

The Naturalization Policy in Online News Media: A Framing Analysis

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Abstract. Mediation by the government in the Royal Palace of Surakarta's internal conflict was considered reasonable and appropriate policy by the media. The approach to the conflict did not emphasize a strong cultural aspect of that culture-based organization. This research aimed to examine how online news media reported on the Royal Palace of Surakarta's internal conflict. Furthermore, this research used framing analysis as proposed by Stephen D Reese to analyze the news published in February 2014. The outcome indicated that there was framing construction of the government policies. The content of the news presented that framing processes occurred. Those started from the transmission of the various debated about government policy, then reinforced through elections sentence that supported certain policy and continued to the naturalization process. The final process was an important strategy to make mediation as an accepted policy that should be done by the government. In the conclusion, the perception to be formed was that government policies were appropriate, and so everyone should hold it. The conflict resolution could be achieved through the mediation as already conducted.

Keywords: conflict, framing, government policy, online news media

Introduction

Stephen D Reese conceptualization of framing added the diversity of framing analysis among scholars. Reese (2001) focused on the combination of sender, interest, and culture in understanding the world from the verbal and visual symbol around us. He was able to define framing clearly into six aspects that useful in understanding framing (Carter, 2013). Reese work is crucial to be explored further in the field of communication.

After losing its political power due to the rebellion of community opposition in October 1945, the Royal Palace of Surakarta became the palace without power. Its status was changed into the center of Javanese culture. It has experienced sustained conflict since the destruction of King Paku Bowono XII (PB XII). Difference of opinion among

his children took place because his sons wanted to be his successor as King PB XIII. The family conflict was continued to this day. This prolonged conflict became familiar in this country since it received pervasive reports by various media, both print and electronic.

The way journalists connect with the public issue can be seen from the process of selecting and stressing the important point, until how they deliver hidden message in this issue (Munshi, Kurian, Fraser, & Rugar, 2014). In the conflict situation, for example, the peace journalism can be conducted by making conflicts transparent and covering both sides. These also can be easily disseminated by societies using social media or internet access (Perez de Fransius, 2014).

This research is important in the organizational life since it could motivate organizations to think critically before making

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a judgment from the news texts. Additionally, public relations as an organizational representative are reinforced to create an effective response strategy that is very useful in dealing with the media reports.

Framing Analysis

Many types of research and recommendations towards framing had been discussed deeply. However, framing still has a minimum coherent definition (Hallahan, 1999). One of the familiar definitions was proposed by Entman. A newer definition comes from (Reese, 2001) who stated that "framing are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that works symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world.

Framing studies provide many new discourses in the practice of public relations organization. For instance, in a crisis situation that is faced by an organization, the news media may bring difficulties for them. When public curious about the organizational response, they will search information through the media or friends that suit to their preferences. After having information, they will give an opinion that is formed as an image for the organization (Austin & Jin, 2015).

The problem may come from the media frames. It depends on the crisis type. When the organizational crisis is preventable, the news media have a tendency to blame the member or the organization as a whole. The media frame is useful in determining the responsibility than the crisis itself (An & Gower, 2009). As a response towards those phenomena, public relations of the organization need to interpret and suggest an effective crisis communication strategy. They have to manage the conflict well enough in order to decrease the gap in the framing process.

The interpretive framing process as proposed by Reese, view frames "as a macro-level cultural structure that function in its scope as an ideological expression." The process was conducted by identifying the key components that come up of the news texts and analyzing how they were adapted to the media. These steps describe the judgments that proposed by the media. The frame adopted by the media suited to their organizational culture and rules. The progress of adopted frame is initiated with the transmission, reification, and naturalization. In the final process, naturalization, it comes to

the public that reality informed by the media is common or generally accepted by the public (Reese & Lewis, 2009).

Conflict Frame And Government Policy In The Media Coverage

The objective of news media is still questionable. It appears from the journalists and media perspectives toward their worldviews and logical practice. Consequently, it influences the perception towards worldviews which sometimes imbalance (Paterson & Nothias, 2016). When the issue related to the policy makers, the media will focus more on the particular policy comparable to the main problem (Yanovitzky, 2002). This media view could bring the issue becomes more complicated.

It was proven that the media portray the situation that the policymakers have the power to drive the condition. This was believed that the contexts relate to the decision of the policy makers (Melin, 2015). This also reinforced by the phenomena that media frame can be seen as a reflection of a political culture. Especially in a country where the journalists create frame depend on the decision-making of the nation's political culture (Floss & Marcinkowski, 2008). The media had the power to propose its frame, whether to argue with the policy makers or to present the balancing fact.

The conflict frames had received much attention from scholars. Among five news frame type as proposed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) (conflict frame, human interest frame, economic consequences frame, morality frame, and responsibility frame), the conflict frame has placed at the second-highest frame. This implied that conflict frame that occurs in individual, group or organizational level has news values that attract the public attention.

The conflict that related to the public issue always brings demand for the organization. The public wants to know how the organization faces its conflict. The response that was given by the organization was very important in a conflict situation. This could happen because it can reduce the negative effect (Jeong, 2015). Since organizations live in the societies, it is important to understand the views of their surrounding toward them.

In this case, the government as the policy maker reported in arranging the

mediation towards that family conflict. However, one of the parties refused to join since they did not feel they were involved from the beginning. The rejection of mediation was also a choice. As what Rispens, Jonsen, & Greer (2013) stated that in conflict, anyone that still give a response to thinking about conflict still involved in the conflict, no matter what the behaviors are.

The previous explanation recommended that it is important to expand the journalist approach toward the government interference from the perspective of a journalist. This could give us a better understanding of how and why certain prejudice arose. Instead of exploring the conflict process, this paper tried to investigate the following research question, Who is the dominant source in producing the coverage of this conflict and How did the mediation approach are presented by the online news media through transmission, reification, and naturalization.

Research Method

This study used framing analysis under the qualitative paradigm. As a qualitative framing, this study used the interpretive text-based. The decision suited to the purpose of the research. Since this study was addressed to describe the phenomena without generalization, the samples in this study were relatively small samples, but still reflected the discourse. These qualifications are suited to Matthes (2009). He stated that frames are described in-depth, with detailed quotes, but without quantification.

This study was conducted by using framing analysis that was developed by Stephen D Reese. Reese mentioned that framing was interpretive. Therefore, it should be analyzed by the qualitative approach. That approach tends to give emphasis on the cultural and political content of news frames and how they draw upon a shared store of social meanings. To examine the crisis frame, a careful reading of the news articles covered by www.solopos.com <<http://www.solopos.com>> was conducted during February 2014. There are 13 news articles related to The Royal Palace of Surakarta's conflict. The small sample size should not become boundary because the main purpose of the inductive approach here is to naturally examine the dominant findings that emerge naturally from the data (Macnamara, 2005).

There were 112 excerpts that selected from one-month news online. Many patterns

were shown from those excerpts. Furthermore, the analysis, then moved into matching the patterns into the categories that already developed by Reese. Those categories were transmission, reification of that policy and naturalized, the uncritical way of seeing the world.

The process of Framing Construction

Based on the coding's result, it showed that the focus of conflict was the interference of the central government in resolving this family conflict. The problem started with the presence of Minister of Youth and Sports Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Roy Suryo who was appointed by the former president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) as the conflict mediator. His presence triggered the debate on PB XIII- Gusti Tedjowulan and Dewan Adat. The position was that PB XIII and Gusti Tedjowulan party agreed and supported by his presence, otherwise, Dewan Adat rejected his presence.

PB XIII felt that Roy's presence was the answer to his complaint to the president previously. Additionally, Gusti Tedjowulan parties also felt that government's intervention was because Dewan Adat disobeyed the freedom agreement that acknowledges him as mahapatih or Dwi Tunggal idea. On the other hand, Dewan Adat felt that Roy presence was inappropriate and irrelevant since they thought that his coming was not to discuss conflict resolution. Here is the analysis based on Reese framing model which are transmission, reification and naturalization process.

Transmission Process

In the first step, a frame will be transmitted by certain parties in order to make the public officials turn into public discourse. This process can be done by citing direct or indirect quotations from any sources in the media. In the process, the frame is approved as a substitute explanation of the policy discourse which exists in the news excerpts (Reese & Lewis, 2009). In this study, the parties consisted of PB XIII-Gusti Tedjowulan, Dewan Adat and also the government. The words could be in the form of direct statements or quoted or paraphrased that portrayed in the online news media.

In this stage, Solo Pos explained the reason why Roy was chosen to be the mediator by Roy 'sentences or paraphrasing his statements. For example,

on February 17, 2014, Solo Pos wrote that Roy was asked by president SBY to resolve the internal family conflict. It explained the background of his presence and reason why he was the chosen one. It portrayed that his duty was very important to be accomplished.

Solo Pos gave an argument about the interference of SBY as the president in order to resolve the conflict (February 22, 2014). The transmission of the message also conducted again on February 23, 2014. Then, this online news media strengthened Roy's statement by citing his announcement that there would be a meeting between PB XIII and SBY in Jakarta (February 23, 2014). From the textual analysis, it was apparent that there were many excerpts that mentioned about the support toward Roy and SBY in order to solve the conflict as needed by these family members. For example, in the headline of the news in titled "PB XIII Curhat ke Presiden, SBY Siap Bantu (PB XIII was asked the President to help and the president was ready to help)" (February 23, 2014). Another excerpt mentioned:

PB XIII menceritakan kebebasan dirinya sebagai sosok Raja terganggu karena sebagian besar wilayah Keraton Solo sudah dikuasai oleh Lembaga Dewan Adat Keraton yang dipimpin oleh adiknya sendiri yakni G.K.R. Wandansari atau Mbak Moeng. (PB XIII told to SBY that his freedom as a king was interrupted because of Dewan Adat. He stated that most areas already controlled by Dewan Adat that led by his sister, GKR Wandansari). (February 23, 2014)

The presence of Roy as a mediator, although supported by PB XIII-Gusti Tedjowulan and the government, did not approve by Dewan Adat. They felt that Roy's arrival to the Royal Palace of Surakarta was only talking about the car and not discussing the conflict solution. Here are the examples:

Jadi ketika itu memang tidak ada pembicaraan soal rekonsiliasi (There's no discussion about reconciliation- Gusti Puger said) (February 23, 2014)

Dewan Adat's argument was also approved by Roy, but then he acknowledged that his coming was followed by the mission to solve the conflict. For example, one sentence said,

Dalam perkembangannya, Roy mengaku ditunjuk presiden dan beberapa kerabat keraton serta sentana. Tugas itu adalah menyatukan atau melanggengkan kembali keprajan Keraton Surakarta Hadiningrat, setelah konflik internal berlangsung selama delapan tahun terakhir. (Roy told that after returning the PB X's car to the Royal Palace of Surakarta, he had the duty to unite that Royal Palace. This could be done by rebuilding the

image of the Royal Palace that eroded as the result of internal conflict over the past eight years. Roy admitted that he was appointed by the president and some relatives of the palace as well as the cemetery) (February 17, 2014).

Solopos clearly portrayed about the conflict that related to power. The conflict was portrayed between PB XIII- Gusti Tedjowulan assisted by the government and Dewan Adat. By taking a resource that was in accordance with the preferences of the journalist's attitude, the conflict seemed to be increasingly clear to the readers.

Solopos also displayed an overview to the reader that when those two parties agreed to follow the mediation that led by SBY, this conflict could be ended. It means that the central government was very attentive to the expectations of PB XIII and also the wishes of society. The used of the title "Mahapatih" to Gusti Tedjowulan was also as a transmission from their ideology to admit the position of Gusti Tedjowulan as Mahapatih that ignored by Dewan Adat. Solo Pos also provided evidence that SBY intervening in this conflict was because of the request of the King of Surakarta to the president SBY (February 22, 2014).

Reification Process

The second step of the framing analysis was the reification step. In this step, an abstract frame on the transmission stage was changed to be more concrete and real. Those changed was able to transform the policy idea of the media into an accepted wisdom. In order to strengthen the proposed policy, media often used the public opinion. The media framed the issue on a certain classification that suited to their criteria. They would try to direct the public to give response toward that issue. After they got the response from the public, they would carry on public perception. Therefore, in this process, the public might perceive that the proposed policy came from public aspiration instead of the media construction (Reese & Lewis, 2009).

Solopos understood that recognition of Roy Suryo as a mediator was doubtful, considering that there was a clear rejection from Dewan Adat and chairman of the local parliament. However, the news media then turned the doubtful perception into a real one by showing several pieces of evidence of Roy activity as a mediator in this conflict.

The news media informed about Roy

Suryo's confession. All his statements related to the mission as a mediator could be a reference to other parties that supported to follow the mediation carried by the central government. Rudy Hadiprabowo as the mayor of Surakarta's city also showed respect to Roy statements. This was shown in his statement to the media that came at the official residence of the Surakarta's mayor, Loji Gandrung.

Sesuai kesepakatan, nanti yang bicara Pak Menteri Roy, yang lain diam (Suit to our agreement, only Mr. Roy who will speak, the others keep silent) (February 15, 2014).

Although the government and PB XIII-Gusti Tedjowulan supported the mediation, it turned out to get a negative assessment not only from the Dewan Adat, but also from Sukasno (the Head of Local Parliament) and Heri Priyatmoko (cultural observer). This online news media clearly presented these different perceptions. It seemed to imply if they have the strength and in the correct position.

Any parties that did not support the mediation were questionable. On February 23 (2014), this online news media posted the explanation from K.P. Bambang Pradotonagoro that the arrival of Roy Suryo as a mediator was because Dewan Adat did not obey the reconciliation on May 16, 2012.

In another posted, it described the person who attended the mediation process in Yogyakarta. Among many important people, there were no representatives from Dewan Adat. Mediation was only attended by supporters of PB XIII and Gusti Tedjowulan party (February 23, 2014).

There were also headlines titled that were directed to support the mediation process. For example, in the headlines titled "PB XIII Bertemu SBY Otoritas Keraton Surakarta segera kembali Tegak (PB XIII met up with SBY, the Royal Palace of Surakarta's authority will be back soon (February 22, 2014) and also in February 24, 2014, with the titled "Walikota Rudy berharap Mediasi SBY Buahkan hasil (Surakarta's city mayor, Rudy hopes that the mediation led by SBY would have been success).

Several headlines titled that disagreed with the mediation also came up. For example, in February 22, 2014 "Aneh, masalah Keraton kok diurusi menpora" (It was strange that the problem of the Royal Palace of Surakarta was managed by Roy,

the minister of education and sports, and then followed by "Ketua DPRD tuding SBY bikin konflik keraton berkepanjangan" (Head of local Parliament accused SBY made the conflict became prolonged) and "SBY Dinilai Sekedar Penuhi Panggilan Mitos Sejarah" (SBY just following the history myth) (February 25, 2014).

The president's interference was conducted due to the condition of The Royal Palace of Surakarta and also the request from PB XIII. However, although this policy looked like receiving many supports, there were several parties expressed its objection to this policy. For example, as stated by Sukasno:

Saya pesimistis. Pertemuan SBY dengan PB XIII dan Tedjowulan itu tidak akan merampungkan masalah konflik keraton. Kalau pendekatannya dengan kekuasaan justru akan ada yang disakiti. Bila demikian, sembuhnya membutuhkan waktu yang cukup lama (I am pessimistic. SBY meeting with PB XIII and Tedjowulan will not resolve the conflict palace. If the power approach was used, then it would hurt someone and the recovery process would be longer) (February 24, 2014)

Moreover, Heri also stated like this:

Selama ini letak problemnya kan di Mbak Moeng, kenapa SBY tidak berbicara langsung? Dalam pertemuan kemarin Mbak Moeng juga tidak dilibatkan (During this time, the problem lies right in Mrs. Moeng, why SBY did not speak directly to her? In yesterday's meeting Mrs. Moeng also did not invite) (February 25, 2014).

Naturalization

The third step of framing analysis proposed by Reese is naturalization. Naturalization means a fully internalized, taken-for-granted description of the world emerges when news and editorial references naturalize the frame. In the previous step, the frame contest was turned into the accepted policy. Moreover, in the naturalization stage, the policy had changed into a larger narrative of struggle and heroism. Therefore, this final stage could be stated as the deepest ideology cultivation from the media to frame the proposed policy as if it was the common condition in the society (Reese & Lewis, 2009).

The actual conflict that was unproven by many people seemed to be a unanimous decision. PB XIII and Gusti Tedjowulan had the right to lead The Royal Palace of Surakarta although PB XIII and Dewan Adat was perceived naturally as the parties that made the conflict sustain. In their frames, the journalist did not criticize any statements that blamed Dewan Adat. Even, in their narrations,

media received facts as if Dewan Adat did not like the conflict be solved.

In order to accept the frame that mediation was the proper step, journalists here repeated the narration by using repetitions in the news. They also described in a glimpse of the efforts that have been made by outside parties to help resolve this conflict. They described the mediation efforts, conducted by Joko Widodo (before becomes President of Indonesia, he was a city mayor), Rudy as a city mayor (he replaced Jokowi position), Ganjar Pranowo (Governor of Central Java) until Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY, former president) (February 22, 2014). The frame directed to the reader to take the mediation approach as the right one, no matter how the approach looked like. Several quotes were taken to declare the support of government towards PB XIII and Gusti Tedjowulan.

Pada hakikatnya, Presiden mendukung Sinuhun sebagai raja yang sah (Basically, President supported PB XIII as the rightful king) (February 22, 2014).

Ritual apapun itu seharusnya yang menentukan Sinuhun. Kami tinggal subsidi dengan bantuan bantuan (Any ritual was supposed to be the decision from PB XIII and government kept stay to help the aid) (February 24, 2014).

Sudah jelas bagaimana sikap pemerintah dalam menyelesaikan konflik ini, kami ada di belakang mereka (Pakubuwono XIII (the government's attitude in resolving this conflict was clear, that was behind Pakubuwono XIII) (February 25, 2014).

Solopos also had the strong viewpoint that the mediation was the required solution. Although there was a rejection of the Dewan Adat and pessimism from the president of Parliament as well as a cultural observer, the internalization was clear; the mediation was the answer to the problem and admitted by the government and the public. It stated that after the meeting between SBY and PB XIII-Gusti Tedjowulan, the authority of The Royal Palace of Surakarta would be returned back (February 22, 2014). One day later, it also captured how Rudy as a city major hoped that the mediation would be the final solution towards this conflict (February 24, 2014).

The quotes from government statements were often used to frame the naturalization since government voices were a representation of the public.

Saya harap menjadi era baru, menyatunya keraton dan masyarakat. Semua tradisi yang ada akan bisa dilestarikan kembali (Roy hoped the mediation would direct the Royal Palace

of into a new era. The palace won the public support and all the existing traditions could be preserved back) (February 17, 2014).

Discussion

The dominance source in producing the coverage of this conflict was coming from the government responses. This could occur since the position of government in the media systems was high. It is true that in Indonesia, media are ruled by the government. However, we should not perceive the press as passive organizations that do not have the capacity to pursue their ideologies. As discussed by Reese & Buckalew (1995), that the media working was a systematic process that was powerful and purposeful, hard to be ignored easily.

The problem is that ideologies refer to the needs of certain organizational groups and therefore is not fair (Eisenberg, et al, 2010). In this study, the power approach was taken to frame the acceptable policy. Solo Pos has chosen its ideology that this conflict should be solved with the control of the government since the situation was already in crisis. However, since the parties of the Royal Palace of Surakarta had their own culture, the mediation approach should also consider about this. It would not be effective if the mediation disobeyed the culture that already embedded in their life.

Acceptance that the government interference approach was a correct policy indicated that another concept was missed here. In this study, the cultural aspect became an obvious missing aspect. According to Reese (2007) paying attention to how the resources of the origin culture adapted by actor and certain sponsors, how these are communicated and how the media and social support structures are necessary to do. These would make us understand that socio-cultural factors such as social, economic, historical, ideological have an effect toward human behavior (Mangundjaya, 2013).

Moreover, this result also supported the idea that the media had a huge effect in creating the public opinion. They have the strategic position as gatekeepers. They can determine the significance and the value of events or activities suit to their criteria (Romenti & Valentini, 2010). The findings of the textual analysis revealed that the mediation process was intelligently presented by Solo Pos. They organized information about the conflict in the Royal Palace of Surakarta

from many sources and created a frame based on its principle.

The words or symbols that used to transmit their preferences and principles could not easily be realized by audiences. Later on, this online news media makes opinions and thoughts become more apparent. Finally, naturalization so that the constructed frame becomes something that is taken for granted. Although several times the texts presented the debating between the parties, still it could guide the readers to question and think that the mediation process was the best solution for the internal conflict of The Royal Palace of Surakarta.

Conclusions

The local media have power in presenting the local reality that can be used to reproduce or produce information (Muktiyo 2015: 117). That idea also came up with this study. As the biggest local media in Solo city, this local media always become the reference of information about the society. Therefore, it is not strange if its online news media, also attract many readers to visit their site.

Finally, this study describes important information related to the crisis based on a conflict that rarely explored by researchers. However, this study also has limitations. It only used resource from one online newspaper as the sample; this may result in the predominant use of the same frame. This sample was also using one month's news that could not capture the complete information about the conflict. Therefore, further research may use two local newspapers or national media in order to find out whether it has differences or not. Another study may also use another conflict that occurs in The Royal Palace of Surakarta to find out the frame that internalized in this newspaper.

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