Propaganda in the Gubernatorial Candidate in East Kalimantan Published in Online News Portal

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Abstract
Propaganda can be identified using basic kinds of propaganda and seven techniques to present propaganda. White, Black, Agitation, Integration, Disinformation, Bureaucratic, Counterpropaganda, Hate, and Deed is the most useful categorization of propaganda according to Cunningham which is includes in nine basic categories of propaganda. The focus of this study is to analyze context and techniques of propaganda used in Online News Portal of East Kalimantan. The analysis of the content and techniques of propaganda obtained from the news articles in Online News Portal is therefore to explore how a certain message is described. The result show that present message in the propaganda, propagandist in in Online News Portal used seven techniques: (1) name calling, (2) glittering generalities, (3) transfer, (4) testimonial, (5) plain folks, (6) bandwagon, and (7) card stacking.

Keywords: propaganda, propagandist

1. INTRODUCTION

Mass communication is a process whereby mass-produced messages are transmitted to large, anonymous, and heterogeneous masses of receivers. The type of mass communications has been developed so rapidly from only the personal need of the people into the mutual need of almost everyone, where certain news or issues are not belonging to the certain people from restricted area, but they could be shared with almost everyone in this world. For instance, in the year of 1930's, War World I was not something very significant to be considered by the people in remote Africa or other remote areas, but nowadays, a new baby born of an endangered bear could be the news that everyone in the world knows about (Baran, 2002).

The development of mass communication is not running by itself, but it cannot be separated from the development of mass media nowadays. The mass media as the cutting edge of mass communication, takes place and settles its roles as a tool to transmit the information not only needed by any particular person, but also news which has nothing to do with their receivers. The number of the receivers of is numerous and unpredictable so that we need to scrutinize which receivers go to which

media. In this case audio-visual media represented by television and visual media represented by broadsheet or famous as magazine are dominant (Black & Whitney, 2012).

Considering that dominant and important role of mass media today, the researcher is interested in exploring more on the strategy and style of language being used in mass media. The context of publication is governor election in Kaltim. From the publication model, the researcher wants to know what the techniques of propaganda used in the Online News Portal of East Kalimantan.

In addition, writing in the mass media involves some risk. We can never be certain that we will be successful in our writing. Stovall (1994:1) admits ideas carry a society forward. The ideas of freedom, independence, individualism, religion and social order first existed in the minds of men and women but are crystallized for us by great researchers. The written word is one of the most powerful forces available to humans. It has the ability to carry ideas and information, to entertain and distract, and to change the lives of individuals and nations. Much about writing for the mass media revolves around style. This style is not that of a particular researcher, but rather the conventions or assumptions underlying the writing and the generally accepted rules of writing and usage for a particular medium.

The style of writing in the media is accuracy, brevity, and clarity. Accuracy refers to what is getting it right. The editor should make every reasonable attempt to ensure that everything in the writing is factually correct and that the language and style the editor uses correctly present that information. Brevity is the soul of wit.

The focus of this study is therefore to analyze context and techniques of propaganda used in the media that is Online News Portal of East Kalimantan. Online News Portal of East Kalimantan. is therefore to explore how a certain message is described.

Basically, propaganda can be identified using basic kinds of propaganda and seven techniques to present propaganda. Basic categories of propaganda: Agitation, Integration, White, Black, Disinformation, Bureaucratic, Counterpropaganda, Hate, and Deed. In addition, to present message in the propaganda, propagandist can use one of seven techniques: (1) name calling, (2) glittering generalities, (3) transfer, (4) testimonial, (5) plain folks, (6) bandwagon, and (7) card stacking.

When presenting propaganda more than one technique may be employed. The basic kind of propaganda also indicates to use more than one kind of propaganda. Governor election in Kaltim represents a national election because Kaltim as the capital city of Indonesia is a barometer of general election. This context indicates that kinds of propaganda and techniques to persuade people to follow a candidate are very crucial. Specifically, this study analyzes kinds of presenting messages in propaganda for the governor election in Kaltim. The source of propaganda is obtained from the Online News Portal of East Kalimantan. First, kinds of propaganda show how arguments are staged in a piece of writing for publication. Argument in the context of propaganda is the basic techniques of developing ideas in writing. Second, English language is the major of study the researcher is now developing. Having a study in English supports the

knowledge and skills of the language proficiency. In addition, teaching English language is now more relied on linguistic competence that puts emphasis on discourse analysis competence. Analysis on newspaper content more focuses on the teaching of discourse analysis and how a language is implemented in the broader context for communication in the society.

2. METHODS

A qualitative method used in this study. Qualitative research involves exploring problems in which researchers do not know the variables. Qualitative research is conducted to describe and understand social episodes from the stance of participants (Leedy & Ormond, 2001). The goal is to produce oral and symbolic data that represent the social milieu (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2007). In qualitative research, data are collected using broad questions to learn from the informants, in verbal and pictorial form, and from a limited quantity of participants or situation (Cresswell, 2005). In qualitative investigations findings are generalized by recognizing other comparable cases (Gall, Gall & Borg, 2007).

Definitely, this study applied content analysis design with qualitative approach. Content analysis refers to a study that focuses on document and characteristics of texts (Holsti, 1964). Content analysis is a search technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their Context. As a research technique, content analysis involves specialized procedures for processing scientific data. Its purpose is to provide knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts, and a practical guide to action. Content analysis could be characterized as a method of inquiry into symbolic meaning of messages (Krippendorff, 1980:21-22).

This study focused on analyzing news articles from Online News Portal of East Kalimantan. The target of content analysis is what the researcher wanted to know about available context. Since the content analysis provides various knowledge, information about something not directly observed, the context is available in the context of available data. The task is to make inferences from data to certain aspects of their context and justify these inferences based on the context. The data are recognized as symbolic or informative concerns (Krippendorff, 1980:27).

The study focused on 20 data of news articles from Online News Portal of East Kalimantan. The articles were written in Indonesia collected from 1 January until 30 March publication. The focus is to examine the kinds of propaganda and techniques of propaganda used in the articles.

3. RESULTS
3.1. Kinds of Propaganda

This section is devoted to answer the first research question: "What kinds of propaganda are used in the news article of Online News Portal?". Criteria to evaluate kinds of propaganda follows models from Institute of Propaganda in America. There are nine basic kinds of propaganda: Agitation, Integration, White, Black, Disinformation, Bureaucratic, Counterpropaganda, Hate, and Deed.

3.1.1. Agitation propaganda

Agitation propaganda refers a form of propaganda that calls attention to a social or political problem. Agitation propaganda uses a variety of emotional messages to generate outrage, fear or anger.

"The second candidate said that they will give 1 billion for each village in order to increase the level of society" (https://pilkada.tempo.co Monday, March 5 2018 09:39 WIB)

In other side, all candidates use money politic in form of alms which is indicate that they used agitation propaganda refers a form of propaganda that calls attention to a social or political problem.

3.1.2. Integration propaganda

Integration propaganda is a form of propaganda that calls for unity to a cause or group. Integration propaganda calls for people to join a movement.

"All candidate calling for peaceful elections with sign declaration against money politics and SARA" (sumber : prokal.co, samarinda.)

3.1.3. White propaganda

White propaganda shows propaganda that uses facts and truthful messages in a persuasive manner. Although is relies on truth, it is presented in a biased manner. In White Propaganda ,Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat uses.

"The candidate Meet Traders at the Segiri Market on Campaign Day" (Friday, February 16 2018 17:13 This article has been published on tribunkaltim.co with the title Meet Traders in the Segiri Market on Campaign Day, This Is Rusmadi's, http://kaltim.tribunnews.com/2018/02/16/temuka-para-pedagang-di-pasar -isegiri-in-this-day-campaign-do-rusmadi..

3.1.4. Black Propagandas

Black propaganda is false information and material that purports to be from a source on one side of a conflict, but is actually from the opposing side. It is typically used to vilify, embarrass, or misrepresent the enemy. Black propaganda contrasts with grey propaganda, the source of which is not identified, and white propaganda, in which the real source is declared and usually more accurate information is given, albeit slanted, distorted and omissive. Black propaganda is covert in nature in that its aims, identity, significance, and sources are hidden.

The major characteristic of black propaganda is that the people are not aware that someone is influencing them, and do not feel that they are being pushed in a certain direction. Black propaganda purports to emanate from a source other than the true source. This type of propaganda is associated with covert psychological

operations. Sometimes the source is concealed or credited to a false authority and spreads lies, fabrications, and deceptions. Black propaganda is the "big lie", including all types of creative deceit. Black propaganda relies on the willingness of the receiver to accept the credibility of the source. If the creators or senders of the black propaganda message do not adequately understand their indeed audience, the message may be misunderstood, seem suspicious, or fail altogether.

> *"Awang Faroek Mentioned the No.3 Posture Cheat, Cheating Data Doesn't Want To Be Opened by East Kalimantan Regional Police" (July 2, 2018 https://insitekaltim.com/awang-faroek-menyebutkan-paslon-no-3-curang-data-kecurangan-tidak-mau-dibukapilgub-kaltim)*

3.1.5. Disinformation
Disinformation refers to information that is intentionally designed to be misleading. Disinformation is designed to propagate rumors and assumptions.

> *"The third candidate asked for first candidate about oil leak in Balikpapan. He said that the mayor doesn't just keep quiet. " (sumber : prokal.co, samarinda.)*

> *"East Kalimantan Deputy Governor candidate from the PDIP party Safaruddin again made his statement if Samarinda was not habitable. (https://www.kaltimnews.co/pilkada/2018/03/22/lagi-safaruddin-sebut-samarinda-tak-layak-huni.html)*

3.1.6. Bureaucratic propaganda
Bureaucratic propaganda is the use of reports and statistics to convey a point of view. Bureaucratic propaganda masks itself as legitimate scientific findings. In Bureaucratic Propaganda the use of reports and statistics to convey a point of view is emphasized. In counterpropaganda Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat nullified or reversed an opponent's propaganda message that provides feedback to the original propagandist.

> *"Sofyan Hasdam Questioned the Mining Permit in the City"(This article has aired on tribunkaltim.co with the title Sofyan Hasdam Question about Mining Permit in the City, http://kaltim.tribunnews.com/2018/04/25/sofyan-hasdam-pertanggaran-soal-izin-pertambangan-dalam-kota .)*

3.1.7. Counterpropaganda
Counter propaganda is designed to nullify or reverse an opponent's propaganda message. Counterpropaganda inadvertently provides feedback to the original propagandist.

> *"About Safaruddin made his statement if Samarinda was not habitable. The*

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reason why he said that because he want make samarinda livable city"
(sumber: prokal.co, samarinda.)

3.1.8. Propaganda of the Deed

Propaganda of the Deed is symbolic acts that rely on media attention to convey the message. Deeds follow the adage "actions speak louder than words". Through the use of video and photography, Deeds transcend language barriers.

"Four Paslon Collected Invited by the Declaration on Anti Money Politics"
(This article has been published on tribunkaltim.co with the title Four Paslon
Collected Invited by the Declaration on Anti Political Money,
http://kaltim.tribunnews.com/2018/02/13/empat-paslon-collected-diajak-
deklaration-anti-politik-uang .)

Propaganda of the Deed is symbolic acts that rely on media attention to convey the message. Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat performed "actions speak louder than words" through the use of video and photography.

In general only of 8 kinds of propaganda exist in the running election. Four kinds of propaganda that are dominant include: white, bureaucratic, counter, and deed propaganda. One is so aggressive and another is a defensive candidate. The data also shows that the incumbent force to win the election as he is an incumbent originated from Kalimantan. Other performed a low profile candidate but it is powerful in the society as a symbol of change to rule Kalimantan city. Kinds of propaganda existed in the election includes

1   Agitation
2   Integration
3   White
4   Black
5   Disinformation
6   Bureaucratic
7   Counterpropaganda
8   Hate
9   Deed

During the race of governor election in Kalimantan, Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat had performed campaigns that indicated unfairness because performed black propaganda to achieve more voters that clearly presented in quote no.3 and 4 that notified using ethnic, race and religion and also address or to blame ethnicity to vice governor candidate. The techniques of campaigns intentionally involved emotional, fear, ethnicity, religion and labels that impressed Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie

Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat as an eligible candidate and destructive view on his capability such as in script number 1. Of 9 kinds of propaganda, 4 of them cited in the news article are discussed below.

In summary, kinds of propaganda used in the campaign of governor election in Kalimantan include 9 kinds: Agitation, Integration, White, Black, Disinformation, Bureaucratic, Counterpropaganda, Hate, and Deed. Of the 9 kinds of propaganda, Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail,Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat as an incumbent used all of 9 kinds of propaganda. In addition, Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail,Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat used 4 kinds of propaganda. Results of analysis also clearly shows that Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat seemed to struggle very hard to win the election. Therefore, he optimally used any kind of propaganda. In reverse, Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddin, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat as the competitor performed a defensive strategy. He evidently used propaganda as the counter strategy. All 4 kinds of propaganda Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat used indicate good strategy to convince people.

4. DISCUSSION

This study describes the use of kinds of propaganda and techniques of propaganda used in the articles of the Online News Portal. The setting of the publication in the articles is gubernatorial candidate in Kalimantan. To clarify the finding on kinds of propaganda and techniques of propaganda used in the articles of the Online News Portal, two kinds of discussion are presented.

Finding of this study identifies that there were 9 kinds of propaganda used in the articles of the Online News Portal to report political race in governor election in Kalimantan. The nine kinds of propaganda include: Agitation, Integration, White, Black, Disinformation, Bureaucratic, Counterpropaganda, Hate, and Deed. To elaborate kinds of propaganda means to see the context of political struggle. Here, the discussion opened with the identification of political perspective.

Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail,Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat as incumbent performs all kinds of propaganda to achieve more voters. Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat has showed ambition to win the election so that he used any struggle to achieve his goal. Conversely, Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat as the competitor use four kinds of propaganda to run after Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat's maneuvers. Propaganda used by Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang &

Awang Ferdian Hidayat is emphasized on counter of blame and assassination Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat delivered.

In context of politics, the use of all kinds of propaganda is logic. When candidates compete to each other, the main objective is to win the competition. In this respect, any attempt is evidently used as strategy. As used in general election, this study confirms that the use of black campaign is dominant. O'Donell & Jowett (2003) affirm that black campaign is normally used as the main strategy to beat the enemy.

This study identifies that Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat as an incumbent has used all kinds of propaganda to destruct his competitor Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail,Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat. Conversely, Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail,Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat used only four kinds of propaganda to prevent from destructive opinion from Isran Hadi-Hadi Mulyadi, Andi Sofyan Hasdam & Nusyirwan Ismail, Rusmadi & Safaruddi, Syaharie Jaang & Awang Ferdian Hidayat.

In line with study by Howel (2005), this study confirms that propaganda is the main tool to compete in politic. Propaganda also presented data, facts, manipulation, issues that all of them are relied upon the use of language in such a way to express goal. In this respect, the use of language and kinds of propaganda is closely related. The language use can be seen in campaign or in advertising to persuade or change people mind.

With respect to the study of Lee (2007), this study confirms that propaganda context is closely related to the discourse analysis and pragmatic. In discourse analysis, interpreting meaning will involve interpreting text that delivers meaning. A text such as newspaper or magazine describes how discourse analysis works. All kinds of propaganda use text so that the analysis should rely on discourse analysis.

5. CONCLUSION

In line with research questions of this study, finding of the study and discussion to the findings, conclusion is made as follows. Techniques of propaganda used for the four candidates are all seven techniques based on criteria from Institute of Propaganda in America and Fine Art of Propaganda (Lee & Lee, 1939). The techniques are: (1) name calling, (2) glittering generalities, (3) transfer, (4) testimonial, (5) plain folks, (6) bandwagon, and (7) card stacking. In line with kinds of propaganda, they performed more on labeling of negative sense against Jokowi that connotes negative sense. The use of negative, ridicule, and derogatory statements are frequent and the involvement of ethnic group, religion, culture contrast is parallel to black campaign and agitation. In reserve, Jokowi that uses white propaganda performed low profile, using glittering generalities, transfer, testimonial and bandwagon but empirically uses positive statements, facts, arguments, and logics.

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