

Agenda Setting of the Religious Issues News in National Print Media

Content Analysis of News of the Islamic Defense Action III December 2, 2016

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Abstract—The statement of the former Governor of Jakarta Capital City, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) about QS Al-Maidah verse 51 in his speech on Pramuka Island on September 27, 2016 caused controversy and became a national issue in Indonesia since his recording video spread in social media during October 2016. The issue then developed into an issue of religious blasphemy that caused unrest among a group of Indonesian muslims and the *Aksi Bela Islam III 212* (Islamic Defense Action III 212), an action with the largest number of mass and crowded reported in various Indonesian mass media. This action was interesting because involved muslims from various regions of Indonesia to demand a fair and transparent legal process against Ahok, the first non-Muslim governor of Jakarta Capital City. Using the content analysis method with descriptive approach, this research analyzes how the agenda setting of Indonesian national newspaper to salience the issues about Islamic Defense Action III 212. Results of the study showed that, the issue salience in text news and photo news were dominated by positive-tone news, on the contrary infographics were dominated by negative-tone news.

Keywords—*agenda setting; content analysis of news; religious blasphemy; religious issues*

I. INTRODUCTION

Statement of former Governor of Jakarta Capital City period 2014-2017, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), in his speech at the Pramuka Island, City Administration District of the Thousands Island, on September 27, 2016 became viral in social media and caused controversy in Indonesia. The cutted transcripts was:

"... It could be in your heart that you can not choose me. You've been lied to by using Al-Maidah 51, that kind of thing ... [audience laugh]. That's your right. So you feel that can not choose me because 'I'm afraid I will go to hell'. It's fooled ... that's fine. Because that's your personal choice"

The videotape went viral in social media throughout October 2016 after being uploaded through Facebook by Buni Yani – whom later became a suspect on November 23, 2016 for spreading SARA (Ethnic, Religious, Race, and Intergroup) issues. Ahok's statement then developed into a polemic issue of religious blasphemy. The figure of Ahok as a regional head of the capital city of Indonesia who came from minorities ethnic

of Chinese Christian was considered inappropriate and insensitive for commenting on the verses of Koran (Al-Maidah verse 51), and besides, in related to his position on the next elections of Jakarta Capital City Governor period 2017 - 2022. Two non-governmental organizations (NGO) subsequently reported Ahok to Polda Metro Jaya (Jakarta Regional Police) for a religion blasphemy case on October 7, 2016.

On October 10, 2016 at the City Hall of Jakarta Capital City, Ahok stated his apologize to all muslims in Indonesia regarding to his words that are considered harassed the holy book of Koran. But the apology had not yet stopped the wave of protests along the country and continues became viral talks on social media through the end of 2016, as the 'Aksi Bela Islam' (Islamic Defense Action).

The movement was held on several waves: 1) October 14, 2016 from Istiqlal Mosque to Medan Merdeka, 2) November 4, 2016 from Istiqlal Mosque to Istana Merdeka and Medan Merdeka Barat), this action was also known as the 411 movement, and 3) December 2, 2016 from MH. Thamrin to Monas and Medan Merdeka, or what we called as the Islamic Defense Action III 212, the largest scale action that attracted the arrival of millions muslims from various regions throughout Indonesia. The issue was interesting for the national mass media - even internationally, that seemed captivated by the movement of Muslims throughout Indonesia, as a muslim-majority country.

This paper will describe how the national print media in Indonesia held the agenda setting of this Islamic Defense Action III 212 as a religious issue. While the agenda setting theory will be used to describe: 1) how the national print media reported the news in physical? And, 2) how the national print media made the focus of the issue and the trend of news tendencies?

II. AGENDA SETTING OF THE RELIGIOUS ISSUES NEWS

A. *How it Became a Religious Issues News in Indonesia*

Indonesian Council of Ulama (MUI) through a statement of attitudes signed by the Chairman of the MUI and Secretary General MUI on October 11, 2016, stated that:

“The statement of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama is categorized: (1) insulting the Koran and or (2) insulting the Ulama which have legal consequences”

In the letter of this stance, MUI recommended that the government must prevent any desecration and blasphemy of the Koran and the religion of Islam by not doing omission of that action, and law enforcement apparatus must take firm action and proactively enforce the law firmly, quickly, proportional, and professional in accordance with current regulation.

Nevertheless, the polemics kept rolling and raised the public distrust to the government and police efforts to seriously respond to the case. The controversy then got crowded in various Indonesian mass media and social media, aired on one of Indonesia's famous talk show Indonesia Lawyers Club (ILC) episode "After Ahok Apologize" on October 11, 2016, and get more public attention after the news about the change of translation of Al-Maidah's letter verse 51 for the word "awliya" which previously translated as "leader" in the latest translation of the publication of PT. Iqro Indonesia Global Andhi Raharjo was transformed into a "loyal friend". On October 24, 2016 the chairman of MUI- Fatwa Guard National Movement (GNPF-MUI) issued a legal record related to Ahok case, in order to be special attention and consideration for Police Criminal Investigation.

The slow handling of the case encouraged the movement of the Islamic Defense Action II on November 4, 2016 (411 action) along the Istiqlal Mosque road to the Jakarta National Monument (Monas). The 411 action participants were estimated to reach two millions people which were not only from Jakarta, but also groups of Muslims from various regions in Indonesia. As the result, President Jokowi then granted to process the case to the legal path in a transparent, decisive, and accurate. Two weeks after the 411 action, Ahok was officially stated as a suspect in religious blasphemy case on November 16, 2016.

Ahok's status as a suspect was not decreased the polemic in society, especially regarding the implementation of the Government's promise. The public was again irritated by the release of news and recordings of Ahok's statement in an interview with Australian Broadcasting Corporation News (ABC News) on November 16, 2016:

“It is not easy, you send more than 100.000 people, most of them, if you look at the news, they said they got the money, 500.000 Rupiah.”

The pressure get higher to the government and Indonesian police because Ahok was not arrested despite having status as a suspect. The issue of injustice then brought the news about a new movement: Islamic Defence Action III on December 2, 2016, announced by GNPF-MUI in a press conference at AQL Islamic Center on November 18, 2016, with 6 (six) reasons as follows: 1) Ahok has become a suspect with the threat of 5 years in prison, 2) Ahok has the potential to escape abroad despite being banned by National Police Headquarters, 3) Ahok is considered potentially eliminating evidence, 4) Ahok has the potential to repeat his actions in accordance with his arrogant manner; 5) Ahok has violated the law that could

potentially divide the nation; 6) That every previous suspect with suspected religious blasphemy was always detained by the police.

This action plan, just like the previous one – or even greater, get viral in social media. But if it just similar with the previous actions, what made it interesting for the media?

First, there were different media framing in reported the previous Islamic Defense Action. Some of media reported it in positive tonation while the others reported it in negative tonation. Second, it was then emerging the public distrust to media. Because while the people focused to the revolution on the street and online, some of the mass media just focused on the “chaos” effect. Third, the emerging of public distrust to the Government. Fourth, the issue of tolerance in this pluralist society. Ahok figure as the first christian Governor who came from minority ethnic of chinese, was like being oppressed by the majority (Islamic group). That made such a “problem of tolerance” issue and could divide the nation. Fifth, the muslims united to demand justice for the case.

So many stories being written in mass media about the action plan, one of them was the story of the walk action of the santri from Ciamis, West Java to Silang Monas, Jakarta (about 300 km in five days). Their action was being talked and spread just like a snowball at social media, their spirit as if invited all muslims in Indonesia to come to Jakarta for the 212 event. The other viral action were about the citizens who gathered on the roadside to donate food and free drinks, and also the news about the greatest Friday prayers held in Jakarta.

So based on those five reasons, it would be interesting for this case to be reviewed in agenda setting theory. The theory will help to describe how the media made their point of view of the movement, and which focus would be the news tren.

B. Agenda Setting Theory

The Agenda setting theory was introduced by Maxwell MCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972. In media theory, the term agenda setting refers to the view that the mass news media influence audience reception of the news by virtue of the fact that they choose which stories are worthy of broadcasting and how much significance and time are given to them [1]. Furthermore, McCombs & Gilbert defined the agenda setting as the ability of mass media to structure the audience's cognition and affect the cognitive change, or as Heath & Bryant said as the creation of public awareness and attention to the salient issues by the mass media [2]. The media may not tell us what to think, but rather think about what to think about. In Eriyanto the agenda setting theory has three indicators: 1) the issues reported by the media, 2) the length of news in the newspaper, and 3) the placement of the issues [3].

As widespread on the mass media about Action on November 4, 2016, the Islamic Defense Action III on December 2, 2016 of course also became a strong magnet for mass media in Indonesia. Therefore, this research is interested to be described with the agenda concept of media setting in newspaper coverage related to Islamic Defense Action III 212.

III. METHODOLOGY

The method used is content analysis with descriptive approach. Content analysis is generally used to create a general description of the characteristics of a content/ message. Neuendorf stated that content analysis can be categorized as nomothetic research used to make generalizations of messages [3].

Content analysis in this study aims to describe the message characteristics of different communicators; that is how different communicators (the national newspapers) produce different contents to salience the same issue (Islamic Defense Action III 212). While the descriptive approach used to describe in detail the messages conveyed by each different communicator.

The sample unit of this study is all the news of Islamic Defense Action III 212 which were published in national newspapers on December 3, 2016. Recording units are: 1) physical unit, about length of news and placement (feature, article, editorial, header, opinion, and photos), and 2) thematic units, that is the issues being reported (news themes or topics) and the trend of news tendencies.

The sampling method is probability sampling by simple multistage random sampling, with sampling framework as follows:

1. Population : national mass media in Indonesia
2. Media selection
 - Geographic region: Mass media located at Jakarta Capital City region
 - Segmentation of audience: General newspaper (Indonesian language)
3. Edition selection : December 3, 2016
4. News selection : all news about Islamic Defense Action II 212

TABLE I. SAMPLING FRAMEWORK (1)

Population	Media Selection	
	Geographic Selection	Segmentation of Audience
177 national newspapers in Indonesia	Bisnis Indonesia Harian Pelita Kompas Koran Jakarta Koran Sindo Koran Tempo Media Indonesia Rakyat Merdeka Republika Suara Karya The Jakarta Post Inhua Daily Indonesia Shang Bao Kontan Suluh Indonesia	Bisnis Indonesia Harian Pelita Kompas Koran Jakarta Koran Sindo Koran Tempo Media Indonesia Rakyat Merdeka Republika Suara Karya

^a. Source: Press Council Team (2015) and www.dewanpers.or.id [4]

TABLE II. SAMPLING FRAMEWORK (2)

Edition Selection	News Selection (Chosen Sampling)
Kompas Koran Jakarta Koran Sindo Koran Tempo Media Indonesia Rakyat Merdeka Republika	Kompas Koran Jakarta Koran Sindo Koran Tempo Media Indonesia Rakyat Merdeka Republika

TABLE III. SAMPLING UNIT

No	Newspaper	Text News	Photos News	Infographics
1.	Kompas	7	8	0
2.	Koran Jakarta	1	2	0
3.	Koran Sindo	10	16	2
4.	Koran Tempo	10	7	0
5.	Media Indonesia	10	8	1
6.	Rakyat Merdeka	11	9	0
7.	Republika	20	23	0
	Total	69	73	3

IV. RESULT

A. Physical Unit

1) Text News

The listing result of physical units for length of text news indicator as follows:

TABLE IV. RECORD RESULTS OF THE LENGTH OF TEXT NEWS

Newspaper	Number of Text News	Length of Text News		
		Long	Medium	Short
Kompas	7	0%	28,57%	71,43%
Koran Jakarta	1	0%	0%	100%
Koran Tempo	10	10%	20%	70%
Koran Sindo	10	30%	40%	30%
Media Indonesia	10	0%	20%	80%
Rakyat Merdeka	11	0%	18,18%	81,82%
Republika	20	5 %	15 %	80%

The text news was dominated by short news, published in Kompas, Koran Jakarta, Koran Tempo, Media Indonesia, Rakyat Merdeka, and Republika (85,71% from total sampling). Only three newspapers (42,86% from total sampling) which reported long text news (Koran Tempo, Koran Sindo, and Republika). Koran Jakarta reported the least news publication with only one short text news.

The record of text news placement indicator, as follows:

TABLE V. RECORD RESULTS OF TEXT NEWS PLACEMENT

News paper	Number of Text News	Placement		
		Headline	Front Page	Inside page
Kompas	7	14,29%	28,57%	57,14 %
Koran Jakarta	1	100%	0	0
Koran Tempo	10	10%	0%	90%
Koran Sindo	10	0%	0%	100%
Media Indonesia	10	10%	20%	70%
Rakyat Merdeka	11	9,09%	36,36%	54,55 %
Republika	20	5%	0%	95%

Most of the placement of text news were on the inside page, except for the Koran Jakarta. A total of 85.71% of the newspapers placed text news as headlines and only 42.86% placed text news on the front page other than headlines. While the Koran Jakarta only reported one short article but placed it as a headline.

2) Photo News

Physical unit record for length of photo news indicator as follows:

TABLE VI. RECORD RESULT OF LENGTH OF PHOTO NEWS

Newspaper	Number of Photo News	Length of Photo News		
		Long	Medium	Short
Kompas	8	0%	12,5%	87,5%
Koran Jakarta	2	0%	0%	100%
Koran Tempo	7	0%	14,29%	85,71%
Koran Sindo	16	6,25%	6,25%	87,50%
Media Indonesia	8	0%	0%	100%
Rakyat Merdeka	9	0%	0%	100%
Republika	23	4,35% (*double spread)	4,35%	91,3%

The photo news were dominated with short photo news. A total of 57.14% of newspapers published medium-sized photo news, and only 28.57% published long photo news. Republika published the most photo news and even published one photo news in the double spread size. On the contrary, Koran Jakarta published the least photo news and only in short sizes.

Record of physical unit for photo news placement indicator, as follows:

TABLE VII. RECORD RESULT OF PHOTO NEWS PLACEMENT

Newspaper	Photo News	Placement of Photo News			
		Headline	Front Page	Inside Page	Back page
Kompas	8	12,5%	12,5%	75%	0%
Koran Jakarta	2	50%	0%	0%	50%
Koran Tempo	7	14,29%	0%	85,71%	0%
Koran Sindo	16	6,25%	0%	93,75%	0%
Media Indonesia	8	12,5%	0%	87,5%	0%
Rakyat Merdeka	9	11,11%	11,11%	0%	77,78%
Republika	24	4,17%	4,17%	70,83%	20,83%

Most of the photo news placement were on the inside page. All newspapers placed the photo news as a headline. Republika became the only newspaper that placed photo news on every page category. While the Koran Jakarta even though the fewest that published the photo news, but placed it on the strategic page: the headline and back page.

3) Infographics

Listing of physical units for infographics can be summarized as follows:

TABLE VIII. RECORD RESULT OF INFOGRAPHICS PLACEMENT AND LENGTH

Newspaper	Number of Infographics	Length	Placement
Koran Sindo	2	Medium	Inside Page
Media Indonesia	1	Short	Headline

There were only two newspapers that published infographics: Koran Sindo and Media Indonesia. Media Indonesia put the only infographic to complete text news and photo news on the headline. While Koran Sindo placed one infographic on the inside page as an illustration of the feature on the same page, and one other infographic which displayed the illustration with its own topic on another inside page.

B. Thematic Unit

1) Text News

From the collected data sampling, the record of salient themes on the news as follows:

TABLE IX. RECORD RESULT OF NEWSPAPER'S TEXT NEWS TOPIC

News Topic	Newspaper Coverage
Treason	Koran Tempo (4), Koran Sindo (2), Media Indonesia (2), Republika (1)
Appreciation to the President Jokowi	Kompas (2), Koran Jakarta (1), Koran Tempo (2), Koran Sindo (1), Media Indonesia (2), Rakyat Merdeka (4), Republika (3)
Ahok's Law Process	Kompas (1), Koran Tempo (1), Koran Sindo (4), Media Indonesia (1), Rakyat Merdeka (2), Republika (5)
Rumah Lembang Temporary	Koran Tempo (1), Media Indonesia (1), Rakyat Merdeka (1), Republika (1)

News Topic	Newspaper Coverage
Closed	
The Role of Ulama	Koran Tempo (1), Media Indonesia (1), Republika (2)
Peace Demonstration	Kompas (3), Koran Jakarta (1), Koran Tempo (2), Koran Sindo (4), Media Indonesia (3), Rakyat Merdeka (6), Republika (6)
Environmental Hygiene	Kompas (1), Koran Sindo (1), Media Indonesia (1), Rakyat Merdeka (1)
Government Services	Koran Sindo (1), Media Indonesia (1)
Economic Stability	Kompas (1), Koran Tempo (2), Koran Sindo (1), Media Indonesia (1), Rakyat Merdeka (1), Republika (1)
Unity in Diversity	Republika (3)
Society Participation	Kompas (1), Koran Tempo (1), Koran Sindo (2), Republika (3)
Charity	Kompas (1), Koran Sindo (2), Rakyat Merdeka (1), Republika (1)
Participant Transportation	Koran Sindo (1), Republika (2)
Society Education	Republika (1)
Foreign Media Reaction	Republika (1)
Control of Non-governmental Organization	Rakyat Merdeka (2)
Muslims Democracy	Koran Sindo (1)

The most highlighted topics were about "Peace Demonstration" (23.36%) followed by the topic of "Appreciation to President Jokowi" (14.02%) and "Ahok Law Process" (13.08%). Meanwhile the fewest reported topics were "Society Education", "Foreign Media Reaction", and "Muslim Democracy" which get only 0.93% publication.

For news tone, the record result as follows:

TABLE X. RECORD RESULT OF NEWSPAPER'S TEXT NEWS TONE

Newspaper	Number of Text News	News Tone	
		Positive	Negative
Kompas	7	85,71%	14,29%
Koran Jakarta	1	100%	-
Koran Tempo	10	50%	50%
Koran Sindo	10	70%	30%
Media Indonesia	10	70%	30%
Rakyat Merdeka	11	54,55%	45,45%
Republika	20	95%	5%

Republika was the newspaper which reported most of text news about the Islamic Defense Action III 212, and also most highlighted positive tone issues in text news. From the 20 texts published in Republika, only one has a negative tone about the issue of treason. While the Rakyat Merdeka despite dominated the text news with positive issues, but it also reported most of the text news that highlighted negative issues. Koran Tempo highlighted both positive and negative issues in equal numbers,

and Koran Jakarta even though it published only one report but highlighted two positive issues on its text, with topics "appreciation to President Jokowi" and "peace demonstrations".

2) Photo News

The record of thematic unit for photo news as follows:

TABLE XI. RECORD RESULT OF NEWSPAPER PHOTO NEWS TOPIC

Photo Topic	Newspaper Coverage
Peace Demonstration	Koran Sindo (5)
Trading Activity Keep on Going	Republika (1)
Wudhu Queuing	Republika (1)
Ocean of People	Kompas (1), Koran Tempo (1), Koran Sindo (1), Rakyat Merdeka (1)
The Standby Police	Koran Tempo (1), Koran Sindo (2)
Action Poster	Koran Tempo (1), Koran Sindo (5), Republika (1)
Participant Bringing Cleaning Tool	Koran Tempo (1), Koran Sindo (1), Rakyat Merdeka (1)
Participant's Vehicle	Koran Sindo (2)
The Presence of Religion Leaders	Koran Sindo (1)

The most highlighted photo was the moment of "Worship Activity" (21.15%), followed by "Action Poster" of 13.46% and also "Monas Landscape" and "Ocean of People" of 10.91%. The photo news with topics "Landscape of Monas" and "the Ocean of People", even spotted as a headline with a long size (especially on Republika and Koran Sindo).

The record result for the tone of photo news as follow:

TABLE XII. RECORD RESULT OF NEWSPAPER'S PHOTO NEWS TONE

Newspaper	Number of Photo News	News Tone	
		Positive	Negative
Kompas	8	100%	0%
Koran Jakarta	2	100%	0%
Koran Tempo	7	85,71%	14,29%
Koran Sindo	16	93,75%	6,25%
Media Indonesia	8	87,5%	12,5%
Rakyat Merdeka	9	100%	0%
Republika	24	95,83%	4,17%

All media highlighted the issue of Islamic Defense Action III 212 with the tone that tend to be positive for photo news, especially on Kompas and Rakyat Merdeka which had 100% positive photo tone. Koran Tempo despite dominated photo news in positive tone, but became the media that displayed the most photo news in negative tone. While Koran Jakarta only published two photo news but all in positive tone.

3) Infographic

The last is record result of thematic infographic unit as follows:

TABLE XIII. RECORD RESULT OF THEMATIC INFOGRAPHIC UNIT

Newspaper	Infographic Topic	News Tone	
		Positive	Negative
Koran Sindo	Treason	-	50%
	Chronology of Islamic Defense Action 212	50%	-
Media Indonesia	Treason	0%	100%

Koran Sindo published two (2) infographics with positive and negative tone. While Media Indonesia published it with negative tone.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the results of this analysis, it can be concluded that the seven newspapers held the agenda setting of Islamic Defense Action III 212, particularly through photo news. Photo news was chosen as a way of highlighting issues, especially by *Republika* and *Koran Sindo* as the two newspapers with the most reported issues through photo news and placed it on the headlines. Agenda setting through positive text news was also mostly published by *Republika*, followed by *Rakyat Merdeka* but it chose to place headline with negative tone titled "Monas Viewed Similar to Padang Arafah, Why it's don't affect to Ahok Arrestment?". There were only two newspapers published the infographics: *Koran Sindo* and *Media Indonesia*, the two saliented the issue in negative tone with the topic "treason".

Media made appreciation to the movement. Most of the text news and photo news were dominated with positive tone. The most reported topics in text news were "peace demonstrations" while the photo news was mostly highlighted the topic of "worship activity".

Islamic Defense Action 212 became an interesting issue because of the controversy related to a leader who came from minority ethnic and religion in Indonesia. Based on the results of this analysis, the agenda setting of the news related to the action was not only about religious issues, but it also dominated by issues of law and order. Issues with "order" context dominated the text news and photo news, but still related to the "religious" issue as an appreciation for Muslims that conducted an orderly action. The "religious" issues was saliented the most through text news and photo news about the solemnly of the grandest friday prayers event in Indonesia. While the issue of "law" was highlighted the most about the enforcement of justice for the religious blasphemy case.

The huge coverage's about the Islamic Defense Action III 212 issues by national newspapers, seemed to indicate that mass media resonance each other in delivering the news about a same issue that attracted public attention and also compete in making various news coverage. As Vivian said, that agenda setting is a phenomenon that influence the media people who continue to monitor each other [5].

Furthermore, Vivian mentioned that in the long term, attention to media issues can create a new consensus through a phenomenon that named by the psychologists as cognitive dissonance which occurred when people become aware that their values are inconsistent in the social environment [5]. Before the mass media did the agenda setting of the Islamic Defense Action III 212, the society already had a view to accept Ahok as a figure who represent the minority ethnic of Chinese and Christian, but became a Governor in a region which is the capital of the country and dominated by Muslim society. The figure of Ahok, who was often stated such rough sentences and impressed as an arrogant person, was not longer a problem for the Indonesian people and particularly Jakarta, in general assumption for society about "it would be better if we have a non-Muslim leaders but not a corruptor", "just a figure of leader like Ahok who can be firm to the corruptors" or "it's not a problem if Ahok talks rough and arrogant, because the important thing is his performance in building Jakarta". These shows the acceptance of society to the controversial figure of Ahok, so the negative news tended to be ruled out by society.

On this religious blasphemy issue, the agenda setting played an important role. The issue of alleged blasphemy that was constantly raised in the mass media coverage during the period of October to December 2016, including the agenda setting of the Islamic Defense Action III 212 as the top action, brought the community slowly to the cognitive dissonance – an awareness that the value held so far about the acceptance of the controversial figure Ahok, it was no longer a consistent value in the society. The religious issue then became an electoral burden for the Ahok-Djarot couple in the Jakarta Capital City Governor Election 2017, which affected the electoral value of the couple and so then ends in defeat at the 2017 Jakarta Capital City Election.

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