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Digital Conglomerates and Their Political Behavior: A Study on the Affiliation of MNC Group Owner Hary Tanoesoedibjo Towards the Presidential Candidacy of Ganjar Pranowo in the 2024 General Election

Aulia Rahmadante Priyanto^{1*}, Abdul Ghofur²

¹Jakarta Veterans State Development University, Jakarta, Indonesia, 2010413092@mahasiswa.upnvj.ac.id

²Jakarta Veterans State Development University, Jakarta, Indonesia, abdulghofurui1@gmail.com

*Corresponding Author: 2010413092@mahasiswa.upnvj.ac.id¹

Abstract: This article explores the political behavior of digital conglomerates, focusing on Hary Tanoesoedibjo or usually called Hary Tanoe affiliation with Ganjar Pranowo's presidential candidacy in Indonesia's 2024 General Election. Digital conglomerates, such as MNC Group, wield significant influence in shaping public opinion through their diverse media platforms. Hary Tanoe's transition from media facilitator to political actor underscores the intersection of business and politics, raising concerns about media independence and democratic principles. Surveillance indicators are employed to monitor. This research uses a descriptive qualitative method because the researcher wants to examine the political behavior of Hary Tanoe's affiliation with Ganjar. It seeks to analyze the role of digital conglomerates in contemporary politics and understand measures to prevent controversies and violations during the campaign. The results of this research underscore the significant intertwining of business and politics, particularly evident in the case of Hary Tanoe's support for Ganjar Pranowo's presidential bid. This alignment highlights the complex relationship between digital conglomerates, media ownership, and political behavior, shaping electoral dynamics and media coverage. The findings emphasize the importance of transparency, ethical conduct, and adherence to democratic principles in navigating the intricate intersection of business interests and political involvement within Indonesia's digital conglomerates.

Keyword: Conglomeration, Digital, Hary Tanoesoedibjo, Ganjar Pranowo, Election

INTRODUCTION

This article discusses the digital conglomerates and their political behavior, focuses on a study on the affiliation of MNC Group owner, Hary Tanoesoedibjo or usually called Hary Tanoe towards the presidential candidacy of Ganjar Pranowo in the 2024 general election. Digital conglomerates are key players in the national industry with diverse businesses, including investments in communication infrastructure and ownership in television, radio, print media, and digital platforms (Ross Tapsell, 2019). Until now, they have maintained

their dominance in the Indonesian media, with large media companies continuously growing and often absorbing small and medium-sized media entities or causing significant declines in the industry. As a result, the media landscape is increasingly evolving into an oligopolistic structure (Ross Tapsell, 2019).

Digital conglomerates wield significant power in controlling the content presented to the public through various electronic media platforms, influencing how people receive information, form opinions, and participate in electoral processes. However, the digital revolution and the internet in this digital era have the potential to disrupt the diversity of electronic mass media (Ross Tapsell, 2019). Despite the presence of the internet, digitization enables electronic mass media to become mainstream and dominant venues for elites to influence political processes and public opinion.

One of the leading digital conglomerates in Indonesia, operating in the television industry and also involved in the political arena, is Hary Tanoesoedibjo, commonly known as Hary Tanoë, the owner of MNC Group. Examining digital conglomerates and the political behavior of Hary Tanoë as the owner of MNC Group can provide important insights into the relationship between media and politics in Indonesia. Hary Tanoë is known as a media entrepreneur with various media platforms and other businesses under the MNC Group banner, including television, radio, print media, entertainment industry, and others. Today, MNC Group has been developed by Hary Tanoë into a leading digital conglomerate. If broken down, MNC Group has dozens of subsidiaries operating in various fields.

Hary Tanoë, as chairman of the Persatuan Indonesia Party (Perindo), has utilized the MNC Group and clientelistic strategies to propel his political career, raising questions about conglomerate involvement and his political behavior. The close connection between media and politics in Indonesia's democratization process has led to political elites exploiting media channels owned by conglomerates like the MNC Group to favor certain candidates openly. During elections, extensive mass media entertainment provided by MNC Group-owned channels raises concerns as they tend to show bias towards one candidate, compromising objectivity and fairness in information dissemination. This situation highlights the need for objective information sources to make informed decisions, as media biases can influence public opinion significantly.

However, there has been a shift in the political dynamics currently where the MNC Group has redirected its support to the Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan Party (PDIP), by showing their support for the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla candidates. With the signing of the political agreement, actions taken by the Chairperson of PDIP, Megawati Soekarnoputri, and the owner of the MNC Group and also the Chairperson of Perindo, Hary Tanoë, become certain or concrete (Lynda Hasibuan, 2023). Thus, the public is aware that the owner of the MNC Group has now declared their support for the PDIP, where the presidential and vice-presidential candidates will be nominated by Ganjar Pranowo and Mohammad Mahfud Mahmodin (Mahfud MD).

In 2024, Ganjar Pranowo was rumored to run as a presidential candidate in the Indonesian presidential election. As one of the presidential candidates, Ganjar Pranowo brings strong experience and track record both in governance and media, making him one of the attention-grabbing candidates in the 2024 General Election.

The presence of Ganjar Pranowo in a Maghrib call to prayer advertisement on RCTI television, owned by Hary Tanoë's MNC Group, has sparked debate. This unusual appearance of a politician on a television channel under the ownership of a digital conglomerate owner has led to varied perceptions, with some viewing it as a political statement ahead of the 2024 General Election (Hamsah Umar, 2023). The appearance of Ganjar Pranowo on RCTI, a television station owned by the MNC Group, stirred controversy and raised critical questions about the relationship between media and politics, particularly

regarding the influence of digital conglomerate owners like Hary Tanoe. It also questioned whether Pranowo's appearance was merely a TV campaign or part of larger political maneuvers ahead of the 2024 General Elections.



Source: (Chandra Iswinarno, 2023)

Figure 1. Presidential Candidate Ganjar Pranowo in the Maghrib Call to Prayer Broadcast on RCTI Television Station Owned by MNC Group

The controversy stems from MNC Group's influential role in shaping public opinion, highlighting the crucial role of mass media in democracy. Concerns arise regarding the balance and independence of information presented. The dominance of conglomerates like MNC Group and their political behavior further exacerbates the controversy by limiting access and diversity of opinions, essential principles of democracy. Strict regulations are necessary to prevent violations and excessive media concentration, particularly by powerful conglomerates. Monitoring the political behavior of digital conglomerate owners is vital to ensure proper political processes. Ganjar Pranowo's appearance on RCTI reflects the complex relationship between media and politics in Indonesian democracy. The community's political participation, especially in the digital realm, influences their approach to information consumption, emphasizing the importance of vigilant news reception and interpretation.

Despite the diminished influence of traditional media like television, the rise of digital media and online news portals under conglomerates like MNC Group has extended the political reach of media owners. Additionally, the accessibility of conventional media through Over-The-Top (OTT) services has further widened their audience. However, this expansion has led to controversies regarding media ethics and communication violations. Even with media endorsements for presidential candidates, public debates persist. Politician Ade Armando criticized TV stations airing Hary Tanoe's campaign, cautioning against low-quality content. He highlighted the Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia (KPI) regulations against ads during prayer broadcasts, urging MNC Group's owner to respect these rules and avoid biased advertising.

Researchers are intrigued by the relevance and complexity of studying digital conglomerates led by figures like Hary Tanoe, owner of the MNC Group, due to their significant role in the media and entertainment industry and their access to various media platforms. This connection presents a unique opportunity to explore how these conglomerates influence political processes. Understanding their impact on politics is vital, especially with the upcoming 2024 General Elections in Indonesia. The study aims to delve into the political behavior of digital conglomerate owners and address issues of transparency, accountability, and ethics in politics, particularly in the digital age. By analyzing their actions, the research aims to shed light on maintaining integrity in political campaigns and preventing controversies or violations, especially during the campaign period. With technology and digital media evolving rapidly, the study provides valuable insights into the interaction between politics and media in shaping modern politics within the digital ecosystem.

The research questions for this article are how is the political behavior of conglomerate by Hary Tanoe as the owner of MNC Group towards the candidacy of Ganjar Pranowo ahead of the 2024 General Election? What efforts should digital conglomerate actors make to avoid polemics of violations during the campaign leading up to the 2024 General Election?

This research aims to deeply analyze the relationship between digital conglomerates and political behavior, focusing on Hary Tanoe of the MNC Group in the context of Ganjar Pranowo's 2024 presidential candidacy. It also seeks to understand how digital conglomerates can navigate controversy during election campaigns. Theoretical implications are significant, particularly in political, media, and communication studies, enriching understanding of digital politics' impact on contemporary political processes. The findings lay groundwork for new theories exploring the roles of digital conglomerates, their owners' political behavior, and electronic media in modern politics.

METHOD

This research employs descriptive qualitative methods to examine the political behavior of conglomerates, particularly focusing on Hary Tanoe's affiliation with Ganjar Pranowo's presidential candidacy for the 2024 General Election. It seeks to analyze the role of digital conglomerates in contemporary politics and understand measures to prevent controversies and violations during the campaign. Primary data collection involved interviews with key stakeholders such as KPU, BAWASLU, KPI, an academic expert, and a journalist from AJI. Additionally, secondary data from various sources including books, journals, and media platforms were analyzed.

The process of data analysis and interpretation involves collecting data, narrowing down the sample, filtering out irrelevant information, displaying the data, and drawing conclusions. In qualitative research, ensuring credibility and validity is crucial. This is achieved through techniques such as data triangulation, member checking, and auditing, which will be utilized to enhance the reliability of the research findings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Digital Conglomerate and Hary Tanoesoedibjo's Political Behavior Towards Ganjar Pranowo's Presidential Candidacy in the 2024 General Election

Digital conglomerates wield significant influence in the digital age, leveraging political events, including elections, to bolster their businesses. In the lead-up to the 2024 General Election, these conglomerates emerge as crucial platforms for voters to access political information, track media campaigns, and engage in online discourse. From a commercial standpoint, digital conglomerates seize this political momentum to drive online traffic, capture user attention, and enhance revenue through advertisements and paid content. Through the integration of social media, news portals, and digital platforms, they stand to reap substantial financial gains during political cycles, underscoring their role not just as information providers but as major players in the digital political and economic landscape.

MNC Group, a prominent digital conglomerate, visibly aligns with political interests during this electoral season. Furthermore, its owner, Hary Tanoe, transitions from a mere media facilitator to a recognized political actor, marking the significance of the 2024 General Election, the nation's fifth or sixth democratic cycle since the Reform Era. Elections represent pivotal moments for Indonesian society, embodying hope and the opportunity for meaningful change. Emphasizing clean and quality elections, stakeholders aim to fulfill the nation's founding vision of achieving social justice for all citizens. Media independence emerges as a crucial aspect in ensuring a transparent and healthy democratic process, allowing voters to make informed decisions without undue political influence.

The upcoming election features three pairs of candidates representing various political parties, with the General Election Commission (KPU) issuing regulations outlining the election's stages and schedule. From voter registration to vote counting, the process spans eleven phases, with a potential second round of the Presidential Election slated if necessary. The KPU's commitment to transparency and accountability underscores its efforts to facilitate maximum democratic participation from Indonesian citizens.

Table 1. The Stages and Schedule for the Implementation of the 2024 General Election

Schedule	Stages
June 14, 2022 - June 14, 2024	Program Planning and Budgeting
June 14, 2022 - December 14, 2023	Preparation of KPU Regulations (PKPU)
October 14, 2022 - June 21, 2023	Update of Voter Data and Compilation of Voter Lists
July 29, 2022 - December 13, 2022	Registration and Verification of Election Participants
December 14, 2022 - February 14, 2022	Determination of Election Participants
October 14, 2022 - February 9, 2023	Determination of the number of seats and determination of election areas
December 6, 2022 - November 25, 2023	Nomination of DPD candidates
April 24, 2023 - November 25, 2023	Nomination of members of the DPR, provincial DPRD, and district/city DPRD
October 19, 2023 - November 25, 2023	Nomination of President and Vice President candidates
November 28, 2023 - February 10, 2024	Election Campaign Period
February 11, 2024 - February 13, 2024	Quiet Period
February 14, 2024 - February 15, 2024	Voting and Vote Counting
February 15, 2024 - March 20, 2024	Tabulation of Vote Count Results
Adjusted to the end of the term of office of each member of the district/city	DPRD Swearing-in of district/city DPRD members
Adjusted to the end of the term of office of each member of the provincial	DPRD Swearing-in of provincial DPRD members
October 1, 2024	Swearing-in of DPR and DPD members
October 20, 2024	Swearing-in of President and Vice President

Source: (PKPU No. 3 of 2022)

Campaigning, a pivotal aspect of the electoral process, involves candidate engagement in debates, community meetings, and events to boost popularity. Media campaigns, notably scrutinized in this study due to digital conglomerate owner Hary Tanoë's affiliation with Ganjar Pranowo's candidacy, utilize various platforms to convey messages. The media campaign, scheduled from January 21 to February 10, 2024, enables candidates to interact with voters amidst technological advancements.

The political behavior of media owners, like Hary Tanoë, in reporting candidates is significant. Any broadcasting injustice can be reported to electoral institutions, such as Bawaslu, as outlined by Herusse Yulanda, a member of the Bawaslu Supervisory Bureau. Regulations, including a Joint Decree and KPU regulations, govern campaign conduct.

"For example, on January 21, 2024, based on the decision of the KPU, all candidate pairs are entitled to campaign advertisements in any media. If there is any injustice, it can be reported to BAWASLU. However, if it's outside the election context, it will be forwarded to the competent authorities, such as the prosecutor's office or the police." (Interview with Herusse Yulanda, Member of the BAWASLU Supervisory Bureau, January 9, 2024).

Candidates aim to dominate digital platforms, with unique content anticipated to provide insights into their programs. Despite conventional media's diminishing influence, migration to the digital era continues. The media's role as the fourth pillar of democracy is crucial, with expectations for fair conduct from owners like Hary Tanoe.

In the 2024 General Election, Hary Tanoe, the Chairman of Perindo's Central Executive Board, officially forged a political collaboration with PDIP. This decision came after Megawati Soekarnoputri, PDIP's Chairwoman, and Hary Tanoe signed a political cooperation agreement. The signing occurred at the PDIP's office in Central Jakarta on June 9, 2023. Hary Tanoe cited several reasons for choosing PDIP and Ganjar Pranowo as their vice-presidential candidate, including PDIP's readiness for the upcoming election, ideological alignment, and Ganjar's favorable public reception and commitment to continued development.

Hary Tanoe's political affiliation, evident during the broadcast of Ganjar Pranowo's appearance on RCTI during the Maghrib call to prayer, reflects his support for Ganjar's candidacy. Despite controversy, this broadcast demonstrated Hary Tanoe's intertwining of business and politics. However, it's crucial to analyze digital conglomerates as businesses independently of their owners' political affiliations. Hary Tanoe's support for Ganjar's candidacy is expected to benefit both parties, with certain sectors poised for growth if Ganjar wins, including infrastructure, agriculture, and mining (Susi Setiawati, 2023).

Ganjar Pranowo's proposed programs for the 2024 General Election could particularly benefit entrepreneurs like Hary Tanoesoedibjo, given their broad business interests. Infrastructure development policies are crucial for economic growth, and Ganjar's focus on this area aligns with Hary Tanoe's business interests. Therefore, Hary Tanoe's political strategies, aimed at bolstering his digital conglomerate's growth, could benefit from Ganjar's presidency, emphasizing the intertwined nature of business and politics in Indonesia.

"The political behavior and strategies of Hary Tanoe will be directed towards his digital conglomerate business to foster its growth. There were prior negotiations between Megawati, the chairwoman of PDIP, and Hary Tanoe, which could result in compensation and benefits for both parties if Ganjar Pranowo is elected president." (Interview with Dr. Iding Rosyidin, M.Si., Vice Dean of FISIP 1, Lecturer at the Political Science Study Program and Political Communication Expert, January 9, 2024).

Hary Tanoe's support for Ganjar Pranowo's presidential bid will impact his digital conglomerate's business strategy. As the owner of MNC Group, he aims to ensure that policies of the incoming government, particularly those concerning profitable sectors, align with his business interests. This illustrates the intertwined nature of business and politics, where affiliations with political figures can yield advantages. Despite potential controversy, Tanoe's alignment with Pranowo underscores the strategic importance of backing candidates who align with his business goals, enhancing both his conglomerate's prospects and political standing.

Assessing Hary Tanoe's political behavior during elections involves considering multiple aspects. Evaluation from diverse perspectives is essential due to the subjective

nature of such assessments. Hary Tanoe's collaboration with the PDIP and backing of Ganjar Pranowo's presidential bid reflects his grasp of political dynamics and strategies to safeguard his business interests. His role as MNC Group's owner adds complexity to his political affiliations. Research indicates that digital conglomerates, like MNC Group, are intertwined with politics, evident in Indonesia where they involve both business and political figures. While some, like Hary Tanoe, transition from business to politics, others, like Surya Paloh, originate from politics. Digital conglomerates often wield significant influence in politics, as seen in MNC Group's strong support for Ganjar Pranowo's candidacy. However, political allegiances can vary, as demonstrated when MNC Group backed Joko Widodo in the 2019 election but chose to support Ganjar Pranowo in 2024. This dynamic underscores the intersection of business and politics in Indonesia's digital conglomerates, shaping their strategies and positions within the intricate political landscape.

The importance of assessing Hary Tanoe's political behavior lies in recognizing him not only as a business owner but also as a media figure striving for sustainability. While considering the media's sustainability aspect, it's crucial to evaluate its independence, given the varying affiliations of different outlets. Hary Tanoe, like other digital conglomerate owners, influences coverage agendas through editorial meetings, particularly evident in MNC Group's "HT-1" team. This connection between media and owner, especially with political affiliations, can shape coverage priorities, as seen in MNC Group's focus on Perindo Party activities. However, such political involvement raises concerns about potential legal entanglements and manipulation of news framing. Despite media's role as businesses, their political behavior can significantly impact news presentation, complicating the quest for independence amidst financial interests.

The complex relationship between media, politics, and digital conglomerates, focusing on the involvement of Hary Tanoe and challenges faced by regulatory bodies like KPU, BAWASLU, and KPI. While journalists express concerns about political interference in reporting integrity, media owners have the right to defend themselves. The article highlights the nuanced nature of this relationship, emphasizing that moral judgments may not always be the primary consideration in politics. It discusses how digital conglomerates like MNC Group prioritize support for specific candidates and the need to evaluate their political behavior. Regulatory bodies struggle to assess political conduct within digital conglomerates due to limited authority. Concerns are raised about the exploitation of broadcast programs for political interests, and BAWASLU's role in overseeing political campaigns is discussed, particularly in addressing potential violations. Collaboration between regulatory bodies is deemed essential in responding to and resolving such issues during political campaigns.

The evaluation of Hary Tanoe's political behavior requires considering the intertwined dynamics of business, politics, and media. Strict regulations on transparency, ethics, and media independence are crucial to safeguard integrity and journalistic standards. Additionally, assessing Hary Tanoe's handling of presidential candidate coverage and advertising is vital, particularly due to his direct affiliation with politics as a digital conglomerate owner. Beyond raising awareness of media owners' political ties, there's a broader responsibility to enhance political literacy among Indonesian society, fostering discernment in media consumption and nurturing democratic skills. Given candidates' active presence on media platforms, voters must critically evaluate information, recognizing potential biases and PR tactics. Thus, fostering political literacy and skepticism is essential for ensuring informed participation and accuracy in the democratic process.

In the context of democratic principles and electoral fairness, the political actions of Hary Tanoe, particularly regarding media democracy, are seen as counterproductive. His conglomerate, MNC Group, appears to be ensnared in political biases, especially when supporting specific candidates, leading to significant repercussions. This situation

undermines media independence, a cornerstone of democracy, as conglomerates tend to favor one candidate, limiting diverse viewpoints. Despite lacking regulations prohibiting political affiliations, this trend risks narrowing democratic discourse.

MNC Group's portrayal of Ganjar Pranowo in a positive light illustrates this bias, though it doesn't violate existing rules. Ideal journalistic integrity, as outlined by Dan D. Nimmo, advocates for neutrality and impartiality, principles often challenged by media ownership's political entanglements. While Indonesia enjoys considerable press freedom, vigilance is needed to prevent biases, particularly evident in events like Ganjar Pranowo's appearance on an MNC Group-owned channel before the campaign period. To maintain fairness, media outlets, especially conglomerates like MNC Group, must allocate equitable coverage to all candidates. Despite challenges, some smaller media remain committed to independence, contrasting with concerns over campaign ad placements favoring certain candidates. Monitoring Hary Tanoe's political conduct as MNC Group's owner presents difficulties in upholding democratic norms. Editing processes further complicate media independence, with editors wielding significant influence over narrative framing, potentially leading to biased reporting. Continuous vigilance is essential to navigate these complexities, safeguarding media independence amidst evolving political and business landscapes, ensuring adherence to democratic principles, particularly during elections.

The relationship between Hary Tanoe's political conduct and democratic principles in elections can be assessed through transparency in disclosing data related to presidential candidacy. MNC Group's transparency in advertising for presidential and vice-presidential candidates allows the public to evaluate fairness. Factors such as frequency and timing of advertising contribute to this evaluation, reflecting the media's impartiality in providing coverage. This transparency fosters a deeper understanding of political-media dynamics and enables scrutiny of media's role in democracy.

Moreover, the rise of digital broadcasting conglomerates in Indonesia underscores the importance of maintaining independence and upholding democratic values. The Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) plays a pivotal role in ensuring broadcasting institutions adhere to these principles. Through monitoring and corrective measures, the KPI safeguards media integrity, especially during critical events like the 2024 General Election. This proactive approach promotes a healthy media environment, supporting democratic sustainability and ensuring equitable participation for all citizens.

"The phenomenon of digital broadcasting conglomerates is certainly unavoidable. As long as they meet the requirements and broadcasting organizer permits, every Indonesian citizen can establish broadcasting institutions. Thus, every Indonesian citizen has the opportunity to become a digital broadcasting conglomerate. Although every Indonesian citizen can establish several broadcasting institutions, these broadcasting institutions are required to maintain their independence and the sustainability of democracy in Indonesia." (Interview with Mimah Susanti, Commissioner of the Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia, January 15, 2024).

The political agenda setting dominance attributed to Hary Tanoe's behavior hinges on the strength of the digital conglomerate itself, particularly the MNC Group. While MNC Group is a significant player in the digital conglomerate sphere, its dominance remains inferior to some other media entities. Nevertheless, MNC Group's extensive business portfolio, spanning telecommunications, property, banking, and mining sectors, underscores its potential to exert influence. Owners of digital conglomerates like MNC Group can leverage this dominance to shape political agendas, despite facing challenges from competing media outlets.

However, academic opinions suggest that MNC Group's dominance is not yet substantial enough to significantly impact Ganjar Pranowo's electability, as evidenced by a decline in his support based on recent surveys. This indicates that while MNC Group wields considerable power, its influence on electoral outcomes is influenced by various factors including media credibility, diversity of perspectives, and public preferences. Ultimately, the impact of MNC Group's dominance on electoral dynamics depends on qualitative aspects such as candidate integrity, policy positions, and leadership perception, highlighting the nuanced interplay between media dominance and political behavior.

Table 2. The Electability Trend of Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD in the LSI Denny JA Survey (September-November 2023)

Month	Electability
September 2023	36,9%
October 2023	35,3%
November 2023	28,6%
December 2023	24,9%

Source: (LSI Denny JA Survey, 2023)

In broadcasting, regulations like the Pedoman Perilaku Penyiaran dan Standar Program Siaran (P3SPS) require media conglomerates' owners to separate their interests from broadcast programs to prevent misuse. Despite existing regulations, there is still a gap between rules and actual practices, with TV and radio programs often favoring owners' interests. However, electoral institutions play a crucial role in ensuring media independence. They must emphasize this role to maintain broadcasting institutions' independence and prevent undue influence. Close collaboration between electoral and broadcasting institutions is essential to uphold media integrity and independence, particularly during electoral periods, building public trust in the information presented.

The management control of political news by MNC Group regarding Ganjar Pranowo's candidacy has drawn significant attention. This control, influenced by Hary Tanoë's inclination towards Ganjar Pranowo, is evident in MNC Group's news framing, which significantly favors Ganjar Pranowo. This extends beyond news coverage to social media, raising questions about media independence. Moreover, MNC Group tends to produce news that leans against other candidates, indicating a bias. Evaluating Hary Tanoë's political influence on MNC Group's news coverage must consider the complex interaction between conventional and digital media. Positive framing of Ganjar Pranowo in MNC Group's media resembles political advertisements and can influence public perception. However, it's important to recognize that this framing may not always be objective. In the context of elections, digital conglomerates play a crucial role in shaping public opinion, highlighting the need for transparency and journalistic responsibility.

The political behavior of digital conglomerate owners, like Hary Tanoë, differs from other political actors due to their media ownership. Their involvement in politics, particularly supporting Ganjar Pranowo in the General Election, is intertwined with business interests. Negotiations between key figures, like Hary Tanoë and Megawati are crucial, suggesting strategic moves to secure business interests. Hary Tanoë's support for Ganjar Pranowo seems aimed at ensuring business growth. These differences in approach have significant implications, including media influence and financial support for campaigns, raising questions of ethics and transparency. Balancing business interests with democratic principles requires robust regulations and governance.

The Efforts of Hary Tanoesoedibjo's Political Behavior to Prevent Polemics of Violations in Media Campaigns

Concrete steps and strategies are being implemented to address potential interventions in Hary Tanoe's political behavior, prioritizing preventive measures over law enforcement due to the potential disruptions to carefully planned electoral stages. BAWASLU reminds the KPU to conduct the process in accordance with the law when issuing the schedule of stages, aiming to anticipate and prevent potential issues. Additionally, BAWASLU sends circulars and instructions to supervisory authorities, containing general guidelines and technical instructions, including deadlines for data return. KPI also contributes by providing guidance on election regulations and policies, working within a monitoring and supervision team to ensure compliance with reporting, broadcasting, and campaign advertisement placement regulations during the 2024 General Election.

Several surveillance indicators are utilized to monitor Hary Tanoe's political conduct during media campaigns, aiming to prevent any controversies regarding violations. These indicators include the frequency and tone of media coverage featuring Hary Tanoe or Ganjar Pranowo, assessing whether it is neutral, critical, or supportive. Additionally, the domination of media space, separation of news and opinions, involvement in advertisements and news programs, and significant financial resources usage are monitored. This scrutiny aims to identify any potential intervention or dominance in media campaigns by Hary Tanoe's digital conglomerate and its impact on the political and democratic processes.

Furthermore, Hary Tanoe's affiliation with Ganjar Pranowo's candidacy demonstrates a form of democracy, emphasizing freedom of speech and choice, with no restrictions on media owners declaring their candidate preferences. Freedom of speech is highlighted as a fundamental human right essential for democracy, enabling individuals to express opinions without fear of repression. This freedom fosters healthy dialogue, diverse perspectives, and influences political decisions (Fritz Siregar, 2019).

Regarding surveillance, election authorities like BAWASLU employ various tools to ensure compliance with regulations and address non-compliance, including procedural violations and potential media biases. Despite the absence of specific regulations for media owners in politics, BAWASLU monitors these situations, taking action only if violations occur. As of now, there have been no reports to BAWASLU regarding deviations from the legal framework by Hary Tanoe's political behavior.

"In the context of the campaign, BAWASLU creates monitoring tools. Firstly, there are those related to procedural compliance, which refers to UU No. 7 of 2017 and PKPU (only limited to those regulations). For example, if there are violations that occur, they will be captured by these monitoring tools. The follow-up action is recommendations or suggestions for improvement. These recommendations can take the form of advisories that BAWASLU conveys to the public, the KPU, KPI, ministries or institutions, companies, and others involved." (Interview with Herusse Yulanda, Commissioner of BAWASLU Supervisory Bureau, January 9, 2024).

BAWASLU stresses the importance of digital conglomerate media owners such as Hary Tanoe understanding established regulations, highlighting that compliance with these regulations should prevent issues, though individuals often find ways to evade them. While BAWASLU typically conducts extensive socialization regarding these regulations, challenges in remote areas are more intricate. Meetings are organized, allowing BAWASLU to communicate regulations through visits or meetings at media offices.

The MNC Group's ownership case, coupled with its affiliation with Ganjar Pranowo's candidacy, presents complexities due to Hary Tanoe's dual role. BAWASLU's presence at media offices may lead to confusion, as they must decide how to address Hary Tanoe. BAWASLU has been cautious to avoid confusion that could negatively impact them. Media

gathering activities usually involve reporters and journalists but seldom directors or company owners. Efforts are made for regulations to reach directors through Surat Keputusan Bersama (SKB). Concerning digital conglomerates and political behavior, BAWASLU has suggestions regarding existing regulations. BAWASLU's authority limitations in overseeing media are noted, recommending adjustments to regulations that could affect their organizational structure and resource allocation.

Collaboration with various ministries, institutions, or government bodies is ongoing, yet some agencies have not been directly involved. Support from the government, especially the DPR, is crucial, and collective discussions are advisable in forums if media bias or violations arise. BAWASLU is concerned about digital conglomerates involved in politics, particularly regarding money politics. However, addressing these challenges in terms of implementation and regulation will be challenging. KPI monitors election broadcast programs, aiming to track indicators of Hary Tanoe's political behavior during campaigns.

KPI's solutions involve intensifying guidance and socialization on election broadcast organization regulations, encouraging public participation in monitoring and reporting violations. However, no actionable violations regarding Hary Tanoe's political behavior have been found, though morally, his behavior violates democratic principles. From an academic viewpoint, media owners should avoid actions that may spark violation controversies. Digital conglomerate players like Hary Tanoe need to time their political campaigns carefully. Despite MNC Group's support for a candidate, rules must be followed, and BAWASLU has issued preventive campaign advisories outside the designated schedule.

The Maghrib call to prayer controversy was not pursued by BAWASLU as it occurred outside the official campaign phase of the 2024 General Election, and Ganjar Pranowo's status as a presidential candidate has not been officially declared. Ethical standards in the digital realm are typically established based on existing regulations, such as broadcasting guidelines from the KPI and campaign ethics regulations from the KPU, which prohibit demeaning behavior, insults, and spreading fake news. While negative campaigning is legally permitted, it's generally disliked by the public in Indonesia, urging media owners like Hary Tanoe to avoid such practices. Responsible political behavior should align with campaign regulations set by the KPU or PKPU, encompassing prohibitions against demeaning actions and ensuring journalistic principles are upheld, including balance in interviewee selection.

Academics argue against creating new regulations, stating that existing ones are comprehensive enough, covering broadcasting guidelines and media ownership restrictions. From a journalist's standpoint, efforts to prevent controversy for politically affiliated media owners involve separating media ownership from political involvement to avoid bias. Alternatively, Hary Tanoe could consider resigning from leadership positions at MNC Group to focus solely on political activities. This separation is crucial as it's difficult to discern media decisions' independence from political or business influences. Despite indications that MNC Group may favor Ganjar Pranowo's candidacy, critical societal members must monitor and report any violations of existing regulations to relevant authorities.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the research employs descriptive qualitative methods to analyze the political behavior of conglomerates, focusing on Hary Tanoe's affiliation with Ganjar Pranowo's presidential candidacy for the 2024 General Election. The results highlight the significant influence of digital conglomerates in shaping political discourse, particularly during electoral cycles, where they leverage their platforms for commercial and political gains. Hary Tanoe's alignment with Ganjar Pranowo underscores the intersection of business and politics, raising questions about media independence and democratic principles.

Efforts to monitor and prevent controversies in media campaigns involving conglomerate owners like Hary Tanoe are ongoing, with regulatory bodies emphasizing compliance with existing regulations and promoting transparency. Despite challenges, collaboration between electoral institutions and broadcasting authorities is crucial in upholding media integrity and democratic values, especially during electoral periods. While negative campaigning and political affiliations are legally permitted, responsible political behavior requires adherence to campaign regulations and journalistic principles to ensure fairness and transparency in the electoral process.

Moving forward, continuous vigilance and public scrutiny are essential in holding conglomerate owners accountable for their political behavior and maintaining media independence. Strengthening regulations, enhancing public awareness, and fostering political literacy are crucial steps in safeguarding democratic norms and promoting equitable participation in the electoral process.

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