

Framing of local media in the management issues of Sultan Ground and Pakualaman Ground in Yogyakarta

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Abstract

The land management regulations under Law No.13/2002 on the Privilege of Yogyakarta (Privileged Law/UUK) which were fully handed over to the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate received the spotlight after the publication of a series of investigative reports that revealed allegations of land maladministration in Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY). However, this disclosure was carried out by the national mass media and did not involve the local mass media. This study reveals how the local mass media during the period 2021-2022 reported on the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and its relation to land conflicts in DIY by using the framing method with the Entman method approach. This study concludes that the three mass media in DIY, Kedaulatan Rakyat, Tribun Jogja, and Harian Jogja image that the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate has properly managed and utilized land rights obtained through the mandate of the Privileges Law for the benefit of the general public.

Keywords: Framing, Land Conflict, Special Region of Yogyakarta

Introduction

Since the enactment of the Law No.13/2002 on the Privilege of Yogyakarta (Privileged Law/UUK) the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate

and the Duchy of Pakualaman have received a lot of discretion and authority. UUK grants extra authority in five important matters which are popularly known as the five pillars of privilege. The five pillars are (1) the appointment of governors and deputy governors, (2) DIY government institutions, (3) culture, (4) land, and (5) spatial planning. In terms of appointing governors and deputy governors, the UUK explicitly requires the governor in DIY to be filled by a king who reigns in the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate while the deputy governor is held by the duke of the Duchy of Pakualaman.

The first pillar of this privilege paved the way for the following pillars in managing and forming government institutions, managing culture, land, and spatial planning. Of the five pillars, the land pillar is the one that has received a lot of criticism because of the large impact this regulation has on palace assets. The criticism is mainly directed at the unilateral change in the status of a number of lands, which were originally state lands, to become sultanate lands or Sultan Ground (SG) and Pakualaman Ground (PAG).

This unilateral change in land status triggered a series of investigative coverage as a result of collaboration with a number of mass media, including Project Multatuli, Kompas.com, Tirto.id, Jaring.id, and Suara.com in September 2021 (Nugraha, 2021). The investigation team reported the findings of attempts to expropriate village land from the state property to the Sultanate.

This case began in 2017 when a number of applications to certify village treasury land to reinforce the status of village land use rights over the state by the Village Government were temporarily suspended. Meanwhile, some of the certified village treasury lands located in villages originating from the *anggaduh* rights granted by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and the Duchy of Pakualaman were withdrawn by the State Land Agency (BPN). (Putsanra, 2021; Suara Jogja, 2021).

The Anggaduh right is the rights-of-use of the assets of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and the Pakualaman Duchy. The existence of this right comes from the right to land ownership based on a royal gazette (equivalent to the law) named Rijktsblad which was compiled during the era of Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono VII around 1918. Rijktsblad regarding the Sultan Ground (SG) appears in the Rijktsblad of the Sultanate Number 16 of 1918 while the Rijktsblad Pakualaman Ground (PAG) numbered 18 of 1918. The determination of SG and PAG is based on lands that are not registered as property rights in the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate and Pakualaman Duchy. This means that village land is also included in the SG/PAG and can be processed by the community,

especially for agricultural activities with the rights-of-use or *anggaduh* rights. (Tilman, et al, 2021; Putsanra, 2021; Soemarjan, 2009)

When joining Indonesia, land rights changed according to the laws and regulations in Indonesia. Yogyakarta's big role and support in Indonesia's independence were recognized five years later through Law Number 3 of 1950 concerning the Establishment of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The regulation gives DIY special authority in managing land. This rule changed in 1954 which made village land from SG/PAG property to the village and in 1960 DIY rights in managing land were removed through Law no. 5 in 1960 and village land became state land. After the Privileges Law was passed, this rule was again changed and DIY was again entitled to manage state land. (Putsanra, 2021; Dwiyanany, et al, 2019).

Although this polemic has existed for a long time and is still ongoing, this issue only emerged and became a subject of discussion after reports from the national media investigation team arrived. In contrast, no local media participated in this investigation. Therefore, this study reveals how news framing is carried out by the three largest local media in DIY in reporting land management topics related to SG and PAG during the period 2021-2022. The three local media are *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (krjogja.com); *Harian Jogja* (harianjogja.com); and *Tribun Jogja* (jogja.tribunnews.com).

Literature Review

In the course of democracy, the press is expected to be able to become the fourth pillar besides the executive, legislative and judiciary which have a control function. This role is often challenged in practice. *Industri media pada*

In the context of mass media and journalism, framing is an unavoidable process due to limited space in expressing information. Framing in the mass media is a gap that limits the perception of reality and focuses on one important thing in the reality that is happening (Ardevol-Abreau, 2015). Framing can occur due to various things, ranging from the personal influence of journalists folding to being influenced by the climate of the media where the news is published.

As a media study, framing studies are often considered as an extension of the agenda setting. This argument is based on a broader scope of framing studies than agenda setting. Thus, the study of framing does not only try to look at one issue, but also maps the position of the media by paying attention to the pattern and repetition of reporting on various issues. (Ardevol-Abreau, 2015; Hallahan, 1999).

Entman stated that repetition, differences in the location of information in a text, and the association of a topic with social and cultural symbols are strategies used by the media to emphasize reality. To be able to dissect framing, Entman offers four framing tools, firstly defining the problem to see how journalists try to understand events and present them to the public; secondly diagnosing the causes to see who in the news text was involved and became an actor, thirdly determining moral action by looking at the texts presented by journalists to find moral arguments taken and fourth by paying attention to suggestions that appeared in the news (Arifin, et al, 2020; Pinontoan & Wahid, 2020; Launa, 2020; Hidayat, 2018)

In previous research, a number of media have different attitudes towards issues surrounding the privileges of DIY and its legal implications. Catur Nugroho compares the coverage of the controversy over the Privilege Laws between *Harian Kompas* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*. This study uses framing analysis with Pan and Kosicki framing devices. As a result, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* regards the issue of the Privilege Law as more important than *Harian Kompas* (Nugroho, 2014). These results are quite reasonable considering the news value aspect of proximity or proximity has a large influence. The issues surrounding Yogyakarta are certainly very much needed by DIY residents and are not really needed by *Harian Kompas* readers from various regions in Indonesia.

Another study by Benmetan highlighted the issue of the internal conflict of the Yogyakarta Palace which appointed Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X's daughter, GKR Pembayun to become GKR Mangkubumi with the suspicion of preparing Mangkubumi as the successor to the throne of Sultan HB X as well as being the next Governor of DIY if HB X abdicated. This study analyzes the framing of the digital magazine *Detik* edition 182 with the Pan and Kosicki framing method with the results of the news in the digital magazine *Detik* which portrays Pembayun as a person who fits the feminine gender stereotype, who tends to be emotional, dependent, active and cares about domestic matters and is less competent in the public eye (Benmetan, 2016).

Faujiah and Rubiyannah also conducted other research related to land management topics, which revealed the framing of the news on the land conflict in Kulonprogo during the construction process of the New Yogyakarta International Airport. The research examines the news on *Medcom.id* and *Tirto.id* with framing analysis. As a result, *Medcom.id* sees the problem from the side of the benefits that are obtained after land acquisition is carried out, while *Tirto.id* looks at the problem from the side of the affected people and the

losses that will be faced by the affected residents (Faujiah & Rubianah, 2020). Although researching land conflicts in DIY, Faujiah and Rubianah's research tries to analyze the framing of media centered outside DIY which makes the picture of framing in local media not visible.

Methods

This study uses the framing analysis method developed by Robert Entman by applying analysis to four framing devices, namely defining problems; predict problems (diagnose causes); make moral decisions (make moral judgments); and recommendations for completion (Treatment recommendations) (Entman, 1993). Analysis was carried out on news documentation using the keywords Sultan Ground and Pakualaman Ground on the online media krjogja.com; jogja.tribunnews.com; and harianjogja.com in the 2020-2021 period.

Kedaulatan Rakyat is one of the oldest mass media in Yogyakarta which was published on September 27, 1945. This media entered the online world on June 1, 2009. As the oldest local mass media in Yogyakarta, the existence of Kedaulatan Rakyat is relatively rooted in and close to the culture of the people of Yogyakarta. Therefore, some people in Jogja refer to the term "newspaper" as "KR" because of the association of this media with local newspapers.

Tribun Jogja is a local mass media which is part of the Kompas Gramedia Group media group. This media was first published on April 11, 2011 and its online portal has joined the Tribunnews.com group with the address jogja.tribunnews.com. This media currently claims to have the largest circulation and number of visits in the online version when compared to other local media in Yogyakarta.

Harian Jogja is a local mass media which was first published on 20 May 2008. This media is part of the Bisnis Indonesia Group media group which also houses the Solopos newspaper in Solo. During its development, Harian Jogja had made a special edition for the districts of Gunungkidul and Kulonprogo which was later closed and only focused on one regular edition of the Harian Jogja. In an interview with the Chief Editor of Harian Jogja, Anton Wahyu Prihartono, it was revealed that some of Harian Jogja's shares are owned by the Sultanate of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat.

All the collected news are then grouped based on similar major themes and then the pattern is mapped based on the four Entman Framing devices.

Results And Discussion

Based on the data collected, all news stories can be grouped into three themes. The first theme is the theme of conflict and legality which concerns the various conflicts between camps that occur on SG/PAG land. In this theme, news is written to report any struggles or disagreements in the management plan of SG/PAG between parties who feel they are entitled to the right to use SG/PAG.

The second theme is the theme of using SG/PAG. In this theme, the news discusses the plan or realization of the use of SG/PAG for various purposes. The news on this topic has relatively no conflict of opinion between camps and intends to convey information on the land conversion of SG/PAG. While the third theme is the theme of law violations that occur on SG/PAG land. This theme is different from the first theme where in this theme the aspects of the violation are considered clear, both in terms of the type of violation and in terms of sanctions. News that is included in this theme category relatively does not present any conflict between the parties involved.

Kedaulatan Rakyat

During 2020 - 2021, Kedaulatan Rakyat published 16 news articles pertaining to SG/PAG. Of the 16 news stories, seven were on the theme of conflict and legality, six with the theme of the use of SG/PAG, and three with the theme of law violation.

No	Date	Title
1	12-Apr-21	Pengosongan Rumah di Lempuyangan Jadi Polemik, DPRD Kota Pasang Badan
2	12-Feb-21	Berdiri di Sultan Ground, Warga Lempuyangan Tolak Pengosongan Rumah Dinas PT KAI
3	27 Nov 20	Izin Kraton Diperlukan Untuk Perubahan Status Tanah
4	26-Nov-20	Perubahan Status Tanah di Baciro, BPN Sebut Harus Izin Kraton
5	28-Oct-20	Warga Pertanyakan Perpanjangan Sertifikat HGB Sultan Ground
6	24-Sep-20	Penyusunan Perdes Kurang Transparan, Warga Srigading 'Wadul' Bupati
7	9-Jul-20	Warga Pengok Tolak Pendataan Aset PT KAI

Table 1. SG/PAG conflict and legality issues in Kedaulatan Rakyat

On the theme of conflict and legality, the problem is defined to arise as a process of fighting over SG/PAG land use rights between parties who both feel they have a usage permit. The three news stories in this category involve conflicts between the residents of Lempuyangan and PT KAI who are fighting over the right of use on the sultan ground. In the news, the parties involved are local residents who feel that they have lived in the Lempuyangan area for a long time and PT KAI feels they have the right to manage SG land according to their rights. In these stories, journalists put the citizens as the party to be defended. This can be seen from the news titled *Pengosongan Rumah di Lempuyangan Jadi Polemik, DPRD Kota Pasang Badan* in which Kedaulatan Rakyat emphasizes the assistance of members of the Jogja City DPRD for the community and suggests mediation so that residents can get the right to live in the disputed area with PT KAI.

News of *Penyusunan Perdes Kurang Transparan, Warga Srigading 'Wadul' Bupati* highlighted the conflict between the residents and the local village officials regarding the management of village treasury lands. Residents suspect maladministration in the management process in their village. This news presents the Regent of Bantul as a mediator. Just like news involving residents and PT KAI, this news places residents as parties who need to be defended as indicated by the mention of this group in the title and repeated again in the content section. The defense was also conveyed by emphasizing the statement of the Bantul Regional Government which would facilitate dialogue.

Meanwhile, in the news regarding the extension of the HGB certificate to the Sultan Ground, the issue of the delay in the process of extending the usufructuary rights above the sultan's ground received the spotlight. In this news, residents were confronted with the State Land Agency (BPN) of the Yogyakarta Regional Office, which emphasized that the authority to extend the HGB had to wait for the Kraton's permit. If other news in this category places residents as victims, then in this news the main source comes from BPN. Residents who in the title are said to be actively complaining are actually placed as the second resource person who shows a shift in the framing between the title and the content of the news.

Two news, namely *Izin Kraton Diperlukan Untuk Perubahan Status Tanah* and *Perubahan Status Tanah di Baciro, BPN Sebut Harus Izin Kraton* are news that informs residents' lawsuits against the Chief of the Jogja City Land Office (BPN) and Panitikismo Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat which are considered to complicate the process of changing the certificate from the right

of use certificate (SHP) becomes a certificate of ownership (SHM). The news puts BPN Jogja’s rejection of the lawsuit filed and a detailed explanation that the lawsuit is deemed not strong enough because the plaintiff has not yet obtained permission from the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate to change the land status. In this issue, the lawyer for Panitikismo of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate also appeared to emphasize the need for a permit. This news did not highlight the plaintiff much and made the media place the plaintiff as an inferior party.

No	Date	Title
1	11-Nov-21	DIY Dapat Rp 109 Miliar untuk Bangun Pembuangan Sampah Sementara
2	29-Sep-21	Proyek Jalan Prambanan-Tanahabang, Minggu Ini Pembayaran Tanah Dilakukan
3	24-Sep-21	Tertib Pertanahan dan Tata Ruang Dalam Rangka Optimalisasi Reforma Agraria di DIY
4	31-Ags-21	Sarang Penyu di Tempat Konservasi Pantai Trisik Berkurang
5	29-Dec-20	Catatan Dinas Pertanahan dan Tata Ruang (PTR) DIY di Penghujung 2020
6	5-Nov-20	UNU Bakal Punya Kampus 9 Lantai di Banyuraden

Table 2. SG/PAG utilization issues in Kedaulatan Rakyat

On the issue of the use of SG/PAG, all published news reports the needs or plans that will be accommodated on the land of SG/PAG. The titles above have the same writing pattern, which is to first present the problem, then propose a solution by offering the Sultan Ground/Pakualaman Ground as an alternative location that will become the project location. Two news stories in this category, namely the *Tertib Pertanahan dan Tata Ruang Dalam Rangka Optimalisasi Reforma Agraria di DIY* and *Catatan Dinas Pertanahan dan Tata Ruang (PTR) DIY di Penghujung 2020* are news that inform the plans and evaluations of local governments in managing land issues in the region. administration, including the use and data collection of SG/PAG land.

Framing in the news about compensation, such as in the news of the *Proyek Jalan Prambanan-Tanahabang, Minggu Ini Pembayaran Tanah Dilakukan*, portraying the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and the Pakualaman Duchy as equal to residents who are equally affected by the development and graciously accept compensation according to applicable regulations .

No	Date	Title
1	13 Desember 2021	Mantan Lurah Srigading Mulai Disidangkan
2	14-Sep-21	Minta Segera Ditutup, DPRD DIY Temukan 14 Tambang Pasir Ilegal di Lereng Merapi
3	12 Sep 21	Titah Baru Sri Sultan HB X: “Gunung Harus Kembali ke Gunung”

Table 3. Legal violations on SG/PAG in Kedaulatan Rakyat

On the issue of law violations, the news of *Mantan Lurah Srigading Mulai Disidangkan* alludes to the legal issues that ensnared the former head of Srigading who is suspected of maladministration in managing village treasury land assets. However, the news presents an exception that rejects the charges because the land used is not village land, it is the Sultan Ground. In this news, the actors involved are the former Chief of Srigading and his attorney. Meanwhile, SG was only mentioned as part of the defense. This news only cites the defense of the former chief without any comparative information with a solution hoping the court will reconsider his indictment.

Two other news stories are about illegal sand mining in Merapi. In the first news story, Sri Sultan HB X and the family of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate were described as protesting against illegal mining in the Merapi area which also occurred in the SG area. The news positioned the Sultan’s concern for the preservation of nature rather than concern for the Kraton’s asset land. The news was followed up with news of support from the DIY DPRD which had mapped the number of illegal sand mines on the slopes of Merapi. These two stories emphasize Kraton’s concern for nature conservation and law enforcement to stop illegal mining activities.

Tribun Jogja

During 2020-2021, Tribun Jogja through the jogja.tribunnews.com portal presented 18 news related to land involving SG and PAG assets. From the 18 reports, there were at least three types of issues raised, namely conflicts and land legality, the use of SG/PAG, and cases of law violations involving SG/PAG assets.

No	Date	Title
1	28-Oct-21	Dituding Persulit Perpanjangan Sertifikat HGB Sejumlah Warga, Ini Tanggapan Kanwil BPN DIY
2	9-Jul-20	Warga Pengok Tolak Pendataan oleh PT KAI
3	9-Jul-20	PT. KAI Daop 6 Yogya Soal Penolakan Warga Pengok: Kami Sesuai Prosedur
4	2-Mar-20	Penggarap Lahan Pertanian Pasir di Bantul Keluhkan Klaim Tanah Sultan Ground Jadi Tanah Kas Desa

Table 4. SG/PAG conflict and legality issues in Tribun Jogja

In the category of conflict and legality, Tribun Jogja contains three different news themes, namely protests about the lengthy process of extending the HGB certificate, residents' conflicts with PT KAI, and complaints from Bantul residents who changed Sultan Ground land into village treasury ground. In the news of *Dituding Persulit Perpanjangan Sertifikat HGB Sejumlah Warga, Ini Tanggapan Kanwil BPN DIY*, the focus is on the BPN's response, which admits that it cannot continue the process of extending the HGB because the land is Sultan Ground and must obtain a permit from the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate if you want to continue with the permit. This news provides a special space for BPN to provide a complete explanation. This news however does not mention the attitude of the Sultanate as the land owner. The residents' protests in this news were negated by the answer from BPN DIY that they had to wait for permission from the Sultanate.

On the news about the conflict between residents and KAI, Tribun Jogja provides equal space for the citizens and PT KAI. This news informs the residents of the struggle for usufructuary rights over the Sultan Ground and PT KAI who claim to have usufructuary rights. One news put the people as the main point of view, while the other news which was published on the same day provided space for PT KAI to explain the main issue. The Sultanate did not appear in this news even though what was being contested was the assets they owned. This news suggests mediation between residents and PT KAI.

The last theme is the news about the cultivators of sand farming land in Bantul which tells the story of the alleged takeover of the sultan's land unilaterally by the village apparatus and turning it into village treasury ground. This news is a news feature that places residents as the main point of view. Answers from village officials only appear at the end of the news. This conflict emphasizes that the residents feel that SG is an asset of the sultan which has

been handed over to the residents to be managed for their welfare. However, the village government seems to have seized this right. This news does not involve the Sultanate as a resource and offers mediation between residents and the local village government.

No	Date	Title
1	6-Dec-21	DPRD Bantul Dorong Pemanfaatan Tanah Kas Desa dan Sultan Ground untuk Kesejahteraan
2	3-Dec-21	Reformasi Agraria Jadi Cara Tingkatkan Kesejahteraan Warga Kota Yogyakarta
3	22-Nov-21	Masalah Desa Wisata di Bantul, dari Malas Hingga Tidak ada Pengurusnya
4	13-Jul-21	Kabar Terbaru Tol Yogyakarta-Solo-Bawen di Wilayah Kalasan Sleman
5	16-Mar-21	Terdampak Proyek Tol Yogyakarta-Solo, Ratusan Jenazah di Pemakaman Dukuh Bayan Sleman Bakal Dipindah
6	7-Jan-21	Ditargetkan Beroperasi 2023, Wakil Ketua DPRD DIY Ingin Pelabuhan Gesing Bisa Entaskan Kemiskinan
7	31-Dec-20	Kanwil Kemenag DIY Ajukan Pembangunan Embarkasi Haji di 4 Lokasi Sultan Ground di Kulon Progo
8	30-Nov-20	Tanah Kasultanan Dimanfaatkan untuk Kesejahteraan Masyarakat DIY
9	1-Sep-20	Dispetarung DIY Targetkan Pematokan Ulang SG dan PAG Selesai 2020

Table 5 . SG/PAG utilization issues in Tribun Jogja

The issue of using SG/PAG in the Tribun Jogja was featured in nine news reports. From this news, the image of the Sultan Ground is for the welfare of the residents which is presented in a number of news stories such as *DPRD Bantul Dorong Pemanfaatan Tanah Kas Desa dan Sultan Ground untuk Kesejahteraan*; *Reformasi Agraria Jadi Cara Tingkatkan Kesejahteraan Warga Kota Yogyakarta*; *Ditargetkan Beroperasi 2023, Wakil Ketua DPRD DIY Ingin Pelabuhan Gesing Bisa Entaskan Kemiskinan*; *Tanah Kasultanan Dimanfaatkan untuk Kesejahteraan Masyarakat DIY*; and *Dispetarung DIY Targetkan Pematokan Ulang SG dan PAG Selesai 2020*. Actors in the news come from the local government, both from

the executive and legislative branches. There is no conflict in this news, the news appears to convince the public that the land of the Sultanate is essentially there for the benefit of the community so that the community with permission can use it.

Other news that also emerged was news of the plan to use SG for various facilities, such as the construction of the Hajj Embarkation, and the construction of the Gesing port. The assets of the sultanate are also described as equal to the community in terms of public interest, this can be seen in the news of *Kabar Terbaru Tol Yogyakarta-Solo-Bawen di Wilayah Kalasan Sleman dan Terdampak Proyek Tol Yogyakarta-Solo, Ratusan Jenazah di Pemakaman Dukuh Bayan Sleman Bakal Dipindah* which framed that the Sultanate be tolerant when their assets are affected by a national development project and receive the same compensation as the local community.

No	Date	Title
1	20-Dec-21	Aktivitas Tambang Ilegal di Lereng Merapi Semakin Nekat, Tanah Sultan Ground Pun jadi Sasaran
2	14-Oct-21	GKR Condrokirono Datangi 7 Lokasi Bekas Tambang Pasir di Lereng Merapi, Segera Direhabilitasi
3	13-Sep-21	Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X Geram dengan Aktivitas Tambang Ilegal di Gunung Merapi: Rusak Semua
4	12-Sep-21	BPBD DIY Tutup 14 Lokasi Tambang Ilegal di Sekitar Kawasan Gunung Merapi
5	12-Sep-21	Titah Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X: Gunung Harus Kembali ke Gunung

Table 6. Legal violations on SG/PAG in Tribun Jogja

In the category of law violations, Tribun Jogja published five news stories with the same theme, namely about illegal mining at Merapi. This issue began with the visit of Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X and his family to the slopes of Merapi to express their objections to the existence of illegal mining in the area. Although the illegal mining is located in part of the Sultan Ground area, the main focus is that the Sultan and his family hope that illegal mining will stop because it is destroying nature. The Sultan's statement was greeted with various follow-up news with sources from the Regional Disaster Management Agency and control efforts carried out by the authorities. In this news, the conflict went unilaterally without much response from the illegal mining groups which

made the opinion of the Sultan as the Governor and King of the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate get the greatest attention.

Harian Jogja

Harian Jogja is the media with the most coverage on the topic of sultan ground and pakualaman ground compared to other media. In total, there are 43 news stories about the Sultan Ground consisting of 4 news stories about conflict and legality issues, 25 news stories about land use issues, and 14 news violations of the law.

No	Date	Title
1	13/12/2021	Area Parkir Stasiun Tugu Jogja Makin Luas, Sejumlah Kios Warga Dibongkar
2	13/10/2021	Minta Penambangan Pasir Sungai Progo Disetop, Warga Nengahan Bantul Mengadu ke Kraton
3	11/7/2021	4 Tahun Tak Ada Kejelasan, Pedagang Eks Sarkem Minta Diperhatikan
4	29/10/2020	Warga Minta Perpanjangan Sertifikat HGB di DIY Mengacu pada UUPA 1960

Table 7. SG/PAG conflict and legality issues in Harian Jogja

Harian Jogja published four news related to conflict and legality issues with two themes, namely the issue of the extension of the HGB certificate in Yogyakarta and the question of the management of the SG in the Tugu Station area by PT KAI. In the news about the renewal of the HGB certificate, residents urged BPN to refer to the 1960 UUPA and not to the new Agrarian Law which refers to the Privileges Law. Meanwhile, BPN is of the opinion that the current regulations are different and there must be permission from the Sultanate as the owner of the SG if residents want to extend the HGB. In this report, residents who are members of the DIY Land Defenders Forum (Forpeta) get the main portion as the first resource person. Harian Jogja took a stance of supporting the citizens in this report, even though in the second half it provided sufficient space for BPN to explain the main issue. This news offers a permit management solution to solve the problem according to BPN's suggestion.

Two other news related to KAI's management of usufructuary rights in SG for the expansion and arrangement of the Tugu Station area. This news brought together the interests of PT KAI as the manager of the Tugu Station

and local traders. The first news is a follow-up news on a long-standing issue related to the relocation of traders around Tugu Station which until now has not received clarity. While the news *Area Parkir Stasiun Tugu Jogja Makin Luas, Sejumlah Kios Warga Dibongkar* informing the process of expanding the area of this station. This news focuses on PT KAI and local traders, while the Kraton as the land owner does not get the focus and space which creates the impression that the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate is not involved in the conflict.

The presence of the palace was raised as a mediator in the news entitled *Minta Penambangan Pasir Sungai Progo Disetop, Warga Nengahan Bantul Mengadu ke Kraton*. This news news told the story of the visit of the Empress of the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate, GKR Hemas to the village. Villagers in this news framed as the actor who need help. This news ended with a positive response from GKR Hemas who promised to convey the problem to the Sultan. With this narrative, Kraton is framed as a party that responsive to public input.

No	Date	Title
1	8/12/2021	Pemindahan Makam Wirobrajan Baru Disetujui 175 Ahli Waris
2	22/11/2021	Waduh...Status Belasan Desa Wisata di Bantul Tidak Jelas
3	22/10/2021	Abrasi, Begini Potret Mengerikan Bangunan TPI di Pantai Trisik yang Menggantung
4	11/10/2021	Izin Penetapan Lokasi Jalan Prambanan-Lemahabang Segmen B Sudah Keluar, 4 Desa Ini Terdampak
5	18/9/2021	Pengembangan Geoheritage di Bantul Tunggu Rencana Induk
6	24/8/2021	49 Warga Terdampak Pembangunan Jalan Prambanan-Lemahabang Terima Ganti Rugi
7	29/7/2021	Ganti Rugi Pembangunan Jalan Prambanan-Lemahabang Cair, Tahap Awal Rp19,6 Miliar
8	29/7/2021	Terkena Pembangunan Jalan, Warga Bokoharjo Sleman Terima Rp4,5 Miliar
9	20/5/2021	TPST Piyungan Akan Diperluas dengan Tambahan 6,5 Hektare
10	1/5/2021	Pelestarian Geoheritage DIY: Dilema Rawa Aji di Pantai Parangtritis

No	Date	Title
11	24/2/2021	Rencana Program Paniradya Kaistimewan 2022
12	18/2/2021	Pembangunan Gapura Perbatasan Gunungkidul Mandek, Ini Sebabnya
13	7/2/2021	Tempat Pemakaman Umum untuk Jenazah Covid-19 di Tilaman Bantul Masih Kosong
14	20/1/2021	Pembangunan Pelabuhan Gesing Masih Rencana
15	9/12/2020	Manfaat Tanah Kasultanan untuk Kesejahteraan Rakyat
16	4/12/2020	Perluasan Taman Paseban Tak Terpengaruh Pandemi Covid-19
17	1/12/2020	Serahkan 1.159 Sertifikat SG-PAG, Sultan: Tanah Harus Dipelihara dengan Hukum yang Ketat
18	25/11/2020	Dispar Bantul Ajukan 8 Titik Sultan Ground untuk Keperluan Wisata
19	20/3/2020	Mako Brimbob Bakal Dibangun di Nglanggeran
20	18/2/2020	Pemkot Jogja Siapkan Aplikasi Tata Ruang dan Pertanahan
21	17/2/2020	Kawasan Pantai Selatan: Dulu Berjaya, Kini Kumuh dan Tidak Tertata
22	9/2/2020	Tinggal Tunggu Izin, Investor Akan Bangun Sirkuit Superbike Rp3,7 Triliun di Parangtritis
23	4/2/2020	Warga Klamong Diklaim Setuju dengan Pembangunan Gerbang Samudraraksa
24	16/1/2020	Jalan Baru Selebar 13 Meter Penghubung Tol Jogja-Solo dengan Gunungkidul Akan Dibangun
25	10/1/2020	Pembebasan Lahan untuk Jalan Masuk Kawasan Industri Piyungan Ditarget Selesai Bulan Ini

Table 8. SG/PAG utilization issues in Harian Jogja

In this issue, the Harian Jogja provides a lot of information on the use of SG/PAG for the benefit of the general public. The narrative appears, for example, in the news *Manfaat Tanah Kasultanan untuk Kesejahteraan Rakyat dan Rencana Program Paniradya Kaistimewan 2022*. The news is a statement from the DIY Regional Government which states that SG/PAG will be managed for the welfare of the community.

In addition, a number of news outlets also present SG/PAG as a land area affected by the development process and will receive compensation

according to applicable regulations. This narrative has repeatedly appeared in several news stories such as *Pembebasan Lahan untuk Jalan Masuk Kawasan Industri Piyungan Ditarget Selesai Bulan Ini*; *Jalan Baru Selebar 13 Meter Penghubung Tol Jogja-Solo dengan Gunungkidul Akan Dibangun*; *Warga Klangon Diklaim Setuju dengan Pembangunan Gerbang Samudraraksa*; *Izin Penetapan Lokasi Jalan Prambanan-Lemahabang Segmen B Sudah Keluar, 4 Desa Ini Terdampak*; *49 Warga Terdampak Pembangunan Jalan Prambanan-Lemahabang Terima Ganti Rugi*; *Ganti Rugi Pembangunan Jalan Prambanan-Lemahabang Cair, Tahap Awal Rp19,6 Miliar*; dan *Terkena Pembangunan Jalan, Warga Bokoharjo Sleman Terima Rp4,5 Miliar*. The repetition of this narrative emphasizes that although SG/PAG is an asset of the Sultanate, the Sultanate and Duchy will be willing to relinquish their rights according to the regulations if there is a development project on a more important scale.

Similar narratives also appeared in various news reports that informed plans for large projects on SG/PAG land, such as in the news *Tinggal Tunggu Izin, Investor Akan Bangun Sirkuit Superbike Rp3,7 Triliun di Parangtritis*; *Mako Brimbob Bakal Dibangun di Nglanggeran*; and *TPST Piyungan Akan Diperluas dengan Tambahan 6,5 Hektare*. Even though a project of this size is prone to fraud, the news does not attempt to critically analyze it but proposes a narrative that this development is claimed to advance the region and benefit the community. Most of the news in this group comes from the claims of interested parties, such as local governments and related policy makers.

No	Tanggal	Judul
1	20/12/2021	Tanah Sultan hingga Sawah Warga di Lereng Merapi Rusak Diterabas Tambang Pasir
2	3/12/2021	Dianggap Ganggu Pemandangan, Depo Pasir di JJLS Diminta Pindah
3	1/12/2021	Pemda DIY Temukan Ketidaksesuaian Tata Ruang di Bantul
4	21/11/2021	GKR Hemas ke Warga Cangkringan: Tanah di Sini Jangan Ditambang!
5	15/10/2021	Dusun di Bantul Penolak Tambang Pasir Bermunculan
6	14/9/2021	Pemkab Sleman Dukung Agar Tambang Ilegal di Merapi Ditutup
7	12/9/2021	Datangi Lereng Merapi, Sultan Minta Tambang Pasir Ilegal Ditutup

No	Tanggal	Judul
8	12/9/2021	Pemda DIY Tutup 14 Tambang Ilegal di Lereng Merapi
9	12/9/2021	Petani Minta Sultan Tutup Penambangan Ilegal di Lereng Merapi
10	3/6/2021	Bom Waktu Limbah Tambak di Pesisir DIY
11	16/5/2021	Apresiasi Terbitnya SE Gubernur DIY, Warga Minta Ada Penindakan Terhadap Penambang
12	18/4/2021	15 Hektare Lahan Pertanian Lenyap Akibat Tambang Pasir di Muara Opak
13	18/4/2021	Warga 2 Kalurahan Tolak Aktivitas Tambang Pasir di Muara Sungai Opak
14	1/9/2020	Banyak Patok SG dan PAG Hilang

Table 9. Legal violation on SG/PAG in Harian Jogja

In the category of violation of law, some of the news relates to mining activities, both licensed and illegal. Apart from that, there was also news about the loss of the Sultanate due to the loss of land boundaries between SG and PAG which became an obstacle in collecting SG/PAG data. Another news that is often repeated and reproduced from various angles is the case of illegal sand mining on the slopes of Merapi. These issues are processed into six news stories, namely *Pemkab Sleman Dukung Agar Tambang Ilegal di Merapi Ditutup*; *Datangi Lereng Merapi, Sultan Minta Tambang Pasir Ilegal Ditutup*; *Pemda DIY Tutup 14 Tambang Ilegal di Lereng Merapi*; *Petani Minta Sultan Tutup Penambangan Ilegal di Lereng Merapi*; and *Tanah Sultan hingga Sawah Warga di Lereng Merapi Rusak Diterabas Tambang Pasir*.

This series of news started with residents' complaints to the Sultan who then asked the DIY Regional Government officials to collect data and control them. The news was continued with various updates that presented responses from the Sultanate and the Yogyakarta Regional Government to stop illegal mining because it destroys nature. The narrative that the mine is also detrimental to the assets of the Sultanate because some of it is located in SG and PAG is also included although it is not dominant. Other violations related to mining also occurred in the Bantul area which are summarized in a narrative similar to the case in Cangkringan. In these reports, the Sultanate is depicted as caring about the natural environment, willing to listen to the residents, and quick to act.

From those findings, Harian Jogja is the media with the largest portion of news coverage about the Sultanate's assets than Kedaulatan Rakyat and Tribun Jogja. Each media also has a different agenda, this is indicated by the existence of issues raised in one media but not raised in other media. In reporting on the conflict-themed topic of SG/PAG, all media have relatively abandoned the role of the Sultanate/Duchy as the parties involved. An exception occurred in the news published in the Kedaulatan Rakyat which provided one news item as a defense space for the Sultanate who was facing a citizen lawsuit. This framing makes news about the sultanate relatively conflict-free and does not reduce the image of the Sultanate as the legitimate ruler of DIY.

In reporting on the topic of using SG/PAG, the three local media shared the same narrative that SG/PAG exists for the prosperity of the people and the Sultanate and Duchy as owners of SG/PAG remain subject to central government policies as evidenced by their willingness to accept compensation for land affected by the project. national. Meanwhile, in the news about law violations, the three media framed the Sultanate as a wise party and responsive to public complaints. This is indicated by the portion of the Sultanate that is placed as a victim and asks the authorities to take firm action on reports from residents.

Conclusion

This studies indentified that three big local media in DIY framed the utilization and ownership of SG/PAG assets as good and beneficial for the community. There are no critical news that seeks to trace allegations of fraud as reported in the investigations carried out by a number of national mass media. Following this issues, further research are needed to cover the reason about the DIY local media editorial policy in covering news about the sultanate and regional policies in Yogyakarta

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