

The Battle of Discourse of Regional Autonomy Issues in The Mass Media

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ABSTRACT

This research started by knowing how mass media constructs the reality of regional autonomy issues. Studies on regional autonomy issue using communication science perspective are still rare, while the role of mass media, according to Severin-Tankard (2007:15) is actually to form public opinions. Observers of constructionism such as [Shoemaker \(1996\)](#) think that news broadcasted by mass media can make people have a certain point of view and construct a reality of an issue in the society, including regional autonomy issues. This study used framing text analysis. The model used was [Robert N. Entman's framing \(1993\)](#) because in Entman's concept, framing can be used to describe the selection process of an issue and emphasize certain aspects of a reality by the media. In this research, there are 3 media which were studied, i.e. *Kompas* newspaper, *Jurnal Nasional* newspaper, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* newspaper. The result of this study showed that at micro level there was frame difference in the reporting of *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* on Regional Autonomy Issues. Analysis at meso level showed that ownership and capital factors were still rather strong in influencing the frames of the studied media, macro level the battle of discourse of regional autonomy issues make the government finally changed the policy on regional autonomy.

Keywords: Mass Media, Framing, Reality Construction, Regional Autonomy.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini dimulai dengan mengetahui bagaimana media massa mengkonstruksi realitas isu otonomi daerah. Studi tentang isu otonomi daerah yang menggunakan perspektif sains komunikasi masih jarang terjadi, sedangkan peran media massa, menurut Severin-Tankard (2007-15) sebenarnya adalah untuk membentuk opini public. Pengamat konstruksisme seperti [Shoemaker \(1996\)](#) berpikir bahwa berita yang disiarkan oleh media massa dapat membuat orang memiliki sudut pandang tertentu dan membangun realitas sebuah isu di masyarakat, termasuk isu-isu otonomi daerah. Penelitian ini menggunakan analisis framing teks. Model yang digunakan adalah framing [Robert N. Entman \(1993\)](#) karena dalam konsep Entman, framing dapat digunakan untuk menggambarkan proses seleksi suatu isu dan menekankan aspek-aspek tertentu dari sebuah realitas

oleh media. Dalam penelitian ini, ada 3 media yang diteliti, yaitu surat kabar Kompas, surat kabar Jurnal Nasional, surat kabar Kedaulatan Rakyat. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa di tingkat mikro ada perbedaan antara pelaporan Kompas, Jurnal Nasional dan Kedaulatan Rakyat Isu Otonomi Daerah Analisis tingkat meso menunjukkan bahwa faktor kepemilikan dan permodalan masih cukup kuat dalam mempengaruhi frame media yang diteliti, tingkat makro pertarungan wacana isu otonomi daerah membuat pemerintah akhirnya mengubah kebijakan otonomi daerah.

Kata kunci: Media Massa, Framing, Realitas Konstruksi, Otonomi Daerah.

INTRODUCTION

There is massive coverage of the regional autonomy policy after the New Order government collapsed. The mass media seemed to pay special attention to the news about regional autonomy. Regional autonomy is actually not something new according to [Made Suwandi \(2004\)](#), [Syarif Hidayat \(2007\)](#), [Ryaas Rasyid et al. \(2007\)](#), and [Soetandyo Wigyosoebroto \(2007: 58-69\)](#), for the past 70 years of the independence of this Republic, there are a total of eight (8) amendments made to the laws concerning regional government. In each amendment, a war of ideas through various media always took place dragging it into centralization or decentralization. Changes in the media and their content in the post-New Order era are interesting to examine and numerous scientists, media practitioners, bureaucrats, and journalists conducted research and wrote about it, but only a few of them examined the media and issues about regional autonomy.

This research investigated roles of media in transforming the structure from the centralized structure to the decentralized one. In 2012 until 2013, there was an agenda to revise the Law Number 34 of 2004 concerning Regional Government, followed by various issues related to regional autonomy such as regional-head elections, corruption at the regional level, asymmetric centralization, and other issues in the mass media.

The content of the news reported in the media in this research was seen as the result of the process of the battle of ideas about regional autonomy, which was then constructed by the media into the reality of regional autonomy. The social construction of reality cannot be separated from the views of Berger and Luckman written in a book entitled *The Social Construction of*

Reality, A Treatise in Sociological of Knowledge (1966). In this book, Berger and Luckman argued that actually the so-called reality is neither formed by God nor established scientifically, rather it is formed and constructed, thus it actually has many appearances, plural and is dynamic.

In this research, there are two definitions of regional autonomy, *first* as a political product because it is generated from the political process, and, *second*, as a product of the social construction of reality. The role of the mass media in the social life is unquestionable. Despite different opinions, no one denies its significant role in modern society. The content of the mass media is intended for public consumption and thus anything reported in the mass media will affect the subjective reality of those engaged in social interactions ([Berger, 1979](#)), or using the term proposed by [Lippmann \(1992\)](#), the mass media can instill the picture in our heads. This description of the reality “formed” by the mass media will ultimately provide the basis for the responses and attitudes of the audience towards various social objects.

News presented in the media does not emerge on its own.

Rather, it requires a construction process. In this process, the media does not work in a vacuum. There are various structures surrounding the media and will contribute to coloring the framing of the media, thus once the news is publicized, various news about regional autonomy will arise which in turn establishes the reality construction of the issues about regional autonomy among society. This research examined texts in three daily newspapers, namely: (i) *Kompas*, (ii) *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, and (iii) *Jurnal Nasional*.

The reason for the selection of daily newspapers as research materials according [Siggal \(1973\)](#) is the significance of economic factors in the industry of a business in the media which greatly affect the decision to cover particular news. Based on differences in the orientation of the media, three newspapers with different orientations were chosen, namely *Kompas* as the national leading daily newspaper with a high circulation, *Jurnal Nasional* as the newspaper with historical closeness to the Democratic Party,

and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* as the oldest local newspaper which still survives and the leading newspaper in the region where it is published to date.

The research was conducted from 2012 to 2013. This time span was chosen because in these years, there was an agenda to revise the Law Number 32 of 2004 regarding Regional Government. Various issues about regional autonomy covered in the three newspapers were explored in this research, thus the formulation of the problems in this research is presented below. "How do the daily newspapers *Kompas Daily*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* construct the reality of regional autonomy?; How is the frame to cover news adopted by the three daily newspaper above like in relation to the issues about regional autonomy?; and How is the war of ideas related to the issues about regional autonomy like in the three media under study?"

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theory of social construction of reality is inseparable from two pioneers of sociology of knowledge, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann. In the intellectual world, Berger and Luckmann's thoughts are influenced by some philosophers and sociologists. Some of the scientists who influenced Berger's thoughts are Alfred Schutz, Jean Paul Sartre, George Herbert Mead, Arnold Gehlen, Marleu Ponty, and, of course the great thinkers of social sciences, Weber, Durkheim, and Karl Marx.

In the introduction of *The Social Construction of Reality*, [Berger and Luckmann \(1966:vii\)](#) stated that the book theoretically and systematically discussed the sociology of knowledge. Although the book was written by sociologists, the influence of Alfred Schutz's philosophy of phenomenology feels quite strong and this is recognized by Berger in the introduction. Furthermore, [Berger \(1966:5\)](#) explains that the term sociology of knowledge was coined by Max Scheler in 1920s in Germany.

[Berger \(1966:4\)](#) also states that sociology of knowledge must study everything considered as knowledge by the society, whether

the knowledge is valid or not valid, and how the knowledge is developed and maintained in such a way to create or form a normal reality for laymen. In other words, the sociology of knowledge studies analysis of creation of reality by the society ([Berger, 1966](#)).

One of Berger's important concepts in *The Social Construction of Reality* is the concept of internalization. According to Berger, dialectics among humans and in the society happen through the processes of externalization, objectification, and internalization. These processes will be a dialectic cycle in the relations of humans and society. Humans create society and society creates humans.

Peter Berger's thoughts in the map of sociology have a special position. Berger gives strong emphasis on order. According to Berger, without order, it's difficult to create a society because order is the main requirement in social life. Human life will at least feel orderly if one's biological needs are met.

On one hand, Berger emphasizes the needs for order in the elements of sociological analysis. However, on the other hand, Berger also views that human interprets the order subjectively so that in different contexts, the needs for order will be met differently. This is where Berger puts human freedom. When a group of people faces a problem they can't explain with their social structure, the structure can be changed or rebuilt by the community.

Media and construction of reality are two sides of the same coin. According to [Berger \(1966\)](#), language is the primary factor in creating reality and language is the primary element in mass media. Without language, the media won't be able to present their reports to the audience.

The brilliance of language in creating reality can be traced all the way back to a philosopher, Ludwig Josef Wittgenstein. According to [Hamersma \(1990\)](#), the points of Wittgenstein's thoughts can be categorized into Wittgenstein I and Wittgenstein II. Wittgenstein I is Wittgenstein's thoughts before 1930 which

was written in *Tractatus Logico-philosophicus* and Wittgenstein II is Wittgenstein's thoughts after 1930 which is described in *Philosophical Investigation* which becomes the starting point of language analysis. Furthermore, according to [Hamersma \(1990\)](#), Wittgenstein I proposes that only statements which are descriptions have meanings (meaning is picture), while Wittgenstein II proposes that the meaning of a statement depends on the language type in use (meaning is use).

The description above shows that language can be used for various purposes, whether political, economic, social or cultural. The media in a country depends on the characteristics of the country in constructing reality. In an authoritarian country, the media will only be the authority's mouthpiece. Their construction of reality usually uniformly supports state policies. Conversely, in a democratic country, ideally the media has comfortable position to give their opinions. Mass media has more space to construct reality on an issue. However, in the life of a democratic country, the media isn't entirely free in constructing the reality of an issue. The editorial politics of the media will always influence various things, including business, political, ideological interests, etc. so it becomes a consideration in covering an issue, including issue of regional autonomy, whether the issue will be emphasized or not, or even not covered at all.

The idea of framing was first proposed by Beteson in 1955 and then introduced by [Goffman \(1972\)](#) in cultural sociological study. The idea of framing becomes the main idea in participatory observational studies on news ([Tuchman 1978](#), [Fisman 1980](#), [Gamson 1984](#), [Gamson and Modigliani 1989](#)). In today's communication study, framing is used to dissect the ideology of media when constructing facts. Using this analysis, strategy, selection, emphasis, and linked facts on a news will become visible, so the news will be more meaningful, interesting, memorable, so that it will guide the interpretation of the audience of the news. Essentially, framing is the media's effort to emphasize their interpretation on an event. Because the emphasized event or real-

ity has greater possibility of gaining the public's attention, to emphasize the interpretation, journalist usually uses several strategies, such as ignoring certain aspects of the issue, placing an issue prominently, using certain table to describe the event, or complement the presentation with pictures. Furthermore, Scheufele ([in Bryant, 2009: 22](#)) classified study of framing into two groups. *First*, study in frame building category. The questions in this category are related with how a certain frame can be adopted and become a discourse which emerges in the minds of journalists and the society. *Second*, study in frame setting category, which is how media frame impacts the public ([Priest, 2010: 310](#)).

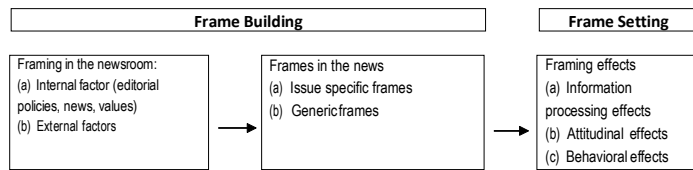


FIG.1. FRAME BUILDING AND FRAME SETTING
Source: Priest (2010)

The study of frame building concerns the kind of media frames which appears and the process by which a frame is built in the media. Frame building itself can be classified into two aspects. First, which frame stands out in the media coverage (frame contestation)? A number of experts such as [Scheufele \(2004\)](#); [Scheufele \(1999\)](#); and D'Angelo (2000) classify frames that appear in the media coverage into two, namely issue-specific frames and generic frames.

Frame setting has something to do with the way the media's frame affects the audience. At the most basic level, frames help people to get information about an issue and provide insights into the issue, frames also help one make particular information rational.

Thus, the effects of framing vary between individuals. News frames do not always create one's single understanding when

understanding a problem. The effects of frames of the media emerge only in the event the media's frame resonates with the existing schema within individuals. Each individual has a unique process in constructing the knowledge that exists in his/her memory (Priest, 2010: 310).

This research employed the framing model developed by Robert N. Entman (1993). Entman's framing model was chosen because its concept can be used to describe the selection process of an issue as well as some specific aspects of the reality highlighted by the media. The media, by putting greater emphasis on a particular text deemed more important and meaningful on the media coverage, is assumed to help their audience more easily understand and remember a piece of news. Furthermore, Entman introduced 4 (four) important elements of framing. The four elements are listed as follows.

TABLE 1. ENTMAN'S FRAMING MODEL

1. <i>Define Problems</i>	How is an issue viewed? And as what or as what problem is that issue viewed?
2. <i>Diagnose Causes</i>	What causes an issue to occur? And who is considered to cause that issue?
3. <i>Make Moral Judgment</i>	What are moral values used to legitimize or delegitimize an action?
4. <i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	What is the kind of settlement offered to deal with an issue? What methods should be used to deal with a problem/issue?

In general, the four elements of Entman's framing model can be explained as follows. The first element is *Define Problems*, which is the main element. This element is the master frame. It shows how an issue or event is understood by journalists. However, the similar issue might be interpreted differently by different journalists so that the media coverage of the reality will be different as well. The second one is *Diagnose Causes*. This second element put emphasis on the main actor(s) in an event. Causes referred to in this second element can be understood as the "who" causes the said event to occur and what the source of the problem is. The third one is *Make Moral Judgment*, i.e. the element

used to provide justification by giving various arguments in the element of “Define Problems” made. Lastly, the fourth element is *Treatment Recommendation*, i.e. the element used to determine what journalists really want and ways chosen to solve a problem.

This research investigated the frame adopted by three mass media (*Kompas*, *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, and *Jurnal Nasional*) in relation to regional autonomy coverage. Using Entman’s framing model, ways by which the media frame news about regional autonomy were mapped. News under study was examined one by one and analyzed based on the 4 elements of Entman’s framing model.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Generally, according to [Neuman \(2006\)](#), in social research tradition, there are three paradigms or perspectives: *First*, positivistic perspective, *second* interpretive perspective, and *third* critical perspective. This study used interpretive perspective. This perspective was selected because according to [Neuman \(2006:88\)](#), theory of social construction is a field in interpretive perspective.

Furthermore, according to [Neuman \(2006\)](#) interpretive research is usually performed by field research and participatory observation. This technique requires researcher to personally meet information and takes a rather long time. Interpretive perspective is defined by [Neuman \(2006:88\)](#) as a systematic social analysis through detailed direct observation on society to understand how the society create and maintain their social life.

Consistent with interpretive perspective above, the present study analyzed media text using framing approach. Framing analysis can reveal and uncover hidden meaning in the studied texts which were texts on regional autonomy in *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There is a connection between the issue-specific frame and the master frame (generic frame). The first will always be consis-

tent with the later. Why? Because media journalists' views will be used to view and cover specific issues related to regional autonomy. A journalist who tends to agree to regional autonomy will cover all specific issues related to regional autonomy in positive tones.

The emergence of the case of political dynasties, for example, will not be seen as a result of the implementation of regional autonomy. This is different for journalists or media who are critical or skeptical of regional autonomy. The existence of political dynasties will tend to be seen as a result of regional autonomy. Autonomy leads to the emergence of minor kings at the regional level as well as economic and political concentration on some local political forces. This illustration describes the way the generic frame will determine the way those specific issues are viewed by the media. Journalists and the media will use a general perspective (core frame) to see the issues that arise every day.

The problem is the public does not know the generic frame of each of the media. The media rarely expresses their general view of regional autonomy publicly. Thus, how can the public know the generic frame if the media do not uncover or say it openly? The answer is by investigating the issue-specific frame. To this end, research into the media's perspective while covering specific issues related to regional autonomy can be conducted, and based on the perspective on those specific issues, conclusions can be drawn with regard to the generic frame adopted by the media in terms of regional autonomy. This strategy was used to identify the frames of the media.

The process of discovering the master frame (generic frame) is explained as follows. At first, the researcher identified specific issues relating to regional autonomy that occurred in 2012 and 2013. All news relating to the relationship between the central government and the regions was collected. Then, the news about autonomy was categorized into specific issues. Once specific issues were revealed, the frame of each specific issue was identified. Based on the identification of the frame of specific issues,

the generic frame of the media coverage of the issue about regional autonomy could be described.

The researcher gathered news from *Kompas*, *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, and *Jurnal Nasional* published in 2012 and 2013. All news related to regional autonomy was collected. There were a total of 412 pieces of news about regional autonomy gathered from the three newspapers. From news about regional autonomy, the main topic or issue of the media coverage was identified. The result is presented in the table below.

TABLE 2. MAIN TOPICS REPORTED IN THREE MEDIA (KOMPAS, KR, JURNAS)

ISSUE/TOPIC	KOMPAS		JURNAL NASIONAL		KEDAULATAN RAKYAT	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Regional division	74	39.6%	20	16.3%	4	3.9%
Gubernatorial Elections	24	12.8%	32	26%	8	7.8%
Political Dynasties	17	9.1%	16	13%	3	3%
Corruption among the Local Elite	18	9.6%	16	13%	4	3.9%
Yogyakarta's "Special" Status	54	28.9%	39	31.7%	83	81.4%
Total	187	100%	123	100%	102	100%

Based on the table above, it is obvious that there are differences between the newspapers based in Jakarta (i.e. *Kompas* and *Jurnal Nasional*) with the local newspaper (i.e. *Kedaulatan Rakyat*) in the way they raised the issue about regional autonomy. In the first (i.e. *Kompas* and *Jurnal Nasional*), the news about regional autonomy was dominated by the news about regional division and gubernatorial elections. More specifically, for *Kompas*, the majority of news (39.6%) about regional autonomy concerned the issues about regional division, followed by Yogyakarta's "special" status (28.9%). Other prominent issues in the news spread in *Kompas* were regional-head elections (whether a regional head should be elected directly or by the Regional Parliament (i.e. DPRD)) by 12.8%, corruption among the local elite by 9.6%, and political dynasties by 9.1%. As for *Jurnal Nasional*, from a total of 123 pieces of news analyzed, most of them concerned with Yogyakarta's "special" status (31.7%) and regional-head elec-

tions (26%). Other prominent issues covered in *Jurnal Nasional* were the issues about regional division (16.3%), political dynasties (13%), and corruption among the local elite (13%).

Unlike *Kompas* and *Jurnal Nasional* which paid much attention to the issues about regional division, corruption among the local elite, political dynasties, and the debate about regional-head elections, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* did not do the same thing. Most of the coverage of regional autonomy in *Kedaulatan Rakyat* concerned Yogyakarta's "special" status (81.4%). The prominent issues covered in *Kompas* and *Jurnal Nasional* (such as regional division, regional-head elections, corruption among the local elite, and political dynasties) did not get extensive coverage in *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. This data suggest different emphasis between newspapers published in Jakarta (i.e. *Kompas* and *Jurnal Nasional*) with the local newspaper (i.e. *Kedaulatan Rakyat*). Based on the identification of those issues, this research undertook a more in-depth analysis of the frames adopted by the three newspapers for specific issues.

THE ISSUES ABOUT REGIONAL DIVISION

One of the most widely publicized issues concerning regional autonomy is regional division or establishment of new autonomous regions. The establishment of autonomous regions which is often called regional division is actually a phenomenon commonly found in many countries.

The political interpretation of the concept of decentralization is the transfer of authority to the people and the local government. This is the basic foundation for the implementation of democratic government which at the same time maintains the integrity of a country. In the case of Indonesia, according to [Riswanda Imawan \(2006: 13-15\)](#), there are at least five reasons for the establishment of new autonomous regions after the 1998 reform, namely inequality, politics of ethnicity, conflict resolution, historical claims, and, lastly, considerations of the central government.

It would be very interesting if the media, both the national media and, especially, the local media address the hustle and bustle of regional division like the two examples of cases above. More importantly, regional division is common especially since the approval of the Law No. 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government which was later revised into the Law No. 32 of 2004. There are pros and cons of regional division. Those who agree argue that regional division will help the local government's performance to be more focused (Yuwono 2016, Wijaya 2016). On the other hand, those who disagree used facts suggesting that in other areas undergoing regional division, the prosperity and tranquility of society living in such areas are not better than before those prior to regional division (Ibrahim 2015, Purnomo 2014).

Daily Newspapers *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* put different emphasis when covering the issues about regional division. *Kompas* is one of the newspapers most often raising the issues about regional division. From 187 pieces of news about regional autonomy analyzed in this research, 74 of them (39.6%) concerned regional division. *Jurnal Nasional* paid less attention to the issues about regional division. From a total of 123 pieces of news analyzed, only 20 of them (16.3%) concerned regional division. As for *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, it rarely raised the issues about regional division, where there were only 4 pieces of news (3.9%) about regional division from a total of 102 pieces of news analyzed.

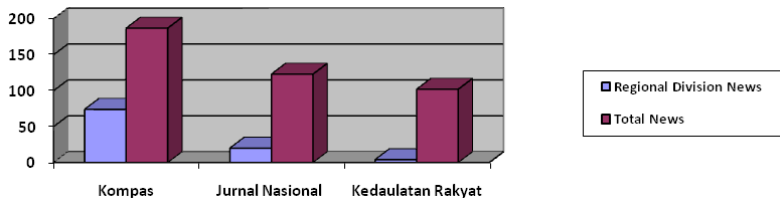


FIG. 2. FRAME IN LOCAL AND NATIONAL NEWS

The figure above shows the frames adopted by the three media. *Kompas* defined regional division as a result of the interests of the local elite. The majority of news about regional division

in the daily *Kompas* was framed as a result of the interests of the local elite. *Kompas* tended to be critical in assessing the issues about regional division. According to the frame adopted by *Kompas*, regional division took place due to the interests of the elite, rather than the needs of the people at the regional level. As for the daily newspaper *Jurnal Nasional*, the frame that often appeared was regulations. Regional division took place as a result of the demands of the local community which were accommodated by the Law. While *Kedaulatan Rakyat* viewed regional division in positive frame tunes, namely that proper implementation of regional division could accelerate development at the regional level.

Based on the foregoing, it is evident that the three newspapers adopted different frames to define regional division. *Kompas* tended to be critical of the issues about regional division, on the contrary, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* tends to pro regional division, while *Jurnal Nasional* straddled the issue, where it viewed regional division more as compliance with the Law on Regional Autonomy. In other words, regional division took place because the Law does allow it.

The three newspapers are also different in terms of the way they determine the source of the problem (*diagnose causes*), what or who is considered to cause the emergence of regional division. *Kompas* took a critical stand, seeing that the source of the problem was the local political elite. In *Kompas's* coverage, regional division was generally triggered by the desire of the local political elite. They were the party promoting regional division most actively. The local elite were also the party who reaped the most benefit from regional division. Meanwhile, a different frame is found in *Kedaulatan Rakyat's* coverage. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* did not put the local political elite as the party causing regional division. Rather, it wrote that regional division took place because the Law gives it a chance. If, in practice, regional division is not optimal, thus the law and rules governing regional division should take the blame and be criticized. *Jurnal Nasional* viewed regional

division as a negative impact of regional autonomy. Regional autonomy gave birth to new rulers at the regional level. *Jurnal Nasional* did not critically highlight the issue about the local elite. Rather, it simply discussed the positive and negative aspects of regional autonomy.

Kompas, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* adopted different frames in viewing the issues about regional division. The following table shows the dominant frames of the three newspapers.

TABLE 3. THE ISSUE ABOUT THE REGIONAL DIVISION

FRAMING TOOLS	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>Jurnal Nasional</i>	<i>Kedaulatan Rakyat</i>
<i>Define Problems</i>	Regional division occurs more because of the interests of the local elite rather than the needs of the local community.	Regional division is undertaken to meet the demands of the local community and Laws.	If undertaken properly, regional division can help accelerate development at the regional level.
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	Local political elite. The political elite get benefits from regional division.	Regional autonomy and the local political elite. Autonomy in practice gives birth to new rulers at the regional level.	Laws. Regional division takes place because it is accommodated by Laws, providing room which facilitates regional division.
<i>Make Moral Judgement</i>	Regional division should be done on the basis of community needs and the effectiveness of development programs.	The central government should comply with the Laws and grant the wish of the community at the regional level.	People's prosperity and tranquility should be the main objective of regional division. The community should be more prosperous and tranquil after enactment of the said regional division.
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	Returning the spirit of regional division to the right track.	People at the regional level negotiate together to decide whether or not regional division is necessary.	The decision regarding whether or not regional division is necessary should be taken by the community at the regional level.

THE ISSUE ABOUT REGIONAL-HEAD ELECTIONS/GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS

This issue rose to the surface throughout 2012 and 2013, along with proposed amendments to the Bill on Regional-Head Elections. The proposed amendments indicated the mechanism gubernatorial elections arose when the Government through the Ministry of Home Affairs proposed the Bill on Regional-Head

Elections. The Bill on Regional-Head Elections was part of the revision to the Law Number 32 of 2004 regarding Regional Government governing direct gubernatorial elections. This issue concerned whether governors should be elected by the Regional Government as what happened before 2005, or whether they should remain elected by way of elections. Experts and politicians did not share the same view on this issue.

Those who were pro direct gubernatorial elections (i.e. through Regional-Head Elections) argued that direct regional-head elections were a mandate from the Constitution. Indonesia is a republic, thus its head of state is called the president.

On the other hand, those who were against direct gubernatorial elections (i.e. through Regional-Head Elections) also had strong arguments. There were at least two reasons put forward by those who were pro gubernatorial elections through the Regional Parliament (see [Made Suwandi, 2013](#)). First, it was intended to enhance the efficiency of the election budget where the procedures for gubernatorial elections required a considerable amount of money. The budget required for every direct gubernatorial election ranged from IDR70 billion to IDR90 billion or approximately US\$ 7.5 million to US\$ 10 million. Second, governors only had modest authority. The low intensity of the relationship between a governor and society did not demand considerable accountability from the governor to society.

How was this issue about direct gubernatorial elections reported by *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*? The graph illustrates news about this issue in those three newspapers. This issue received extensive coverage in *Kompas* and *Jurnal Nasional*. There were a total of 24 pieces of news in *Kompas* and 32 pieces of news in *Jurnal Nasional*. On the contrary, in *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, this issue did not get much attention. There were only 8 pieces of news in total which concerned the issue about direct gubernatorial elections reported in *Kedaulatan Rakyat*.

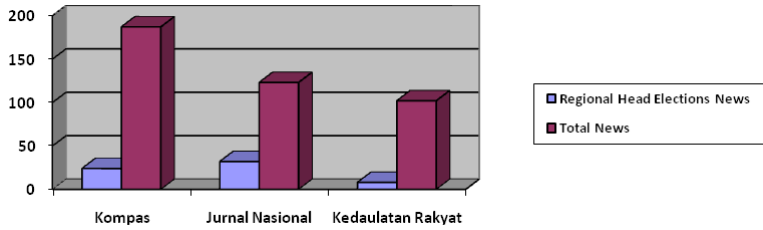


FIG 3. FRAME REGIONAL-HEAD ELECTIONS/GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS

What about the news frames adopted by the three newspapers with regard to the issue about direct gubernatorial elections? The following graph shows how this issue about direct gubernatorial elections was defined by the three newspapers (*define problems*). Based on this graph, it is revealed that the way the three newspapers defined the issue was different. *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* viewed this issue about gubernatorial elections in the context of citizens' rights. Although direct elections cost expensive, such elections must remain at hold to ensure the rights and sovereignty of the people. With direct elections, the people can directly determine the one deemed right to lead their province. The use of a different frame was indicated by the newspaper *Jurnal Nasional*. It argued that direct gubernatorial elections were incompatible with the system of presidential government. Because governors are representatives of the central government at the regional level, they should be elected by the Regional Parliament or by the president.

The period after direct regional-head elections was often tinged with problems related to the relationship between the regents/mayors with the governor and governors with the president. Coordination between the president, governors, and mayors/regents in turn did not run well. Governors were often unable to coordinate regents/mayors who reported to them because these regional head felt that they had considerable power to rule their respective territory. The same was also found in the relationship between governors and the president. Governors often made policies which were incompatible with the policy established by

TABLE 4. THE ISSUE ABOUT GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS

FRAMING			
TOOLS	<i>Kompas</i>	<i>Jurnal Nasional</i>	<i>Kedaulatan Rakyat</i>
<i>Define Problems</i>	Direct gubernatorial elections are the embodiment of respect for People's Sovereignty in choosing public officials.	Direct gubernatorial elections are incompatible with the function of the governor as the representative of the central government (i.e. the president) at the regional level.	Direct gubernatorial elections are in line with the democratic system.
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	The political elite. Problems surrounding governors (such as governors who are not subservient to the president, governors are involved in corruption, governors who have no control over regents/mayors, and so on.) emerge from the elite. The blame for the emergence of such problems cannot be put on regional-head elections.	Direct elections. Direct elections often make governors not subservient to the president because they do not regard the president as their "superior". Rather, they are more subservient to the party naming them as a candidate in gubernatorial elections.	Regulations and rules are not strict. Once elected as a governor, the governor-elect is no longer a party representative but a representative of the central government.
<i>Make Moral Judgement</i>	People's sovereignty is vital. Democracy requires considerable efforts, but it must be done to ensure the sovereignty of the people.	A model for Indonesian elections which is efficient and cost-effective without reducing the rights of the people.	Support from the people must be accompanied by the awareness of the elite. The elite must be responsible.
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	System reforms. The weakness of direct elections does not mean that the direct election system has to be abolishes. Reforms can be made through improvements in the electoral system (such as recruitment of the candidates), and a more efficient system can be developed (such as simultaneous elections) without removing the essence of direct elections.	Governors are elected by the Regional Parliament (DPRD). In addition to reducing the budget, this type of election will reinforce the function of governors as the coordinator of regents/mayors and at the same time as the representative of the central government at the regional level.	Awareness of the elite. Problems surrounding gubernatorial elections can be overcome by raising the awareness of the political elite.

the central government. Governors also thought that they were chosen directly by society so that rather than to the central government, they should be responsible to society.

How did the three newspapers view the source of these problems (diagnose causes)? *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* adopted different frames. *Jurnal Nasional* believed that those problems took place as a result of direct gubernatorial elections. These problems could be solved if governors were not elected directly, and the fact that governors were representatives of the central government in regions should be highlighted. A different frame was shown by *Kompas*. According to the frame adopted by *Kompas*, the various problems related to the relationship between the central government and the regional government was not a result from direct elections. Rather than eliminating the system of direct elections itself, improvements should be made to the system. Bad relationships can be solved by building a system and mechanisms of relationship between the president and governors. The same thing was also shown in the news in *Kedaulatan Rakyat*.

Newspapers *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* adopted a different frame in viewing the issue about direct gubernatorial elections. The following table shows the dominant frames adopted by the three newspapers.

THE ISSUE ABOUT POLITICAL DYNASTIES

Another issue that received much attention from the media coverage is the existence of political dynasties. These practices of dynastic politics might exercise an adverse influence on the various aspects of a country's development (social, economic, and political) because in the event strategic (social, economic, political,) resources are monopolized or controlled by certain groups with a close relationship by kinship, the access of every citizen to such strategic resources will definitely not be the same, those close to power will easily gain access to position, power, and financial ease, while those who are not will not enjoy these benefits.

The term “political dynasty” refers to the control over public offices (regional heads and legislators) by particular family. This term has begun to rise to fame in Indonesia especially since 2009. This is marked by the emergence of regional heads and legislators who still have family ties. The wife or children of regional heads become legislators or regional heads elsewhere. As a result of this political dynasty, public positions are dominated by several family members. Based on search undertaken by *Kompas* (19 October 2013), there were at least 37 regional heads having family ties with other state officials. There are two reasons as to why many question the issue about political dynasties. First, political dynasties are seen to close the chance of other political actors in potential areas. Secondly, they can eliminate criticism and social control.

The Daily Newspapers *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* put the news about this political dynasty differently. *Kompas* and *Jurnal Nasional* quite often raised this issue about political dynasties. There were a total of 17 pieces of news in *Kompas* and 16 pieces of news in *Jurnal Nasional*. While in *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, there were only 3 pieces of news on the issue about these political dynasties. This issue was less interesting to the newspaper *Kedaulatan Rakyat*.

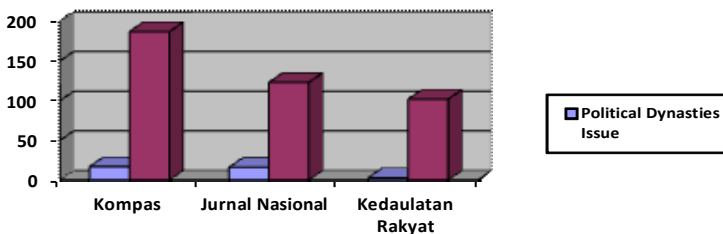


FIG. 4. FRAME ISSUE ON POLITICAL DYNASTY

In addition to differences in the quantity, the three newspapers also adopted a different frame to report this issue about political dynasties. The graph above shows how the issue about political dynasties is defined by the three newspapers (*define prob-*

lems). *Kompas* more often viewed the issue about political dynasties as a result of regional autonomy. In its view, regional autonomy, on one hand, had a positive impact but, on the other hand, it had a negative impact as well.

The emergence of political dynasties is the negative effect of regional autonomy. Local rulers and the local political elite became “free riders” of regional autonomy. As a state policy, regional autonomy provides an opportunity for the local elite to hold a public office (e.g. through the election of regional heads or legislators). Regional autonomy also provides widespread opportunities for local officials to make policies. This is often used by the local political elite to seize the opportunity to accumulate their economic and political power. Using their popularity, local officials can help other family members to hold public positions through elections.

On the other hand, the daily newspaper *Jurnal Nasional* viewed the issue about political dynasties differently. It argued that political dynasties were the product of feudal and non-transparent political parties. Currently, to hold public offices (such as legislators or regional heads) by way of elections, one has to join with political parties. Parties should be able to filter by limiting the emergence of political dynasties but, on the contrary, parties often prefer to encourage relatives to compete as a candidate in an election. As for *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, it framed the issue about political dynasties as the result of poor regulation and law enforcement. The existing law did not limit political dynasties, making the local political elite take advantage of this gap.

The three newspapers (*Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*) are also different in the way they viewed who or what was the cause of these political dynasties (*diagnose causes*). *Kompas* believed that political dynasties emerged as a result of regional autonomy. Regional autonomy which was not well prepared led to the emergence of political dynasties, the unexpected condition when regional autonomy was implemented. *Jurnal Nasional* had a different view from that of *Kompas*. It argued that political

dynasties came to the surface due to the recruitment system of political parties.

TABLE 5. THE ISSUE ON THE POLITICAL DYNASTY

FRAMING TOOLS	KOMPAS	JURNAL NASIONAL	KEDAULATAN RAKYAT
<i>Define Problems</i>	A political dynasty is a negative by-product of autonomy. A dynasty is a "free rider" of regional autonomy.	The political dynasty is a reflection of the feudalistic political system and parties that have not performed their function properly.	A political dynasty arises due to weak regulations
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	Regional autonomy. Autonomy gives birth to new rulers who have more resources.	The national political parties and elite. Recruitment of parties that do not filter political dynasties.	Laws and regulations do not limit the political dynasty.
<i>Make Moral Judgement</i>	Every policy has two sides, the good and bad ones. There are always people or parties who take advantage for their own or group's benefit.	A political dynasty is born from a traditional system. Parties must adopt a modern, transparent, and open system.	Human desire to continue to increase power. Therefore, regulations which limit power should be made.
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	Investigation of cases such as corruption and misappropriation to the local level to provide a deterrent effect.	Transparent party recruitment. Parties name candidates for regional heads or the legislative assembly who are not a member of the political dynasty.	Revisions to the Law on Political Parties or the Law on Local Governments that limit the position as a public officer occupied by members of the political dynasties.

Political parties should take the blame in the event of the emergence of political dynasties. Often, they did not limit even they encouraged the network of kinship at the regional level to compete in elections, or, the worse, they often regard being in a political dynasty would give a candidate an big advantage over the other candidates such as having better popularity, networks, and resources. Meanwhile, the daily newspaper *Kedaulatan Rakyat* viewed the issue about political dynasties as a result of weak regu-

lations. Regulations and law enforcement should take the blame in the event of the emergence of political dynasties.

Newspapers *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* adopted different frames in viewing the issue about political dynasties. The following table presents the dominant frames adopted by the three newspapers.

THE ISSUE ABOUT CORRUPTION AMONG THE LOCAL ELITE

Corruption is one of the main problems in some countries, including Indonesia. Many cases of corruption which occur in the institutions of Indonesia's government ([Nurmandi, 2013](#)), one of the most attention-grabbing issues among the media is the case of corruption among the local elite. Newspapers often reported the local elite (especially regional heads) involved in various local cases. There is a great number of regional heads involved in corruption cases. In July 2013, the Minister of Home Affairs Gamawan Fauzi made a surprising statement. According to Gamawan, as many as 86.22 percent of regional heads in Indonesia were involved in corruption cases (330 of 524 regional heads and deputy regional heads), either as a witness, suspect, defendant, or guilty party.

Meanwhile, other data were obtained from the Director General of Regional Autonomy of the Ministry of Home Affairs Djohermansyah Djohan, stating that from 2004 to February 2013, a total of 291 regional heads, either governors, regents, or mayors, were involved in corruption cases, specifically 21 governors, 7 vice-governors, 156 regents, 46 vice-regents, 41 mayors, and 20 vice-mayors. In addition to regional heads, corruption at the regional level also involved members of the parliament. Legislators entangled in corruption reached as many as 431 in the Regional Parliament at the regency/city level and 2,545 in the Regional Parliament at the provincial level, or 6.1 percent of a total of 18,275 members of the Regional Parliament in Indonesia.

Not all of these cases of corruption among the local elite were

analyzed in this research. This research only includes newspaper coverage of corruption among the local elite related to regional autonomy. The details of news about corruption cases related to regional autonomy are provided below. In *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, there were a total of 18, 16, and 4 pieces of news which concerned this issue, respectively. It should be noted that the analysis was made only on the news about the debate on regional autonomy. Thus, not all the news about local corruption was studied and analyzed in this research.

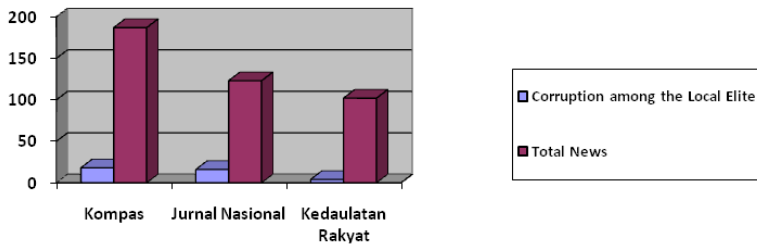


FIG 5. FRAME ISSUE ABOUT CORRUPTION AMONG THE LOCAL ELITE

Interestingly, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* was the daily newspaper with the least coverage of the issue about corruption among the local elite. Meanwhile, *Kompas* and *Jurnal Nasional* were relatively balanced in terms of the coverage of news about corruption among the local elite. In addition to the frequency of coverage, another thing which was also interesting was the news frames adopted by the three newspapers. *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* adopted different frames to define the issue about corruption (*define problems*). *Kompas* viewed corruption among the local political elite (regional heads, bureaucratic officials, and members of the Regional Parliament) as a result of a costly elections system. *Kompas* defined corruption more as a result of structural issues rather than to personal or cultural issues.

In *Kompas's* coverage, corruption involving many of the local elite occurred when they were required to spend a considerable amount of money to occupy their political position. It required millions of rupiahs to be a candidate, thus once elected, the lo-

cal elite was unable to resist the temptation to commit corruption. When they were in office, they were also tempted to commit corruption to prepare funds for the subsequent election. A different frame was adopted by *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. This newspaper viewed corruption as a matter of law, especially with the absence of strict sanctions and clean legal apparatus. Rather than decreasing, corruption in Indonesia indeed continued to increase as a result of the absence of legal sanctions which provided a deterrent effect. Local officials were not afraid of committing corruption. Moreover, law enforcement officers were also not firm, were unfair, and did not provide the maximum penalty for corruptors.

The daily newspaper *Jurnal Nasional* adopted a completely different frame from that of *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. *Jurnal Nasional* did not mention the issue about corruption as a matter of law enforcement or as a result of the government's indecision at all. Conversely, *Jurnal Nasional* often wrote about the government's assertiveness, such as a great number of inspection permits issued by the president, the achievements of the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), and so on. *Jurnal Nasional* viewed this issue about corruption as a result of insufficient social and political sanctions. Those who had been proven to commit corruption were not given moral and social sanctions. Even, many officials who were ex-prisoners could run for a political office in the next period.

The three newspapers were also different in the ways they viewed the source of the problem (*Diagnose Causes*) of a high number of corruption cases at the regional level. *Kompas* saw the high number of corruption cases at the regional level as resulting from the electoral system and political costs which were considerably expensive. An election should be made cheap, thus the best and cleanest people can hold public positions at the regional level. Otherwise, the local political elite will be entangled in the circle of corruption, i.e. they will try to get compensation for the money they have spent to run for the election once they assume office.

TABLE 6. THE POLITICAL CORRUPTION ISSUE

FRAMING TOOLS	KOMPAS	JURNAL NASIONAL	KEDAULATAN RAKYAT
<i>Define Problems</i>	Political corruption is a negative by-product of the direct election of regional heads. Great power at the regional level is also accompanied by the emergence of corruption at the regional level.	Corruption does not only require a legal approach but also a social and cultural approach.	Corruption is an issue in Indonesia and it takes place both at the center level and at the regional level.
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	A costly system and practice of regional-head elections. The costly political cost is the root of the problem of the corrupt behavior of the local elite.	The absence of moral and social punishment. Law enforcement officers have put a great number of corruptors, however corrupt behavior does not go down due to lack of moral sanctions.	Punishment and the deterrent effect which are less effective for corruptors. Many corruptors do not receive severe punishment.
<i>Make Moral Judgement</i>	Corruption is not just an issue of culture, but also a matter of system. A corrupt system encourages people to be corrupt.	Corruption is an evil and low deed. Nowadays, many people are corrupt, but they are not ashamed of themselves, and behave like nothing happens after they have been released.	The temptation of power is hard to resist. A good person can be a corrupt one when she/he comes into power.
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	Reforms to the electoral mechanism, especially the political cost. Political financing should be made cheap, open, and transparent so that candidates can resist the temptation to be corrupt later when they take office.	Social sanctions (making corruptors isolated and poor) and political sanctions (e.g.) does not allow to occupy any political position in the future and so on) for corruptors to provide a deterrent effect.	There should be rules and maximum punishment to provide a deterrent effect.

Besides, with considerable political costs, only the old elites (the same people) will have a chance to run for the election and be elected, and do not give a chance for new candidates who are relatively clean. Meanwhile, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* believed that the source of the issue about corruption was the absence of strict

law enforcement. In the event of proper law enforcement, the culprits should get the maximum punishment (even sentenced to death, if necessary), and the law officers will treat them fairly, and this will provide a deterrent effect and make people afraid of committing corruption. Corrupt behavior is getting increasingly common because the light sentence makes people not afraid of committing corruption. On the contrary, *Jurnal Nasional* argued that the source of the problem of corruption was the absence of social and political sanctions for the culprits. Law enforcement marked by the high number of officials at the regional level arrested and prosecuted does not reduce the number of corruption cases in the event of the absence of social sanctions. In addition to different problem definitions and different causes of the problem, the three newspapers also had a different stand in terms of coverage of moral decisions and settlement of the problem highlighted. The following table briefly illustrates the dominant frames adopted by the three newspapers in viewing the issue about corruption among the local elite.

THE ISSUE ABOUT ASYMMETRIC DECENTRALIZATION: YOGYAKARTA'S "SPECIAL" STATUS

The 1945 Constitution (amendment) clearly recognizes the existence of asymmetric decentralization. The regulations governing asymmetric decentralization are found in Article 18A paragraph (1) as well as Article 18B paragraphs (1) and (2). The regulations governing asymmetric decentralization are specified further in the form of Laws. So far, there are four special laws, namely the Law No. 13 of 2012 concerning the "Special" Status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the Law No. 29 of 2007 concerning the Provincial Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta as the Capital of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, the Law No. 11 of 2006 concerning the Government of Aceh, and the Law No. 21 of 2001 concerning the Special Autonomy of Papua Province.

Despite the recognition of this asymmetric decentralization

in the constitution, this topic is still under debate among society (and the media), especially with regards to the conditions and requirements for a region to gain the status of a special region or a special autonomous region. Among the most prominent debates concerned is the issue about Yogyakarta's "special" status. Many of the media reported this issue together with the discussion of the Bill on Yogyakarta's "Special Status" (RUUK DIY).

The government and the Democratic Party were tempted to have the governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta chosen by elections like what other regions in Indonesia do, while the Parliament and society preferred determination. The discussion of the bill was urgent because the term of office of Sultan and Paku Alam would end by 9 October 2012. This means that the Law concerning Yogyakarta's "Special" Status must have been approved before the term of office ended in order to avoid power vacuum. After a long debate, on 30 August 2012, the Parliament passed the Bill on Yogyakarta's "Special" Status, namely the Law No. 13 of 2012 concerning The "Special" Status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. According to this Law, the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta shall not be elected by way of a Regional-Head Election, rather the governor shall be determined by the Regional Parliament of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Afterwards, results of the determination shall be submitted to the President through the Minister for approval.

This research merely included debates about Yogyakarta's "special" status which took place between 2010 and 2012. There were numerous aspects discussed in the debates about Yogyakarta's "special" status and this research only focused on the debate about the election or determination of the governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta which received extensive media coverage. The issue received extensive coverage in all the three newspapers. There were a total of 54, 39, and 83 pieces of news about the special" status of the Special Region of Yogyakarta in *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, respectively. The news on the issue about the debate over the special" status of the Spe-

cial Region of Yogyakarta received extensive coverage in *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, this was not surprising given that *Kedaulatan Rakyat* is published in Yogyakarta.

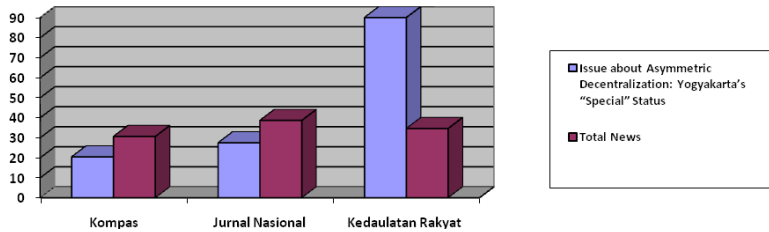


FIG. 6. FRAME ISSUE ASYMMETRIC DECENTRALIZATION: YOGYAKARTA'S "SPECIAL" STATUS

How did the three newspapers frame the issue about Yogyakarta's "special" status, especially related to the idea of direct regional-head elections? The daily newspaper *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* tended to agree if the Sultan should be directly appointed as the governor, without having to run for the regional-head election. However, these two newspapers proposed different arguments.

The daily newspaper *Kompas* put more emphasis on the aspirations of the people of Yogyakarta, while *Kedaulatan Rakyat* highlighted the Sultan's unique status for the people of Yogyakarta. The Sultan, for the people of Yogyakarta, is a leader, not just a cultural symbol. Therefore, the Sultan shall indeed be appointed as the governor or the regional head. This practice has lasted a long time, and so far there is neither problem nor protest against it.

A different stance was taken by the newspaper *Jurnal Nasional*. It supported the idea of choosing the Regional Head of Yogyakarta by way of elections, either through direct elections or the election through the Regional Parliament. According to the frame adopted by *Jurnal Nasional*, this election process will ensure government accountability and at the same time prevent jealousy of other regions because in other regions, a regional head is directly elected.

TABLE 7. THE ISSUE ON YOGYAKARTA'S "SPECIAL" STATUS

FRAMING TOOLS	KOMPAS	JURNAL NASIONAL	KEDAULATAN RAKYAT
<i>Define Problems</i>	The debate about the election/determination of the Governor of Yogyakarta arises because the aspirations of the people of Yogyakarta who really want their Sultan to be automatically designated as the Governor are not well accommodated.	The debate about the "special" status of Yogyakarta gives momentum to think of the position of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta in the local government. Not just about the issue about how the governor is selected/ determined.	The debate about the election/determination of the Governor of Yogyakarta arises due to the absence of appreciation of the culture and uniqueness of Yogyakarta. The system in which the Sultan should automatically become a governor has lasted since a long time ago, and so far no protest has been made.
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	The central government insists on adopting the uniformity of the autonomy system which is not necessarily compatible with the condition of the people of Yogyakarta. The majority of the people of Yogyakarta agree with the determination, thus it is not necessary to insist on organizing the gubernatorial election through the Regional-Head Election. The system and practice of selecting a regional head which requires considerable cost.	The political elite tend to obscure government proposals. The central government does not mean to disrespect the heritage and history of Yogyakarta. Rather, it wants to put the Sultanate of Yogyakarta in an important position, not stuck in practical politics.	The central government and the elite forget the history and contribution given by Yogyakarta to the Republic of Indonesia as well as the uniqueness of Yogyakarta's culture. Sultan's position for the people of Yogyakarta is very unique and central and this is different from other regions.
<i>Make Moral Judgement</i>	Regional autonomy should pay attention to the uniqueness, peculiarity, and problems of each region. There is no need for uniformity, because what fits in one region does not necessarily fit in another region.	The important principle of democracy is to give people the opportunity to be elected to hold public position. People can also choose the best candidate.	Don't forget history. A great nation is a nation that values its history, including the contribution given by the region (Yogyakarta) to the Republic.

<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	The governor is not elected, but determined as what has been done previously. This system has been suitable with the wishes of the majority of the people of Yogyakarta, and does not violate the constitution (the 1945 Constitution).	Regional-head elections involve community participation. A regional head is not elected through determination; rather she/he is chosen through the election process, either through a direct election or appointed by the Regional Parliament.	Yogyakarta should be given a special status with the sultan appointed directly as the governor.
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The same thing can also be found in terms of who is considered as the source of the problems (*diagnose causes*). Both *Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* blamed the central government and the political elite at the central level (especially the Democratic Party) for the debate about direct regional-head elections. According to the frame adopted by *Kompas*, the central government neglected the aspirations of the people of Yogyakarta who preferred the determination of the Sultan as the governor because the central government only cared about uniformity, it did not take into account public turmoil and aspirations. Meanwhile, the frame adopted by *Kedaulatan Rakyat* highlighted the negligence of the Central Government and the elite of the history. The positions of Yogyakarta and the Sultanate are unique, which involve a long historical process. The Sultanate of Yogyakarta contributed significantly to the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia. Thus, the Sultan of Yogyakarta deserves the position as the regional head. A different frame was adopted by the newspaper *Jurnal Nasional*. According to the frame adopted by *Jurnal Nasional*, the root cause of the debate about the election or determination of the governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta was a misunderstanding. The central government and the elite (Democratic Party) never intended to disrespect the Sultanate of Yogyakarta.

The truth was that the idea of direct elections was aimed to return the Sultan to the correct position. The issue about regional-head elections would serve as a gate to initiate discussion about other issues relating to the position of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta within regional government.

In addition to different problem definitions and different causes of the problem, the three newspapers also had a different stand in terms of coverage of moral decisions and settlement of the problem highlighted. The following table briefly illustrates the dominant frames adopted by the three newspapers in viewing the issue about Yogyakarta's "special" region.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analyses of the dynamics of three media in constructing the reality of regional autonomy and the frame adopted by the dailies *Kompas*, *Jurnal Nasional*, and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* with regard to the issue about Regional Autonomy, the following conclusions can be drawn.

The news text analysis at the micro level discovered five salient issues related to regional autonomy throughout 2012 and 2013. These five issues are regional division, Yogyakarta's "special" status, political dynasties, corruption among the local elite, and direct regional-head elections (gubernatorial election), while the analysis at the meso level (at the media level) by comparing the perspectives of the media on the issue about regional autonomy found out different perspective. Broadly speaking, the frame adopted by the daily *Kompas* seemed critical on the issue about regional autonomy, the frame adopted by the daily *Jurnal Nasional* looked consistent with the government policy of President SBY with regard to the issue about regional autonomy, while the frame adopted by the daily *Kedaulatan Rakyat* as a local newspaper more often viewed the issue about regional autonomy from the local perspective.

The analysis at the media (meso) level also found that the factors of ownership and capital remained exercising a fairly

strong influence on the frame adopted by the media under study. The daily *Jurnal Nasional*, due to its close relationship with President SBY, the frame related to the issues about regional autonomy seemed to support the policy of SBY's government. Similarly, the frame adopted by the daily *Kedaulatan Rakyat* when it comes to matters related to the media owner such as the issues about the political dynasty and corruption among the political elite, it did not adopt a critical frame, thereby the issue about Yogyakarta's "special" status received the most extensive coverage in the daily *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. The frame adopted by *Kompas* looked critical in reporting varied news about regional autonomy and the factor of capital ownership did not seem to intervene in the news reported by *Kompas* in relation to the issue about regional autonomy. However, on the other hand, *Kompas* seemed trying to maintain, even increase the number of its readers at the regional level by making the issue about regional autonomy a headline several times.

The analysis at the macro level showed how the issues packaged by the mass media which were then broadcasted to the public were finally able to force the Central Government to change its policy on regional autonomy, especially the issue about regional-head elections, where the Central Government wanted elections through the Regional Parliament, but it was then changed into direct elections conducted by society. Likewise, in the issue about Yogyakarta's "special" status, at the beginning the Central Government wanted that the position as the Governor is not occupied by the Sultan of Yogyakarta, but later on the policy was changed where the Governor of Yogyakarta Special Region shall automatically be held by the Sultan of Yogyakarta.

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