lance Bennet, 1993).

The knowledge of journalists about multiculturalism so that in perceiving the reality related to candidates is not trapped by identity politics. The public must be informed through news messages to be able to choose leaders based on merit and quality. The mass media is a center of power that can impose its will through messages regardless of who the public is (Purwasito, 2015). The prominence of Nahdatul Ulama will reduce the quality of Pacitan leaders because online media does not provide information regarding the work achievements and innovations of candidate pairs that have contributed to regional progress.

Although journalists have different cultural backgrounds in m Perceiving the reality of the candidates for regent and deputy regent of Pacitan, in addition to political and economic interests,

they must have the responsibility of protecting the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, responsibility as an information gatekeeper, especially related to identity politics, must be avoided. It is better to perceive the reality of the candidate's achievements so that the public will obtain actual information so that they can choose future leaders who make the people prosperous not for the group.

#### **News 6**

News 6, the framing of identity politics with the prominence of the text "SBY founding father of the Democratic Party" is the result of journalists' perceptions, shaping media reality, building the opinion of the electorate to increase the electability of prospective candidate pairs through the nomination of the Democratic Party. Identity politics of the founding father or father of the nation is as if Pacitan is likened to a country, the result of the perceptions of online media journalist Lintas7.net to increase the electability of the prospective regent and deputy regent candidates who received recommendations from the Democratic Party.

The definition of problems or define problems in news 6 is as follows, "SBY's history" is the first element we can see in framing, which is the most important master frame in Pacitanku.com news. The definition of the problem in news framing as a result of journalists' perceptions emphasizes how the 6th Indonesian president SBY was chosen by local online media as the first element of framing for the construction of reality Indrata Nur Bayuaji which is supported by the Democratic Party.

Problem identification in the framing of the local online media news portal Lintas7.net, "SBY Founding Fathers of the Democratic Party" is a framing element to frame Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin as the main actor who is supported by SBY who is the founding father of the Democratic Party. a Pacitan Pilkada campaign to gain the support of the electorate. Explanation of the problem of the successful team against politics, emphasizing how events are understood by Lintas7.net media journalists regarding the events of the 2020 Pacitan Pilkada campaign.

Make a moral judgment or the moral reason for "Consolidation of the Democratic Party", the choice of words is an element in the framing news text that is used by the online media Lintas7.net to justify the arguments in defining the problem that has been made. Media Lintas7., as a source of message construction in news texts, is not a mirror and reflection of the reality of Indrata Nur Bayuaji. Therefore, the moral reason for "Consolidation of the Democratic Party" is in the form of a journalist's frame of mind in perceiving the reality of the Pacitan Pilkada campaign.



The treatment recommendation or online media recommendation "Democrats prioritize winning in Pacitan" is used by the local online media Pacitanku.com to assess what journalists want. Vocabulary is emphasized in the text "Democrat Party prioritizes victory in Pacitan" so that it is more prominent than other parts of the news text. , a more prominent placement, or connecting with other parts of the news text, so that the part looks more prominent, easier to remember, and more influences audiences.

Media Lintas7.net in the construction of reality in its news discourse with the prominence of "SBY Founding Fathers of the Democratic Party", anyone later nominated by the Democratic Party will get influence from SBY in building the opinion of the electorate. SBY with a big name in Pacitan as the 6th President of the Republic of Indonesia who comes from Pacitan. The media generates interpersonal political discussion, which allows potential voters to determine which candidate or party can better represent them (Lee, 2010).

The media as agents of the construction of reality produce realities that sometimes cover up the original reality of the candidate recommended by the Democratic Party to be replaced with the figure of SBY. Framing is not a hoax but subtly distorts the facts even the electorate is not aware of through the process of selecting issues and emphasizing and highlighting the words "SBY's founding father". Local online media has influenced, by shaping media reality by selecting the identity text "SBY Founding Fathers of the Democratic Party" to sway opinion to support the candidate Indrata Nur bayuaji which is approved by SBY. Online media should, in its choice of text, reduce the use of national figures' identities to frame certain candidates.

This identity has the power to lead public opinion to support the candidate recommended by the Democratic Party. Multicultural education, especially media journalists, to increase their knowledge about the value of religious, racial, ethnic, and ethnic diversity in perceiving the reality of candidates in electoral contests in the regions. Increasing journalists' knowledge of multiculturalism will prevent the choices of text in their news discourse by politicizing identity status. Local online media has become a pioneer in multicultural education in the next election to improve the quality of democracy by electing leaders who have the qualities of regional leaders.

#### **News 7**

News 7, by highlighting that Indrata is similar to Indartato covers certain aspects that are detrimental to the image of Indrata Nur Bayuaji. Online media text selection in framing with the definition of the problem "the story of volunteer Indrata Nur Bayuaji looks like Indartarto" Regent

of Pacitan 2015-2020. The definition of the story problem of volunteer Indrata Nur Bayuaji is used as a reference for reality, for the construction of online media for Indrata Nur Bayuaji. Defining problems or defining problems is the first element that is read with framing, referred to as the most important master frame (Eriyanto, 2015).

Identification of problems in the framing of local online media news portals, "Indrata and Indartato's close relationship" is a framing element for framing Indrata Nur Bayuaji-Gagarin to be considered as the main actor to gain support from the electorate. Volunteer stories are a source of data, to emphasize how Indrata Nur Bayuaji is understood by Lintas7.net media journalists regarding the events of the 2020 Pacitan Pilkada campaign. Diagnosing causes is framing elements to frame who is considered the main actor in an event, what can it mean? means who (who) (Eriyanto, 2015).

Nurul Syobah, (2012), the results of the study explain that in the context of modern politics, the mass media is not only an integral part of politics but also has a central position in politics. The moral reasons for the text in the Lintas7.net news coverage discourse are very clear for electoral politics to increase electability to obtain nomination recommendations from the supporting party. Make moral judgment or moral reasons "Indarata and Indartato's electoral politics at the time of candidacy were both high. The choice of text in the news text discourse is an element of framing that is used by the online media Lintas7.net to justify the arguments in defining the problem that has been made.

Messages or news published or sent by the media is not neutral, because the media actively intervenes in the process of political communication and frames news in certain ways (Esser, 2008; Stromback, J., et al., 2010). It can be seen in the discourse of the news portal Lintas7.net that the Indrata text resembles that of Indartato dominating the news text. In principle, the frame in a news text is a trace of power, recording the identity of actors or interests competing to dominate it in dominating the text (Entman, 1993).

The local online media Lintas7.net, in providing recommendations or news conclusions, must be given a moral reason as the reason. Storey (2018: 189) media in the postmodern era does not provide a 'secondary representation' of reality; but affect and produce the reality which they mediate or reproduce themselves. Local online media Lintas7.net voter audiences were led in their opinion that Indrata Nur Bayuaji being similar to Indartato would benefit electability.

Online media must be returned to its function as a filter for information published in the public space. The need for multicultural education, especially media journalists to be able to choose texts that are free from identity so that the spirit of diversity framed by journalists in local online media discourse in local elections does not cause polarization of electoral contestation. Local online media has become a pioneer in multicultural education in the next election to improve the quality of democracy by electing leaders who have the qualities of regional leaders.

### **Multicultural Education as a Paradigm of Preventing Identity Politics**

Multicultural education must be carried out to prevent the use of individual or group identities for framing purposes or framing certain candidates only for electoral purposes. Even though in essence every human being will always be attached to self-identity, at least they can control the use of identity for very broad interests, namely realizing Pancasila Democracy for the welfare of the people.

Multicultural education is needed, especially for all citizens, both through school institutions, community organizations, outreach, non-formal institutions, and other institutions. The goal is to increase the spirit of diversity among citizens so that the use of identity, especially during electoral contests such as regional head elections, is not the choice of political parties or candidates. This will make democracy better so that after the election the community is not polarized into groups. Make democracy of the people, by the people, and for the people, not for certain groups.

The media must be a pioneer in order to control the pillars of democracy, namely the executive, judiciary, and legislature to work together to create a more dignified Pancasila democracy. Local online media as one of the pillars of democracy in the regions must be able to act as guardians of actual and factual information to protect the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia by continuing to contribute to the welfare of the people. This needs to be instilled in multicultural education since school so that it can become a useful message maker for society, by spreading the spirit of diversity for the people's welfare.

### **CONCLUSION**

The identity politicization chosen by the local online media with the prominence of the text as follows; SBY's brother, Nahdatul Ulama, Gagarin, a member of Nahdatul Ulama, the struggle of inspirational scholars to build Pacitan, SBY's founding father of the Democratic Party, Indrata Nur Bayuaji, similar to Indartato 2020, to increase the electability and popularity of candidates, to win

the Pacitan regional election. Online media in perceiving the reality of candidates with a point of view that is influenced by political factors and closeness to candidates. The need for multicultural education in accepting diversity to provide useful information for the electorate of qualified candidates. Multicultural education will restore the function and role of the media as gatekeepers by providing useful information for development progress in the regions to protect the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Diversity will further strengthen the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, don't use it in electoral political contestation which will leave residue in the form of polarization in society.

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