'Re-thinking of Agenda Setting Theory'
Study case of the 2014 presidential election in Indonesia, and as impact of a new media exposure

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ABSTRACT

Agenda setting theory was experiencing the evolution since second level agenda took place in 1972 in regards to explain the understanding of political behavior during the election campaigning worldwide. Although finally it accepted to use 3 layers in agenda setting theory effects, but in the process of political communication there is always unexpected result studies shown. This study case examines the second level agenda setting theory influenced by both traditional and new/digital media exposure during the 2014 presidential election campaigning in Indonesia. It shows evidence there are some factors influenced the winning of Jokowi in the 2014 presidential election outside mass media exposure, especially the role of new media campaigning (e-political marketing). Also, compare to similar previous studies in some different countries to enrich the evidence, to criticize the existing theory of agenda setting effect which is has been accepted widely. Finally, the findings recommend to 're-thinking' about the second level of agenda setting theory to explain a way of demonstrating the effects of news content among traditional mass media by provide evidence the attributes to shape opinions and then change the political behavior during the campaigning period among society. While second level agenda setting is relatively still new, evolving in 1997, it has enrich as well as strengthen the result studies in which offers support the understanding of mass media effect into political behavior.

Keywords: Agenda setting theory, second level, traditional media, new media and political communication.

INTRODUCTION

Since Indonesia have been independence in 68 years ago, only members of the political and military elite was elected to be a president. Jokowi is the first leader from outside the two groups were chosen as the number one in Indonesia. During the election campaigning both two candidates used different strategies to win the presidential election. If Prabowo more concern to e-media campaign, otherwise Jokowi used conventional strategy. Two presidential candidates have experienced a lot negative campaigns as much as black campaigns against each other. Yet, one of the candidates, Prabowo, could deal with the problem most effectively due to the use of online interactive political campaigns, increasing his electability as a result. So, his chance to win the presidential election became much closer to Jokowi's votes by a 6 percent difference, compared with a much bigger different at the start. According to the survey of independence Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI), a leading public opinion research institute in Indonesia, in September 2013 Prabowo's electability only 11.10 percent

compared to Jokowi with 50.30 percent. But, in June 2014, Prabowo's electability increased dramatically to 38.7 percent, while Jokowi reduced to only 45.0 percent (Putra, 2014). Similarly, other reported Prabowo's electability was still 28.3 percent and Jokowi's electability was 54.3 percent in March 2014. Finally, the real account as results on the 2014 presidential election was Prabowo reach votes 46.85 percent, and Jokowi won the election with votes of 53.15 percent.

Interestingly, the team of Jokowi actually reported as poor in campaigning strategy compare to the Prabowo's team, in both traditional and new media campaign strategies. Related to online political campaigns, it is believed that new media or new communication technology, such as the internet, assist the development of political participation in the democratization process. The internet is a relatively new arrival on the political campaigning landscape. Some scientists argue that the internet is an important tool for democracy as it increases the participation of the ordinary people or citizens (Jackson 2007; Rohlinger & Brown 2009). The use of digital technology as the new method in political campaign strategies has more advantages than the use of traditional mass media such as newspaper, radio and television. Moreover, the coming of the web 2.0 and higher, has led to more interaction in two-way communication between candidates and participants, such as by providing public debate. Citizens can search for various information about all candidates through the internet, and express their opinions freely without limited space (Wayansari 2011, p.25). Regarding the infancy of Web 2.0, Getting (2007) defines it as the 'read-write' web, which is a response to demands by web users that they be more involved in what information is available to them. This type is different from the previous generation (Web 1.0) which according to Berners-Lee (citied in Naik and Shivalingaiah 2008, p.500), 'could be considered the "read-only web", as it only enabled users to search for information and read it, but very little in the way of user interaction or content contribution'.

Some studies have shown that the level of democracy has increased in some countries as a result of stimulating internet use. The use of the internet for election campaigning among the political parties (mainly websites) in developing democracy countries has been shown to confer benefits over conventional media usage (Lees-Marsment, Stromback and Rudd 2010, p.178). According to Hill (2003, p.525) 'the internet usage in political parties has become a useful tool in campaigning and organizing'. Some parties have succeeded with use of the tool, while others have failed. With the worldwide penetration of the internet, there has been growing interest in its role as a communication channel during election campaigns and the overall democratisation process. Every communication technology has the potential to assist democratization and the political participation of the population. According to Kellner (2001, p.1 cited in Wayansari 2011, p.1),

> *The internet has produced new public spheres and spaces for information, debate, and participation that contain the potential to reinvigorate democracy and to increase the dissemination of critical and progressive ideas.*

Meanwhile, traditional mass media are still very strong at influencing the public during the election period. Especially for the grass roots society, people who mostly live in rural areas, who lack of internet access and human skill to operate digital media or gadgets. The low education level and socio-economic factors are also other reasons to answer why Indonesian society could called as 'mass media society' nowadays.

Relating to discussion why Jokowi won the election although he had poor campaigns through new media both implemented by PDIP as his background political party, and himself as a presidential candidate. This paper will discuss some strong factors, except the official digital media, have success to Jokowi drove up to the chair of President Indonesia. Firstly, a factor of the power of mass media was success to set out public agenda until impact on political behavior among grass root society. Secondly, the role of modern Islamic Party, PKB, which was success to cope the bad impact of Jokowi's black campaign both through the internet and traditional media as well. Thirdly, another important role of a Muslim women, Khofifah, who have been to be a strong role model among all Muslim women in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), as the biggest Islam organization in Indonesia. Lastly, some informal e-media campaigns which were organized by volunteers also considered to be a strong factor too.

1. Theoretical framework: Evolution of Agenda Setting Theory (AST) in Mass Communication

The process of political life in democratic countries is always connected with political thought and talk, and political action between government, political parties, politicians, and society. The strong connection between communication and politics is revealed by examining the development of media; and a key channel of political communication in modern society is the mass media. It is important to understand how mass media influence people's behaviour, especially to shape public opinion, during the short-term period of campaigning before general elections. Some theories of influence by mass media during the campaigning period are discussed below.

2.1 Evolution of Agenda Setting Theory (AST)

Agenda-setting theory was introduced in 1972 in *Public Opinion Quarterly* by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, developed as a study on the 1968 presidential election knows as the 'Chapel Hill Study' in North Carolina, US. McCombs and Shaw content analyzed the media coverage of the election in order to identify the five main issues and the amount of news coverage given each (then called the media agenda), which they compared with a personal interview survey of 100 undecided voters, who were asked which issues they felt were most important (this was called the public agenda). The researchers argued the agenda-setting function of the mass media sets the public agenda by telling audience members what to think about, although not exactly what to think (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). This meant the mass media strongly influenced almost all issues which were considered important by the public, because anything that was considered a priority by the media tended to become a priority also for the public. This theory states:

> *In choosing and displaying news, editor, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue by also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. In reflecting what candidates are saying during a campaign, the mass media may well determine the important issues -- that is, the media may set the "agenda" of the campaign (McCombs, 2003).*

At the time, the mass media constituted a one-way communication model with newspapers, radio, television, and film pushing content onto the audience. Now we live in an age where media mostly exist in a two-way communication model and have

unlimited sources for content. The internet dramatically changed the communication model from traditional media to new media, with many agendas capable of being represented by large segments of society. Consequently, McCombs has since predicted 'the end of agenda setting as audiences fragment and virtually have a unique external media agenda, that is a highly individualized composite constructed from online news. The result of these idiosyncratic personal agendas will be a public agenda characterized by considerable diversity and scattering of public attention' (McCombs 2006, p.544). The theory has been expanded to include Second Level Agenda Setting (Davie, 2011). The general model of the agenda-setting process is formulated as the sequence below:

Media agenda $\longrightarrow$ Public agenda $\longrightarrow$ Policy agenda
(Level 1st)   *(Level 2nd)*   *(Level 3rd)*
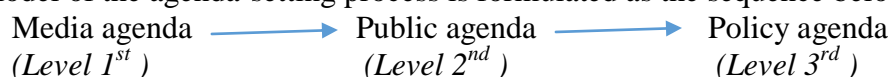
Basic assumptions of AST
This theory explains the creation of 'public awareness and concern of salient issues by the news media', especially:
1) The press and media do not just reflect reality, they also filter and shape it.
2) Media concentration on a few issues and subjects tends to lead the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987).

Iyengar and Kinder argue 'agenda setting arises through a cognitive process known as "accessibility", which implies that the more frequently and prominently the news media covers an issue, the more that issue becomes accessible in the audience's memory' (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987).

The first and second level of AST
According to Rogers & Dearing (1988), there are 'three types of agenda setting:
(1) Media agenda setting focuses on the influence of the mass media on the audience;
(2) Public agenda setting focuses on the audience's agenda; and
(3) Policy agenda setting, which has been mostly ignored, deals with how media and public agendas might influence the decisions of elite policy makers'.

They further explain 'at the level of attention, agendas usually delineate by a set of objects, which have attributes, a variety of physiognomies and behaviors that label them'. Both traditional agenda-setting effects and attribute agenda-setting effects comprise the transfer of salience. The central scheme for these stages is known as the first and second levels of agenda setting, starting at the media agenda stage, then proceeding to become the public agenda. McCombs (2006, p.546) asserts: 'The media not only can be successful in telling us *what to think about*, they also can be successful in telling us *how to think about it*. And attribute agenda setting links the theory with framing'.

The first level of agenda setting deals with the transfer of object salience from the media to the public agenda, whereas the second level of agenda setting involves two major hypotheses about attribute salience:
1. The way an issue or other object is covered in the media (the attributes emphasized in the news) affects the way the public thinks about that object.
2. The way an issue or other object is covered in the media (the attributes emphasized in the news) affects the salience of that object on the public agenda (Shaw, McCombs, and Weaver 2013, p.19).

Figure1 The level of Agenda Setting Theory

Media Agenda   **Public Agenda**

First Level   Objects ⟶ Objects
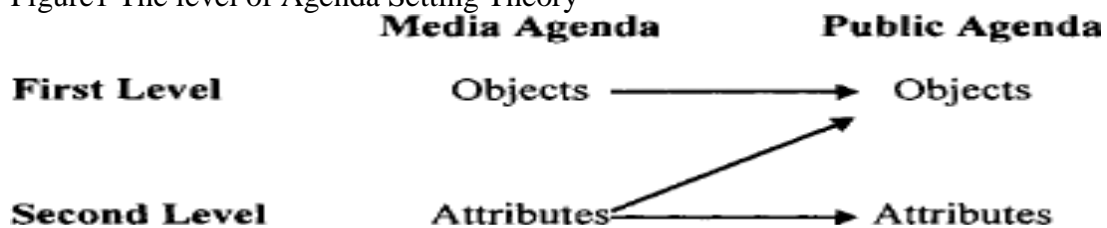
Second Level   Attributes ⟶ Attributes

Figure1 shows the difference between the two levels of agenda setting and also illustrates the two hypotheses about second-level agenda-setting effects. For both the first and second levels of agenda setting, the independent and dependent variables are the same: There is a media agenda and a public agenda. The theoretical difference between the two levels is in the details of the way that the variables are conceptualized and operationalized.

For first-level agenda setting, the independent variable is considered in terms of objects, the topics or issues discussed on the media agenda. For the second level, the media agenda (the same independent variable as at the first level) is considered in terms of attributes or perspectives. The dependent variable for both levels of agenda setting still remains the public agenda. However, in the case of the first level, the public agenda is operationalized in terms of issue or topic salience, whereas at the second level the salience of the attributes of the issue or topic are measured (Shaw, McCombs, and Weaver 2013, p.20).

These two levels of agenda-setting effects are represented by the two horizontal arrows in Fig. 2.1. The top arrow illustrates the influence of issue or topic salience. This is the original agenda-setting hypothesis. The bottom arrow illustrates the influence of attribute salience on how people think about an object on the agenda. This is the initial second-level agenda-setting hypothesis stated earlier. The diagonal arrow represents the second hypothesis stated earlier, the influence of particular attributes or perspectives in news coverage on the salience of an issue or topic on the public agenda. Some of the attributes of an object presented in the media can have striking influence on the salience of that object on the public agenda. This influence of attributes or frames from the second level of the media agenda on the salience of objects on the first level of the public agenda defines "compelling arguments" in the media message (McCombs, 1996).

The agenda of objects and the agenda of attributes can be looked at as two concentric circles with the agenda of issues being the outer circle and the agenda of attributes embedded within that circle. Kosicki (1993) referred to agenda setting as the "shell of the topic." The shell of the topic can be compared to the issues or other objects examined, whereas the attributes are an exploration of what is inside the shell.

During the 1976 US presidential election, Weaver, Graber, McCombs, and Eyal (1981) conducted a nine-wave panel study that looked at the agenda of attributes in the descriptions of presidential candidates in the news and the agenda of attributes in voters' descriptions of the candidates. A strong cross-lagged correlation was found between the media agenda and the public agenda. Becker and McCombs (1978) looked at the 1976 presidential primaries and found considerable correspondence between the agenda of attributes in *Newsweek* and the agenda of attributes in New York Democrats' descriptions of the contenders. Outside the setting of presidential elections, Benton and Frazier (1976) examined the issue of the economy at three levels of information

holding. Level 1 included general issue names, the economy in this case; Level 2 consisted of sub issues, including problems, causes, and solutions; and Level 3 contained more specific information about the sub issues. Significant correspondence between the media and the public agenda was found. Iyengar and Simon's (1993) research on the coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis provides another example that illustrates the difference between levels of agenda-setting. When respondents state that the Gulf crisis is the most important problem facing the nation, we are dealing with the first level. When respondents describe the crisis in terms of military or diplomatic options, we are dealing with the second level. Many researchers, including Iyengar and Simon (1993), have described the difference between the first and second levels of agenda setting by labelling the attributes *frames*. The second level of agenda setting relates to the examination of media frames which would impact on news frames in the public agenda.

According to Gitlin (1980), "Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse" (p. 7). Goffman (1974) referred to frames as strips that are the principles of organization that form the definition of a situation. Indeed, Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, and Ghanem (1991) described a media frame as "the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration" (p. 3). A story angle or story line "which transforms an occurrence into a news event, and that, in turn, into a news report, is a frame" (Mendelsohn, 1993, p.150). The essence of news judgment, according to Tiffen (1989), are story frames or angles. Framing is defined in cognitive psychology "as the function that specifies the relations that hold among the arguments comprising a particular conceptual bundle at a particular level of abstraction" (Friedman, 1979, p. 321). How options are framed affects decision making. Studies have shown that the wording of examples leads people to choose differently (Machina, 1990). If a situation is presented to a person in terms of losses, the decision is very different than if it is presented to that person in terms of gains (Elster, 1990). The perception of problems and evaluation of probabilities produce predictable shifts of preference depending on how the problem is framed (Tversky &Kahneman, 1981,1990). Social scientists have long discussed the importance of word choice in survey questionnaires. For example, Fine (1992) conducted a study on the impact of issue framing on public opinion toward affirmative action programs. He concluded that the way questions are framed affects how people perceive issues. The same logic can be applied to the coverage of issues in the media: Depending on how an issue is presented or framed in the media, the public will think about that issue in a particular way. Media coverage of issues in the media has been linked to public opinion where the salience of issues in the media agenda leads to the salience of issues in the public agenda. How the media covers an issue, argue researchers, also can have a cognitive influence on how the public thinks about the issue. This transference of the salience of attributes is the core of the second level of agenda setting.

The way to understand the concept of framing is to examine other theories and concepts in the field of communication, including agenda setting, schema, priming, bias, indexing, and cultivation concepts. Agenda setting looks on story selection as a determinant of public perceptions of issue importance and, indirectly through priming, evaluations of political leaders. Framing focuses not on which topics or issues are selected for coverage by the news media, but instead on the particular ways those issues

are presented, on the ways public problems are formulated for the media audience. Wanta, Williams, and Hu (1991) regarded story frames as contingent conditions in the agenda-setting process. They examined the agenda-setting effect of international stories and observed that some types of international story frames have a stronger agenda-setting impact on the public than others. Patterson (1993a) also made the distinction between agenda setting and framing and said every news story has a theme or a frame that functions as the central organizing idea, but the topic is the summary label of the domain of social experiences covered by a story.

Another way to look at the relationship between agenda setting and framing is that traditional agenda setting suggests that the media tell us what to think about, and framing deals with the issue of the media telling us how to think about an issue. Framing "shares with agenda-setting research a focus on the public policy issues in the news and in voters' minds. However, it expands beyond what people talk or think about by examining how they think and talk " (Patterson, 1993b, p.70). Basically, the first level of agenda setting deals with the selection of issues by the news media and its impact on the public agenda. Framing deals with the selection of elements within a particular issue. The second level of agenda setting deals with the influence of the particular elements of an issue on the public's agenda of attributes.

Framing mechanisms for agenda setting effects

The second thing that needs to be considered when examining media frames deals with the emphasis given to topics in the media, such as placement and size, as well as other elements that influence the prominence of a news item. Photographs, pull quotes, subheads, and so on, all serve to give a story in a newspaper more prominence. This aspect of salience needs to be examined when we are looking at the relationship between the salience of items on the media agenda and the salience of those items on the public agenda. Tankard et al. (1991) referred to these focal points of news presentations and labeled them "framing mechanisms" (p. 15).

Figure 2 Framing Mechanism of AST

Media Agenda   **Public Agenda**

First Level   Objects ⟶ Objects

Second Level   Attributes ⟶ Attributes
1. Subtopics
2. Framing Mechanisms
3. Affective Elements
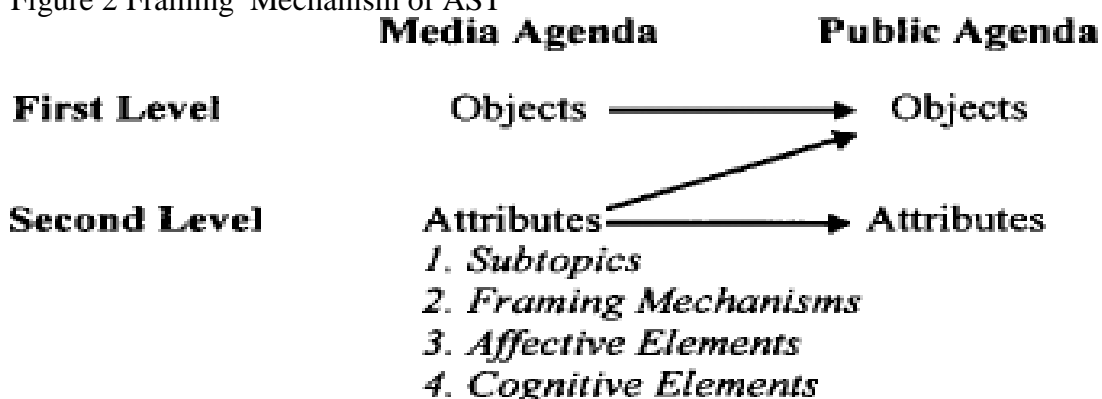*4. Cognitive Elements*

Fig 2. Illustrates agenda attributes: four dimensions of framing. Agenda-setting studies have focused on how frequently an issue is mentioned in the media. The frequency with which a topic is mentioned probably has a more powerful influence than any particular framing mechanism, but framing mechanisms could serve as catalysts to frequency in terms of agenda setting.

Psychology of Agenda-setting Effects

Research into agenda setting emphasizes measuring the effects of media consumption on public opinion. Media agenda may not only influence opinions, but

also affect the behavior of the audience. According to McCombs (2005, p.548) agenda setting concentrates on what audiences absorb from mass media, and this knowledge is facilitated by individual differences, especially in relating to specific mass media messages as well as in the degree of interest in specific details. Yet, Walgrave, Soroka & Nuytemans (2008, p. 827) conclude that 'most political agenda-setting studies -- the impact of the media upon political actors -- at least implicitly claim that media coverage mechanically leads to political attention. Political actors adopt media issues simply because they are covered'.

When examining agenda setting and the media's influence on an audience, one has to consider the audience's predisposition to certain beliefs. The media's coverage of events and issues interacts with the audience's varied pre-existing sensitivities to produce changes in issues concerns. This means that an audience that is already highly sensitive to an issue will be most affected by an issue that is given increased news exposure while the same issue may have a limited effect on other groups. Another element that causes variations in the audience effects is the correlation between the public agenda and the media agenda, and whether the issue is obtrusive or unobtrusive (Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006). In another words, media could influence the "agenda" campaign. In terms of a political campaign, this theory assumes that if the voters are convinced by the importance of an issue, then they will choose the candidate or party that is projected as being the most competent in dealing with that issue.

Affective dimension

According to McCombs (1992) and Patterson (1993b), this dimension examines the affective aspect of the news. The affective dimension deals with the public's emotional response that may result from media coverage. One of the ways that the media exerts this affective response is through the narrative structure of the news. Koch (1990) went as far as to equate framing with the narrative itself. The way a news story is structured focuses and thus limits the causes and outcomes of the issue (Schulman, 1990). Schudson (1982) argued that the power of the media lies in the forms in which declarations appear. The narrative is the link among the components of who, what, where, why, how, and when (Bennett & Edelman, 1985) that form the content of the message. Here we are looking at the journalist as story teller (Barkin, 1984).

For example, Donohew (1983) suggested that narrative or chronologically ordered stories tend to produce significantly greater physiological arousal for readers than the traditional summary style. Two other elements that may cause concern among the public are based on news values. Proximity and human interest are possible news values that might make a reader or a viewer identify more closely with what is being reported. Such news values are a cultural as well as an institutional product (Hall, 1981). Price and Tewksbury (1995) argued that news values help determine which angles to take in writing the news and which details need to be emphasized.

According to Elliott (1988), in a study of the hijacking of an airline, political causes of the hijackers are too complex to cover and thus the media focus on human elements of the story by focusing on friends and families of hostages. Not only are the political causes too complex, but the human element can easily become the focus of a story with a beginning, middle, and end. The human element in much of the coverage is akin to the tendency of the media to personalize stories in the press: "Happenings (or fantasies) involving individual persons stand a high chance of becoming news stories" (Fowler, 1991, p. 91). According to Hall (1981), the personalization of the news isolates

the person from relevant social and institutional context. Bringing a story to such a personal level might help the reader identify with the happenings in the story and thus feel more concern for what is going on.

Cognitive Dimension

This dimension deals with general cognitive categories that might shed light on whether the media and the audience are thinking about the problem in the same way. Cognitive categories could move us from topical categories by identifying meaning in topics regardless of what the topic is. Edelstein, Ito, and Kepplinger (1989) came up with the *problematic situation,* which could address the issue of generalizable frames. Although they did not use the term *framing,* their concept is very much applicable to framing. Edelstein (1993) argued that the problematic situation sheds light on meaning equivalence between the media and the audience. For example, if the media present news about a condition of conflict and the audience also perceives conflict, then both the media and the audience are in accord. Edelstein et al. (1989) conducted a comparative cultural study in the United States, Germany, Japan, and Hong Kong. Using the problematic situation as a conceptual tool for their comparison, they focused on two major elements of their theory, which are the problem and the steps taken to address the problem. Hendrickson (1995) also used general categories and examined the coverage of child maltreatment using an ecological framework. This framework consists of five dimensions: the individual, the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, and the macrosystem. The similarity between the ecological framework and the problematic situation is the distinction the researchers make on whether the problem is identified from the individual or the social perspective. The ecological framework is more detailed than the problematic situation. Iyengar (1991) used the general categories of thematic and episodic frames to examine news coverage. The episodic news frame focuses on specific events or cases, whereas the thematic frame places the issue in some general context. Similar to the thematic and episodic frames are Yagade and Dozier's (1990) division of coverage into abstract or concrete categories. They equated concrete issues with visual and easy to understand issues.

Focusing on causes and solutions, Klandermans and Sidney (1988) examined social movements and argued that a social movement has an ideology that contains a diagnosis (causes and agents responsible), a prognosis (what must be done), and a rationale (who must do the job and arguments that action needs to be taken). According to Rucinski (1992), the social construction of reality deals with attributions of causes and solutions. Maher (1995) looked at the causes of a pollution problem in Austin, Texas. He examined the causes mentioned in the local newspaper and found a perfect correspondence with the perception of the causes held by the public. A study by Ghanem (1996) examined operational definitions for all four dimensions—subtopics, framing mechanisms, affective elements, and cognitive elements—for media coverage of crime. She found correspondence between the four dimensions and public concern about crime.

This paper examines the existing of second level agenda setting effect to shape people's perception, opinion and then change political behaviour into political participation for democracy development purpose.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This research used a set of qualitative methods. Qualitative study is used for interpretation of critical social cases, with cultural meaning as natural flow of social life. In this research, the object was political parties and their campaign strategies in the 2014 Indonesian presidential election, especially the use of e-campaigning. This qualitative method consists of:

(1) In-depth interviews.

Analysing social reality can be include observational analysis or depth interviewing into a symbolic reality such as text (Merten, 1996, cited in Gunter, 2000, p.58). In-depth interviews were engaged as a research instrument for this study. By interviewing some prominent politicians and presidential candidates and/or their advisors, the aim is to investigate all various types of campaign strategies used by political parties and their legislative/presidential candidates during the campaign period. Relating to campaign strategy through the internet (e-political campaign), it is important to explore meanings behind reality before starting to analyse their e-campaign strategy.

(2) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

It is important to analyse the language used in both traditional mass media and new media to help us to understand media's linguistic conventions and how they interact with each other. This kind of analysis is also important in the context of understanding how effectively voters are likely to be able to learn from the messages/content news of political communication campaigns. 'Content analysis is a secondary instrument for recording social reality when used in tandem with interviewing or observational analysis' (Gunter, 2000, p.58). Thus, a model can be created in which we begin with social reality, then transfer to further thorough (interpretation/critical thinking) content analysis and convert it into a set of data (Merten, 1996). In this research there are some explanations remains critical analysis to just analyse the news content that had been published in traditional mass media and further new media version as well as in the candidates/parties's social media.

The method in this research is to analyse discourse in the texts by using the model of Norman Fairclough (1995), who used text analysis, interviews, and literature search. This study uses a model that attempted to link the micro-level analysis of the text with the larger social context. The third stage of the analysis phase combines all of the above, critically analysing language, linking the text with socio-cultural context, and conducting in-depth interviews with the editors and newsroom (cited in Eriyanto 2009).

Level of analysis	Analysis methods
Texts	*Critical linguistics*
Discourse Practice	In-depth interview's *newsroom*
Socio-cultural practice	Literature search

Source: Fairclough 1995b (cited in Eriyanto 2009)

- *Texts* here are linguistically analysed by looking at vocabulary, semantics and syntax, including cohesiveness and coherence. The various elements used are analysed to reveal three conditions, namely ideational, relationships and identity.
- *Discourse practice* means that dimension is related to the production of texts, pictures and audio visual content in websites/social media.

- *Socio-cultural practice* is the dimension related to context outside the texts. This context can include many things, such as the contexts of situation, institutional practices or political parties, and the mass media themselves in relation to society and the culture of a particular political system.

Fairclough (1995b) argues that every single text can be analysed based on three basic elements: representation, relation, and identity. They are three levels of analysis as a gradual process in the stage of s*ocio-cultural practice*:

- *Firstly*, situational or social context which includes how texts are produced.
- *Secondly*, institutional which includes the influence of institutions or political parties, leading to the production of discourse.
- *Lastly* social, the social factors that greatly influence the discourse in the news or campaigns, since what appears in the media discourse is determined by changes in the level of social communities. For example, how media discourse can impact on individual knowledge and change to people power as the committed voters of candidates.

While the units of analysis in this research are:

1. Texts (including audio and visual or pictorial) in the websites and social media of the political parties, in which consist of headline/title, body, and others related the news article.
2. Ideologies of news (of every kind of political party).

Ideology is a basic belief held by a group and internalized by all members of the group (Van Dijk 2000). Max, cited in Van Dijk (2000) defines ideology as a worldview developed by the interests of a particular social group or class in the political, social and economic fields, while Hodge and Kress (1979, p.6) argue that ideology is a form of systematic ideas formed through a particular view.

Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for CDA consists of three inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. These three dimensions are:

1. The object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts).
2. The processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects.
3. The socio-historical conditions which govern these processes.

According to Fairclough each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis. First, text analysis by using description. Second, processing analysis by using interpretation. Finally, social analysis by using explanation (through case studies).

By analysing the content (including text/language, photos and videos) of websites and social media of the three political parties, then interpreting the main findings into some case studies:

1. Great Indonesia Movement party (Gerakan Indonesia Raya, henceforth Gerindra).
2. National Awakening party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, henceforth PKB).
3. Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, henceforth PDIP).

RESULTS

During the campaigning period before the presidential election on 9 July 2014, there were some mass media companies support both the two presidential candidates, Jokowi and Prabowo. It happens because some elite politics strongly related to that media industries in Indonesia. Therefore, some television stations and other media companies delivered the news contents by emphasized the attributes and developed a good images of both candidates massive aggressively and subjectively. The Commission Broadcasting Indonesia (KPI) mentioned, a number of television media, especially news television, tend to favor the presidential candidate, either Jokowi or Prabowo, either the news or advertising. This is seen not only in duration, but also in the frequency of broadcasting the candidates, and even the tendency of news content (BBC, 2014). Further the KPI's findings explains that there were two television promote the presidential candidates actively between 19 and 25 May 2014 with recorded below:

a. Metro TV owned by Surya Paloh, the Chairman of Party Nasdem, the Jokowi-JK's supporter has broadcast (by created a good image of Jokowi) 184 times of news with a total duration of 3,577 seconds, while they only broadcast (mostly attacked) Prabowo's news content about 110 times with a total duration of 14,561 seconds.

b. TV One owned by Aburizal Bakrie, the Chairman of Golkar Party, the supporter of Prabowo, has broadcast (promote) 153 times to promote Prabowo-Hatta, with a total duration of 36,561 seconds. Meanwhile, this television only broadcast (attacked) Jokowi-JK 77 times with a total duration of 10,731 seconds (BBC, 2014).

Based on this findings its report that Jokowi has media broadcasting by Metro TV and TVOne with total frequency 261 times and total duration of 14,368 seconds. Meanwhile, Prabowo has broadcasted by the same of two televisions with total frequency 263 times and total duration of 51,122 seconds.

Furthermore, other findings (Munir, 2014) reports a number of traditional media both televisions, print media and online media have broadcast news content about two candidates such as below:

a. Jokowi supported by Metro TV (television), and a number of print media: Kompas, Tribun, Jawa Pos group, Suara Pembaharuan, Sinar Harapan, Media Indonesia, Koran Tempo, and magazine TEMPO. Also supported by online media Detik.com, Kompas.com, and Tribunnews.com (in total 12 mass media).

b. Probowo supported by a number of television stations: TVOne, Anteve, Global TV, RCTI, and TPI. And then supported by newspapers Inilah Koran and Koran Sindo, also by online media Vivanews.com, Okezone.com, and Inilah.com (in total 10 media).

According to the theory of second level agenda setting, it should be Prabowo be the winner, because he has higher number in both frequency and intensity/time (10 media, and with 263 frecuency and 51,122 seconds duration) rather than Jokowi (12 media, and with 261 times frecuency and 14,308 seconds duration). Its mean that the second level agenda setting effect didn't meet the theory's prediction.

Some factors played important role in the winning of Jokowi's campaign

(1) Effects of Agenda Setting Theory (AST)

The implementation of this theory is important in analysing the whole process of Jokowi's victory in the presidential election, especially in explaining how the traditional mass media, especially television, reinforced the popularity of Jokowi among citizens with his 'blusukan (door-to-door) campaign'. During this period, he was still a government officer, then it was impact on increasing his electability as the presidential candidate broadcast by traditional mass media (before April 2014). This phenomenon is identified as an agenda-setting effect on Indonesian society, which resulted in Jokowi being taken on as the presidential candidate of the PDIP party only three months before the day of the presidential election in 2014. With respect to the use of new media, the agenda-setting effects of Jokowi's campaign continued to influence voters after he was officially announced as the presidential candidate with Jusuf Kalla (PKB) as the vice-president candidate. The PKB and Jokowi's campaign team used e-media as a complement to traditional media to promote Jokowi and Kalla, as well as using it against the Prabowo team attacks. The agenda-setting effects led to wider support of Jokowi's candidacy through social media as well, which in this stage of political marketing was largely produced by volunteers.

The new president, Jokowi, is the first leader from outside the establishment of political habits to be elected President directly by citizens. There was an important factor causes why Jokowi won the election: the imaging figure. This became the key to success in the presidential election victory. Jokowi known as a populist leader and advocate for democratic development since becoming Mayor of Solo (2005 - 2012) and Governor of Jakarta (September 2012 – October 2014), the capital city in Indonesia. People tend to choose a figure rather than the vision and mission of the presidential candidates. It has not been a priority for voters in Indonesia to make a selection on the election (Widodo 2014). Indonesian citizens apparently do not like to see the figure of the smart and arrogant, which is usually the image attached to elite politicians and military. On the contrary, they like to see an ordinary figure like themselves. Jokowi appeared to be simple, populist and low profile, becoming an extra-ordinary magnet to attract the sympathy of society. The massive news about Jokowi in various mass media, generating a 'mass hysteria' which people addressing him excessively. In many online forums, the 'Jokowi lovers' (name of Jokowi supporters) comments which always attacking every criticism, it seem not rational anymore. This phenomenon can be understood as a form of societal expectations which are too high to Jokowi as human being (Nabawia 2014).

Prof. R. William Liddle, an expert of the Southeast Asia politics explains the popularity of the presidential candidates can influence the parliamentary elections as well as the victory parties (Yoni, 2014). He continue argue "if Jokowi nominated by PDIP before the election, PDI-P would have a voice that is much greater than if he did not nominate". Similarly, an expert on Indonesian politics argues Jokowi has the '*bandwagon effect*' factor. It means his powerful figure able to draw any factors that come with him. This effect will work significantly when Jokowi was in a prime position, as a presidential candidate (Sahid & Riyadi, 2014). Finally, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) announced Jokowi officially become the party's presidential candidate since 25 March 2014, a month before the legislative elections (9 April 2014). So, it is clear that the Jokowi popularity brought him into the presidential elections in Indonesia in 2014.

There was some denial about the popularity of Jokowi also reported by a few media. Many people questioned the success of Jokowi when he was Mayor of Solo such as below:

1) some work programs that is currently stalled;
2) in Jokowi era poverty also increased, based on the national statistics report;
3) a car of Esemka was only a political vehicle for Jokowi. A car which is claimed is a purely national car made by the students of secondary vocational school 'Esemka' assembled in Solo, and then passed the remission test in Jakarta, had popularized the Jokowi image. Some people judge 'Esemka' was only being used as a political vehicle to reach the governor's seat in Jakarta. After reached the political goal, he did not care any more about the Esemka cars, which is currently only on display in the Solo Tecno Park (STP), the place which produced the Esemka.
4) Jokowi dress style recently, it believed just to develop a good image in political goal. Jokowi appearance which seemed simple and populist, with a white shirt or plaid, black pants and sneakers rated only an image to gain the public sympathy. Former subordinates of Jokowi in Solo said his appearance when still be a Mayor of Solo, had not been like that. Such as other government officials he always wear a coat and tie.
5) Before the presidential election started, he went to the office of the General Election Committee to take the serial number of presidential candidates by riding 'bajaj', a traditional public transit which is a three-wheeler. In contrast, Prabowo, the other presidential candidate, went to the same place by riding a luxury car 'Lexus'.

Furthermore, to compare the similar study case of the presidential elections in Indonesia, and the general elections in Greece and Spain in Europe.

Comparative Studies between Indonesia and European Elections: Analysis of Two Levels of Agenda Setting Theory

As democratic countries, having a fair elections is a crucial element in both Indonesia and European countries. Relating to the AST studies these investigates the similarities and differences, if any, among Indonesia, Greece and Spain elections. Considering both Greece and Spanish are advanced democracy countries, while Indonesia is still a young democracy country. Logically, these three countries have different electoral processes and civil liberties which assumes the freedom of mass media to express their voice. Also, the characteristics of society among developed and developing countries are absolutely different. Through these all factors I will examine the influence of media on audiences during the elections process.

According to The Economist Intelligence Unit, democracy in any countries can measures by the Democracy Index. The index is based on 60 indicators grouped in five different categories measuring pluralism, functioning of government, political participation, political culture and civil liberties. In addition to a numeric score and a ranking, the index categorizes countries as one of four regime types *full democracies* (score 8-9.99), *flawed democracies* (score 6.00-7.99), *hybrid regimes* (score 4.00-5.99) and *authoritarian regimes* (score 1.00-3.99). Then, to measure the level of democracy is based on five categories: *electoral process and pluralism, functioning of government, political participation, political culture and civil liberties*. The table below describes the differences of democratic level from three countries where examined in this study.

Table 2. The democracy index of three different countries in 2014

Countries	Rank	Overal l score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Greece	41	7.45	9.58	5.36	6.67	6.25	9.41
Spanish	22	8.05	9.58	7.14	7.22	6.88	9.41
Indonesia	49	6.95	7.33	7.14	6.67	6.25	7.35

Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU 2014)

First country, Greece. After experiencing some conflicts with respect to the military dictatorship, democracy was restored in 1974. The 1999 European election was the fifth election to the European Parliament (Wikipedia, 2015). Relating to this comparative study, although use the 1999 election it can represent a fair election in a developed country. In 2014, Greece is still listed as flawed democracy. However it already has an advanced in electoral system and civil liberties (see table 2). This means the electoral process and pluralism, and press or mass media organisations in Greece have high scores (more than 8) in freedom of speech as well as expression and the press.

Second country, Spain. The Spanish transition to democracy was when Spain moved from the dictatorship of Francisco Franco to a democracy in the form of a constitutional monarchy. The transition have begun with Franco's death on 20 November 1975, while its completion has been variously said to be marked by the Spanish Constitution of 1978 (wikiwand, 2015). It is listed as a full democracy country (overall score >8). This means Spain not only respects basic political freedoms and civil liberties, but that tends to be underpinned by apolitical culture conducive to the flourishing of democracy. Relating to this comparative study, use of the 1995 election phenomena as an example study case is still acceptable compared with the main case that will analysed here, Indonesia.

Third country, Indonesia. If Greece and Spain were new democracy countries since 1970s, Indonesia has been recorded as a new democracy country since 2004. When for the first time Indonesia has a fair presidential election, in which citizens could choose their president directly with a system that is direct, public, free, confidential, honest and fair. We can see at Table 1, Indonesia still listed as flawed democracy country. It means this country has a free and fair election, and civil liberties are respected. However, there are still significant weaknesses in other aspects of democracy, including problems in governance, an underdeveloped political culture and low levels of political participation. In other words, Indonesia is a younger democracy country than Greece and Spain. The two indicators of democracy: electoral process and civil liberties, are important to analyses to what extent the media are free to expressing their views regarding to the election phenomena in their countries.

AST in the 1999 Greek European Elections

According to the previous study by Harris, Kolovos and Lock (2001), in the case study of the 1999 European elections in Greece, where has rather different modern political history and cultural traditions from the USA and the UK, which provides a useful comparative viewpoint. The methodology used was a content analysis of six newspapers during the full campaign period was conceded. A similar analysis of the manifestos of six parties was done using the same categories. Also, the press releases of the two major parties, PASOK and New Democracy, were also analysed and categorised. These results were compared with the public perceptions of the issue

priorities identified in a public opinion survey immediately prior to the election campaign. European elections do not necessarily indicate how people would vote in a general election, but they are considered by political parties in all member states to be a barometer of public opinion and are a valid context for a content analysis study of a political campaign and press coverage. It concluded these issues were not necessarily initiated by news media, but once established, they acquired a momentum over which the political parties, particularly the Conservatives, had little influence.

Findings the study

In respect of the relationship between the press's agendas and the parties' agendas, the results found significant agreement between the press and candidates agendas. This is consistent with the campaign strategy literature which implies that 'parties should focus on the issues they "own' and not be drawn on opponents territory. Between the media and public agendas was "striking' (Harris & Kolovos 2001, p.1130).

AST in the 1995 Spanish Elections

The research did by Lopez-Escobar et al (2007) was to explore the pattern of intermedia agenda setting relationships at both the first and second levels of agenda setting. The efforts of political candidates to control the news agenda with the traditional gatekeeping examination. The aim study about the second level agenda setting was whether the portrayals of political candidates by one news organisation influence other news organisations. This study examined intermedia agenda-setting relationships during a 1995 regional election in Spain, due to the previous research reported an agenda-setting influence of Spanish news media on the public similar to had founded in the United States (Canel et al., 1996; Lopez-Escobar et al., 1997). By using the method of content analyses of issues, at the first level of AST was focused on the six major issues in Navarra at the time of the 1995 regional and local elections. These issues were identified in a telephone survey of 299 randomly selected residents of the city of Pamplona who were interviewed from 1 - 5 June 1995. Beginning with the television news agenda, Telenavara broadcast only 11 news stories on the six key public issues during two weeks election period. Then, these issues published in both of the local newspapers in Pamplona. At the second level of AST, two sets of descriptive frames for the candidates running for mayor of Pamplona and leader of the Navarra parliament, the substantive attributes and affective attributes were examined. As results, at the first level of AST, newspaper agenda influences the agenda of key issues on television. At the second level of AST, the agenda of substantive attributes in newspaper political advertising influenced both the newspapers and television news agenda.

Similarities between Indonesia and European studies.

- Among the three countries during the elections campaigning there are two levels of Agenda-setting implemented, the media agenda and the public agenda.
- In the first level of AST, confirming the theory that newspaper agenda influences the agenda of key issues on television.
- A pattern also put political advertising in the position of prime mover.
- In the second level of AST, confirming the theory, the agenda of substantive attributes in newspaper political advertising influenced both the newspaper and television news agenda. The substantive attributes of the candidates here means their ideology, qualifications, and personality.

- The advertising agenda in the newspapers influences the pattern of descriptions in the news columns of the newspapers.
- The pattern of intermedia agenda setting identifies newspapers' political advertising as the prime mover.
- The political advertising strongly emphasized a positive picture of the candidates throughout the campaign.
- The stronger intermedia relationship was for television news rather than newspapers.
- The primary influence of the newspaper political advertising was on descriptions of the candidates' qualifications.

Differences between Indonesia and European studies.
Except having some similarities among the AST phenomenon between Indonesia and European studies, there are also a few differences. Especially when discussing who sets out the media agenda and the public agenda. Contradicting the theory, in Indonesia the relationship between the media agenda and the parties/candidate agendas is renewed (see table 3 below).

Table 3. The differences of AST among the countries

Countries	Media agenda (1st level)	Public agenda (2nd level)
Greek	Sets out by parties/candidates	Sets out by media, which the match between media and public agendas was 'striking'
Spanish	Sets out by parties/candidates	Sets out by media, but no evidence that newspaper news influenced television political advertising.
Indonesia	Sets out by media	Sets out by media and parties/candidates

According to the Agenda setting theory which have been examine widely in USA and Europe, in the campaign strategy the parties should focus on the issues they "own" and not be drawn on opponents' territory. That's why usually in the first level of AST, media is setting agendas to set out public issues. In this stage, parties and candidates have the important role to construct an agenda to influence the election campaigning strategy. On the contrary, in Indonesia recently, from beginning mass media organisations have more power to set out Jokowi as a strong public figure for future president or leader. By proclaiming massively and continuously about his achievement in government leadership as his qualification, and more about his personality rather than other attributes. These media agenda setting affected the change in knowledge and behaviour of voters.

Such as in many democracy countries, during the election campaign period among Greek, Spain and Indonesian elections experienced two levels of agenda setting theory. These are some differences about the level of democracy countries because Indonesia is not as advanced a democracy as the others too. There no differences for the media effects on society. At the first level of agenda setting theory, the case study found a crucial difference between Indonesia and Europe. The actors who sets out the media agenda in Indonesia is the media itself, while in Greek and Spain confirming the theory the media agenda sets out by political parties or candidates. This means in Indonesia the media organizations were still have more power to shape the public issues to influence the elections. At the second level of agenda setting theory, was confirming the evolution theory of intermedia agenda setting and issues. At this stage the media success in

reinforcing the building of a positive image for the candidates and parties, with some exceptional conditions among different countries.

CONCLUSION

According to Agenda Setting Theory, there are three levels to shape public opinion during the election campaigning worldwide: media, public and policy agenda.

The first and second level of AST

According to Rogers & Dearing (1988), there are 'three types of agenda setting:

(1) Media agenda setting focuses on the influence of the mass media on the audience;

(2) Public agenda setting focuses on the audience's agenda; and

(3) Policy agenda setting, which has been mostly ignored, deals with how media and public agendas might influence the decisions of elite policy makers'.

In regards to the phenomena in Indonesia during the 2014 presidential election, there were:

- At the first level, middle class society influenced mass media to informed audience/grass root society nationally.
- At the second level, middle class together with grass root society influenced mass media and elite politics.
- At the third level which is mostly have been ignored, in Indonesia's case, there were massive public opinion as well as mass media news influenced, tend to push elite political party (PDI-P) to changed their agenda by pointed Jokowi as a presidential candidate.

It is explain that Agenda Setting Theory needs to re-thinking again now, especially about the 3rd agenda which majority scholars believe been ignored during the campaigning period. However, this study still has limitations such as no similarities about the methodology that was used in the three different countries. This could be impact on the results and the interpretation for the data analyses as well. Furthermore, future study is still needed to have more comprehensive data about news columns from different newspapers and television broadcasting during the 2014 Indonesia election campaign period.

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