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Revealing the News Frame of Democrat Party's Extraordinary Congress in Sibolangit: Power Intervention or Internal Conflict?

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Abstract

This study aims to reveal the frame for reporting on the political events of the Sibolangit Party KLB that occurred in March 2021, starting with the assumption that news is not only an incident report but also a reality construction practice carried out by journalists with various contexts or interests that surround it. In the political context, the practice of mass media reporting in Indonesia is often connected with the struggle for political power. This issue is what we want to unravel from the news about the Democrat Party KLB published by the four online media with the highest traffic in Indonesia based on alexa.com, namely okezone.com, tribunnews.com, detik.com and kompas.com. This research wants to see what kind of news frame is developed by each media, and how it is connected with the political context that surrounds it. This study uses a qualitative-descriptive approach, and the method of framing analysis developed by Gamson & Modigliani. The results of the study indicate that there are differences in the frames that are packaged in each media. Detik.com and okezone.com seem to develop a frame that the political events of the Democratic Party KLB are the product of engineering and power intervention outside the party (Presidential Palace). On the other hand, kompas.com and tribunnews.com tend to develop a frame that the KLB of the Democratic Party is the product of an internal political struggle without government intervention.

Keywords: News Frame, online media, Demokrat Party

INTRODUCTION

This research stems from Jorgensen & Hanitzsch's (2008) assertion that news as a product of journalism does not only convey events and stories about people. More than that, news also articulates the dynamics of conflict and

consensus in society; that news basically portrays the drama of the ongoing battle between the dominant ideology and its challengers. This statement implies the crucial position of journalism in society, and therefore studying news as a product of journalism becomes very important as part of the dynamics of democracy.

At this point, news is no longer seen only as a process of reporting events using journalistic procedures, but rather as the arrangement (construction) of realities to form a meaningful story or discourse. In other words, all media content is nothing but constructed reality in the form of meaningful discourse (Hamad, 2004).

The meaning or meaningful discourse, in the context of journalism studies, is often referred to as frames, and the analytical process that seeks to decipher the frames in the news is called framing analysis. Frame analysis, referring to Lecheler et al. (2015) is the process by which certain aspects of social reality are emphasized by media news, while others are pushed to the background. In this sense, news frames change the weight attached to certain considerations over others.

This means that, Eriyanto's (2012) argument, events or social realities reported by media news are not something that is taken for granted. Instead, journalists and the media actively shape reality. Therefore, the story narrated in media news is not a reflection of the real social reality, but the social reality that has been constructed by journalists and the media by emphasizing or ignoring certain aspects of the social reality. Reality is created in the conception of journalists. Things that happen, facts, people, are abstracted into events that are then presented to the audience.

So in framing research, the point of issue is how reality/events are constructed by the media. More specifically, how the media frames events with certain constructions. What becomes the focus is not whether the media reports events or realities positively or negatively, but how the media develops certain frames for certain events or realities. If we refer back to Jorgensen & Hanitzsch (2008) above, then actually the development of frames in the news will be related to various things, such as ideology, media routines (in producing news), to link to media political economy issues (for example, media ownership structures).

At this point, how the media frames reality (people or events) is understood as a subjective and deliberate choice. Journalistic practice cannot be truly objective because journalists are affected by biases of experience and beliefs or values they hold (McQuail, Everette on Kusumaningrat, 2016). The media also delivers its news through language that will never be value-free. Whatever is reported and how it is reported is part of agenda setting, which is the media's habit of directing the audience's thoughts about certain things. What is considered important by the mass media will usually be considered important by society (Johnson-Cartee, 2005).

This is where the importance of research on news content lies, especially to unravel the various biases of interest or ideology that lie behind it. In the context of journalism in Indonesia, in early March 2021 there was a series of news reports about national-scale political events or realities that are interesting to

unravel, namely related to the Extraordinary Congress (KLB) of the Democratic Party which took place in Sibolangit, Deli Serdang, on March 5, 2021. As reported in various types of mass media (both national and local), this KLB sparked controversy that adorned the national political stage because it was related to or associated with many national political forces. The Democrat Party is a new party that was born in 2004 and successfully won the 2009 General Election with the most votes beating Partai Golongan Karya (Golkar), PDI Perjuangan.

In a journalism context, this political reality has become one of the main media coverage materials because it fulfills various elements of news standards (news value), namely (1) important, because it is related to various sources of power on the Indonesian political stage; (2) big, because the Democratic Party is one of the major political parties and has been the winning party of the election; (3) prominence, because this event is related to famous political figures such as Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, Moeldoko, Joko Widodo, Marzuki Alie, and others; (4) impact, because this event will have an impact on democracy and the structure of political power in Indonesia; and (5) conflict, because this event presents tension or conflict that is interesting to be presented as news material.

In summary, the emergence of the KLB issue in the mass media was initiated by the statement of Democratic Party Chairman Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) that there was a coup attempt against his party's leadership planned by a number of party elites themselves and involving the Head of the Presidential Staff Office General TNI (ret.) Moeldoko. This issue then rolled out with the KLB in Sibolangit, and then acclamation elected Moeldoko as the new Chairman of the Democratic Party. This political event sparked a prolonged controversy because it was then associated with the Palace, in this case President Joko Widodo as Moeldoko's superior. This conflict widened into the legal realm with mutual lawsuits between the two camps, and contested the legality of the government through the Ministry of Law and Human Rights (Kemenkumham).

What is interesting, as described in the argument about framing analysis above, is how the mass media then reports on this political reality. In the context of political communication, the mass media is indeed one source of information in addition to other channels, both for politicians and audiences. The ways in which the media presents political events can influence the perceptions of political actors and audiences. In this framework, the media convey political talks to the audience. The form of the talk, quoting (Hamad, 2004), includes political news texts in which there is a choice of political symbols and political facts. Because of this, the media is often used as a propaganda tool in political communication.

These things can also be seen implicitly from mass media coverage of the Democratic Party KLB. This research focuses on four online news media with the highest web traffic in Indonesia based on data from Reuters Institute an independent site that records and provides data related to web traffic has been released Digital News Report 2022 the online media with the highest traffic are

okezone.com, tribunnews.com, kompas.com, and detik.com. Researchers chose online media (not other types of mass media such as print or electronic) by referring to what Kruikemeier et al. wrote. (2018) that the emergence of the internet has caused a shift in news consumption, including political news. News consumption through print and electronic media is definitely shifted by news consumption through digital news sites.

Referring to this data, it can be assumed that these four online media are the main source of audiences when looking for information about the Democratic Party KLB. Therefore, the audience's perception of this political event is also largely determined by how the four online media construct it. Referring to Shoemaker & Reese (2013), media content (news) is basically the result of the influence of various things, from the most micro (individual journalists), meso (media routines, organizations) to macro (ideology).

Based on this description, this research unravels or reveals the frames developed by the four online media in reporting the political events of the Democratic Party KLB in Sibolangit, Deli Serdang. All of these reporting processes do not take place in a vacuum, but rather in a dynamic or political power struggle. Neither journalists nor the media they work for can be seen as autonomous entities, but rather as entities that are connected to competing political forces. At this point, the audience/public's interest in neutral reporting is at stake. It is this context that makes this research interesting. Theoretically, the frames developed by each media are assumed to be connected to the dynamics of power or politics that surround them. As mentioned by Pan & Kosicki (1993), most research in the context of political communication is related to the issue of how the media form news frames related to events discussed by the public. This is where this research is crucial. In addition to answering the formulation of the problem that has been determined, the results of this study also reflect the practices of mass media coverage in Indonesia, which are often connected to the struggle for political power.

In the Indonesian context, similar research has been conducted, for example by Fadiyah (2014), Bingkai et.al. (2014), Fathan (2020), Setiowati et.al. (2020), Triandika (2020), Rustandi & Muchtar (2020), or Siswanti (2019) with a diversity of objects and research subjects. The themes of the news vary, from the Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) blasphemy case, the e-KTP corruption case, the Klaten Pilkada, terrorism news, to Ahok's resignation from the Gerindra Party. These studies also used Gamson & Modigliani's framing tools, and produced findings in the form of various news frames. However, in this research, the researcher expanded the scope of the research by comparing the news frames of four media outlets that have the highest traffic in Indonesia, assuming that they tend to be the most influential in shaping readers' opinions on the case raised, namely the Democratic Party KLB. This news case itself is still ongoing and unfinished in the legal realm, and will be one of the interesting issues until the 2024 presidential election. This is what makes this research quite relevant and significant.

The method used in this research is framing analysis developed by Gamson and Modigliani, which will be used to find the core frame of the news presented by each online media. Through the frame, it will be possible to see the struggle of interests or ideology that occurs in the news, and it reflects the subjective position of the media concerned in this political event.

The framing analysis developed by Gamson and Modigliani stems from Goffman's (1974) sociological conception that we all actively classify, organize and interpret our life experiences so that they can be understood. These interpretive schemes, called frames, enable individuals to locate, view, identify and label events or information. (Goffman, 1974) Before Goffman, the concept of frame had actually been first introduced by Beterson (1955) which was seen as a conceptual structure or set of beliefs that organized political views, policies, and discourse, and which provided categories for understanding reality. This concept was later developed by Goffman who imagined frames as pieces of behavior that guide individuals in interpreting reality.

The concept of frame is then used by a number of other sociologists to understand events or information presented in mass media coverage. Gitlin (1980), for example, used this conception to see the relationship between media news and the new left movement initiated by students. He defines frames as persistent selection, emphasis, and exclusion. He connects the concept to the production of news discourse by saying that a frame is something that allows journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely (and to) package information so that it can be delivered efficiently to their audience (Gitlin, 1980).

Gamson and Modigliani then developed the concept further. For both of them, media discourse can be understood as an interpretation device that gives meaning to an issue. The device has an internal structure, the core of which is an organized cluster of ideas (ideas) called a frame or frame, which makes certain events understandable, as well as determining what issues can be considered important in the event (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). In their other writings, Gamson and Modigliani also refer to frames as organized clusters of ideas that enable the presence of meaning in events related to certain issues (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987).

In the study of communication science, framing analysis is usually carried out to analyze the perspective or perspective used by journalists when selecting issues and writing certain news. This analysis is often used to see how certain aspects of reality are selected by journalists. In other words, in this analysis, journalists are assumed to carry out a selection process on the aspects contained in a reality (event). To present certain meanings that readers use to understand the reality (event), certain aspects will be highlighted and other aspects obscured/ignored; or certain actors are emphasized and certain actors are obscured or even omitted.

To unravel the selection process, Gamson and Modigliani developed an analysis model that relies on two main devices, namely framing devices and reasoning devices (Eriyanto, 2012). Framing devices are used to see what aspects are emphasized by journalists in seeing an issue, while reasoning devices are

used to see how certain aspects of justification are used by journalists when they see certain issues.

In a more technical framework, framing devices consist of five devices, namely: metaphors (the use of certain analogies or figures of speech to describe events/realities), exemplars (in-depth packaging of certain facts to give more meaning or weight or justify the use of certain perspectives), depictions (describing events using connotative words, terms, or sentences to direct the audience to certain images or meanings), and visual images (the use of photos, tables, diagrams, graphics, cartoons, and the like to express certain impressions or images). Meanwhile, reasoning devices have two technical devices, namely roots/causal analysis (linking one or more objects that are considered to be the cause of the occurrence of other things to create justification for the conclusion of the facts described) and appeals to principle (presentation of certain moral thoughts or claims as justification in writing news, for example using certain proverbs, folklore, myths, or doctrines).

METHODS

The approach and type of this research is descriptive-qualitative which places the researcher as a critical instrument and the data will be analyzed inductively. (Lune and Berg, 2017) Data were taken from news published by okezone.com, tribunnews.com, kompas.com and detik.com related to the political reality of the Democratic Party's Extraordinary Congress in Sibolangit, Deli Serdang. The news analyzed was taken from the first day the news about the KLB implementation appeared, namely March 6, 2020. The news on that day was chosen because it was on that day that strong and simultaneous reactions from both camps began to appear in the mass media. In addition, the news that appeared on that day was assumed to have a similar frame to the other day's editions, considering that the news came from the same media. On that day, okezone.com published 37 news, tribunnews.com 45 news, kompas.com 33 news, and detik.com 15 news.

The texts in the news stories (either the title, lead, body of the news or cover) were then selected to be analyzed using the tools provided by Gamson and Modigliani. This method of analysis allows researchers to see how media organizations construct certain realities. A frame is seen to have an internal structure, a central idea that makes events relevant and emphasizes an issue. In Gamson and Modigliani's formulation, frames are seen as story lines or clusters of ideas that are arranged in such a way and present the construction of the meaning of events related to a discourse (Eriyanto, 2012). In the context of this research, these things will be examined in the news of okezone.com, tribunnews.com, kompas.com, and detik.com. The data is processed with the following framing tools at Table 1.

Table I Gamson & Modigliani Framing Tools

Framing Tools	OBSERVED UNIT
Framing Devices	<p>Methaphors: similes or suppositions.</p> <p>Catchphrases: catchy, contrasting, prominent phrases in a discourse. These are generally jargon or slogans.</p> <p>Exemplaar: linking a frame with an example, description (can be theory, comparison) that clarifies the frame.</p> <p>Depiction: portrayal or description of an issue that is connotative. Depiction is generally in the form of vocabulary, lexicon to label something.</p> <p>Visual Images: pictures, graphics, images that support the overall frame. It can be in the form of photos, cartoons, or graphics to emphasize and support the message to be conveyed.</p>
Reasoning Devices	<p>Roots: causal analysis.</p> <p>Appeals to Principle: basic premises, moral claims.</p> <p>Consequences: the effects or consequences of the frame.</p>

The texts or units of analysis in the news of the four media under study were identified and grouped into observed units, and after that the researcher as a critical instrument of the research deciphered the meanings or construction of certain ideas developed by each media through the news.

DISCUSSION

As a framing study, the purpose of this research is to detect and unravel the news frames used by the media (through their journalists) when compiling news about the Democratic Party KLB in Sibolangit, which is politically related to the political landscape of power in Indonesia. Therefore, any news frame developed by the mass media will always be associated with the dynamics of power politics which is the context for the emergence of the news. Moreover, in terms of political economy, the mass media in Indonesia (including the online media that is the subject of this research) has become part of the ownership of political elites who are directly or indirectly the main actors in the political struggle for power.

From the analysis of the selected news texts, the results show a grouping of news frames from the four online media. First, detik.com and okezone.com tend to develop a frame that the Democratic Party KLB in Sibolangit is a product of power intervention (in this case the Palace) or a political treason event. Meanwhile, Moeldoko is framed as an ambitious political actor, forgetting his origins, and using the KLB as a stepping stone to the 2024 presidential election. Meanwhile, tribunews.com and kompas.com tend to develop a frame that this

KLB is an internal battle or conflict within the Democratic Party and is not related to the government. The discussion of these findings will be described in the following three sub-sections.

Political Engineering and Power Intervention Products

In media framing studies, news is seen or assumed to be a construction of reality that has been framed through the process of issue selection and issue emphasis/protrusion. Issue selection is related to the selection of facts, considering that not all aspects of the event can be displayed. Therefore, journalists always choose certain aspects of an issue, which in everyday journalistic language is often referred to as news angles. In this process, there will be an emphasis or protrusion of certain aspects or actors in the news, and conversely there are certain aspects or actors in the news that are obscured or even omitted. This process is the focus of framing research, which then continues to analyze how journalists write the selected aspects into news.

The findings of this study show that there is a similar tendency in the news of detik.com and okezone.com. This is detected from the way the story or package is developed, or referring to Gamson & Modigliani's phrase: a series of clusters of ideas organized in such a way from an event (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). The news texts of the two media appear to systematically organize certain ideas related to the Democratic Party KPB event in Sibolangit. This can be seen when researchers use the framing devices and reasoning devices developed by Gamson & Modigliani to see these "pieces of ideas". The data will be presented through the following tables of Framing devices (metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions) and Reasoning Devices (roots, appeal to principles).

Tabel 1: Metaphors detik.com and okezone.com

detik.com	okezone.com
<i>Flash KLB; Moeldoko's coffee ended up as the chairman of the Democrats.</i>	The KLB with the sole agenda of electing a general chairman to replace AHY took place fastly

Metaphors are ways of transferring meaning by relating two analogous facts, the use of metaphors by using similes, which can cause the text to create a certain sense. As shown in the table, detik.com uses the metaphor "ngopi-ngopi" to describe Moeldoko (the Indonesian Presidential Chief of Staff who was elected as chairman at the KLB). The word "**ngopi-ngopi**" refers to a relaxed situation, enjoying coffee in a comfortable place to discuss or lobbying about many things, including power. The sense obtained from the use of this diction is that the Democratic Party KLB and the election of Moeldoko are the products of activities that are negotiative, exchange of interests, and far from the public interest. The use of the word "**kilat**" by okezone.com to describe the KLB event also brings out

a certain sense; that it seems as if the KLB and the main agenda of the election of the chairman have been planned for a long time, including the goals to be achieved. In other words, the word "**kilat**" brings the reader to the idea that the KLB is an engineered political event, and therefore does not last long.

Table 2: Exemplars detik.com and okezone.com

detik.com	okezone.com
<p>Taking power; party coup; disgraceful leadership struggle; Moeldoko claims that the Democrat KLB is Constitutional; Central Java Democrat DPC chairmen open up about KLB 'Borok'; bad precedent for democratic morality; Moeldoko's track record when he was SBY's subordinate.</p> <p>The DPC chairman in Central Java is outspoken about the lure of money to join the Extraordinary Congress (KLB); DPC opens up about the offer of money to join the KLB.</p>	<p>Moeldoko For President 2024 echoes; Moeldoko Ousts and Seizes the Legitimate Democrat Ketum; AHY is dethroned, Jimly asks Jokowi to Sack Moeldoko; the intervention of people in power; Indifferent to the controversy over its legality, the KLB was held in Sibolangit yesterday</p>

Meanwhile, *exemplars* are defined as in-depth packaging of certain facts so that they have more meaning to be used as references. In this context, both media tend to package this outbreak as an illegal political event with the use of money, as well as a product of the ambition of someone (Moeldoko) who does not know how to return a favor. As is known, before serving as Presidential Chief of Staff in the Joko Widodo era, Moeldoko was the TNI Commander in the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). The packaging can be seen from the use of diction listed in Table 2, such as "take over, coup, claim, open, bad precedent for democratic morality, outspoken, lure of money," and so on. In a similar vein, in this case okezone.com seems to focus more on packaging the figure of Moeldoko. The choice of words or sentences used brings the KLB event as an issue of Moeldoko's power ambition to become president. The reader is brought to the idea that KLB is only an intermediate target of Moeldoko to realize his ambition by means of abuse of power to become president in the 2024 elections. The packaging is done through the use of words or sentences such as "Moeldoko for President 2004, ousting, seizing, intervention, legality controversy," and others. Even okezone.com implicitly tried to link this event with President Joko Widodo as the main political epicenter.

Table 3: Catchphrases Detik.com and Okezone.com

detik.com	okezone.com
Constitutional; in accordance with bylaws; against injustice	Common sense is dead; the rule of law and democracy are being tested.

The same tendency can be seen in the device of catchphrases, which are defined as typical word formations, or phrases that refer to a particular thought or fact, which is usually a jargon, slogan or motto. As shown in Table 3, both detik.com and okezone.com use sentences with jargon, slogans or mottos that are often used in political practice as an ideal. The words "constitutional," or the phrase "in accordance with the bylaws, against injustice, common sense, rule of law and democracy are being tested" are already political phrases that are ideally accepted and become an agreement in political practice. When these phrases or sentences are placed in the KLB news in a negative position, it can be seen that the two online media are introducing the idea that the KLB is an event that threatens the constitution and democratic life in Indonesia.

Table 4: Depictions Detik.com and Okezone.com

detik.com	okezone.com
<p>Rude and ugly; party thieves; fired Democratic Party cadres; party liars; Moeldoko accepted the proposal of the person who held the Democrat KLB; fake chairman; Moeldoko is a destroyer of democracy; deceit, lust for power; not obeying ethics; KLB is funny; political revenge.</p> <p>A political event labeled as the Extraordinary Congress (KLB) of the Democrats; an event claimed to be an extraordinary congress; Moeldoko becomes the chairman of the version of the agenda claimed by the KLB of the Democrats; the extraordinary congress (KLB) of the Democratic Party (PD) which is considered illegal and unconstitutional; the masses on behalf of the Democrat Party</p>	<p>The brain behind the coup movement; KLB is fake ; Moeldoko political criminal; Moeldoko run away Moeldoko's move to 'escape' was perfect after his cadres blocked journalists; Moeldoko cold-blooded.</p>

<p>agenda claimed as an extraordinary congress (KLB); PD KLB claimed unilaterally by a handful of parties; a political event claimed as the Extraordinary Congress (KLB) of the Democratic Party (PD) by a group of parties; a political celebration of an extraordinary congress (KLB) claimed unilaterally.</p>	
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Data from the depictions device also shows something similar to the above. Gamson defines depictions as the depiction of facts by using connotative terms, words, sentences so that readers are directed to a certain image. Their use can foster prejudice, and therefore usually takes the form of euphemism or stigmatization. From Table 4, it can be seen that both media use a lot of connotative words or sentences to describe KLB and the figure of Moeldoko, which carries a negative sense and can evoke prejudice. At certain points, the words or sentences chosen seem harsh and emotional, such as "ugly, stupid, begal, fired, liar, lust for power, deceitful, cold-blooded," and others. In the sentence structure, both media also often use words such as "labeled, claimed, on behalf of, a handful of parties" to describe the KLB event and the figure of Moeldoko. In a journalistic context, words that indicate a negative image usually only appear in direct sentences spoken by sources, not in indirect sentences compiled by journalists to describe events. The use of these words in direct sentences will be interpreted by readers as "the source's version of the facts." While its use in indirect sentences (as these two media often do) will be interpreted by readers as "the real facts."

The tendency that emerges from Framing Devices is also seen in Reasoning Devices, both roots and appeal to principles as can be seen in the following table.

Table 5: Roots Detik.com and Okezone.com

detik.com	okezone.com
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<p>Jhoni Allen Marbun, a cadre who has actually been fired by the Democratic Party, led the KLB; the KLB is now the work of two enemies of SBY.</p> <p>Head of the Democratic Party's Strategic Communications Agency Herzaky Mahendra Putra said the KLB proved the coup attempt that had previously been rumored to be true.</p> <p>.... alludes to President Joko Widodo's statement that once reminded party officials not to serve as ministers or ranks in his cabinet.</p> <p>Moeldoko to retain KSP seat as PD chairman?</p> <p>Moeldoko has been trusted several times by SBY to take on strategic positions. According to him, SBY also feels guilty for giving Moeldoko strategic positions in the past.</p> <p>Bambang, who was fired by Democrat Chairman Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) as Chairman of the Blora Regency DPC,</p>	<p>Andi Mallarangeng worried that Moeldoko got Jokowi's permission regarding the North Sumatra KLB</p> <p>The community is struggling against Covid-19, the elite only thinks 2024. This is considered a contradiction to President Joko Widodo's statement that all must unite to face Covid-19. However, one of President Jokowi's ranks is even involved in this political battle.</p>
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said that Moeldoko was elected by acclamation.	
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Table 5 is a roots device which is defined as the justification of certain issues by linking something that is considered to be the cause of the emergence or occurrence of something else; or the justification of the inference of facts based on cause-and-effect relationships. In the context of this news, there is a tendency for these two media to link certain aspects or actors in the KLB event with other things that bring readers to a certain (bad) image. In addition, bad attribution is given to political actors who support KLB. As can be seen in the table, detik.com, for example, the figures supporting the KLB, Jhoni Allen Marbun and the Chairman of the DPC in Blora Regency, are given attribution as "cadres who have been fired". Meanwhile, Moeldoko was given attribution as a figure who "was once given trust by SBY." This attribution can be interpreted as delegitimizing the actors concerned as well as delegitimizing the KLB. In the end, readers are led to interpret both as political actors who are not legitimate.

Detik.com and okezone.com are also seen connecting one fact with another (cause-and-effect) to construct certain ideas about KLB and its supporters. For

example, linking Moeldoko's status as a presidential aide with his position as Chairman of the Democratic Party as a result of the KLB; or linking Moeldoko's position with the granting of the position by SBY when he became president. Okezone.com even appears to draw a line between Moeldoko's activities at KLB and President Joko Widodo, explicitly or implicitly introducing the idea that President Joko Widodo was involved in the KLB event.

Table 6: Appeal to Principles Detik.com and Okezone.com

detik.com	okezone.com
Peanut forgot the span	---

Finally, there is the appeal to principles device, which is defined as thoughts, principles, or moral claims that are used as justification arguments to build news. Usually in the form of proverbs, folklore, myths, doctrines, teachings, and the like, the aim is to make it difficult for the audience to refute the argument. Detik.com seems to develop this, through the prominence of the proverb "kacang lupa lanjaran" found in Table 6. This is a Javanese proverb that refers to a person who forgets his origins or the people who once contributed to him. This proverb is attached to Moeldoko, who was appointed as the TNI Commander during SBY's presidency.

Overall, the data from the two framing devices lead to what Gamson & Modigliani call the core frame, which is the core elements that give relevant meaning to events, and direct the meaning of issues (Santi, 2012). From these tools, it can be concluded that both media developed a certain core frame about KLB and the figure of Moeldoko. The KLB event was packaged as an illegal political event and a product of Palace intervention. Meanwhile, Moeldoko is framed as a political actor who forgets his origins, legalizes all means, and uses KLB to achieve his ambition to become president in the 2024 presidential election.

Internal Fighting Without Government Intervention

In general, the core frames developed by tribunnews.com and kompas.com appear to be the opposite of those developed by detik.com and okezone.com. If detik.com and okezone.com emphasize external parties as a factor causing the outbreak, then kompas.com and tribunnews.com emphasize internal dynamics as the cause of the outbreak, and there is even a tendency to package the outbreak as an expression of resistance to political dynasties after the emergence of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) as party chairman replacing his father (SBY).

Tabel 7: Metaphors Kompas.com dan Tribunnews.com

Kompas.com	Tribunnews.com
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Scramble for the vehicle	SBY's family party; taking advantage of the chaos of "people's households."
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This can be seen in the metaphors device (Table 7), which uses the metaphors "vehicle" and "household" to describe the Democratic Party. Through these metaphors, the KLB is packaged as an event of mere vehicle struggles among insiders, or even if there are outsiders, it is described as a result of chaos among the residents of the "household." Tribunnews.com even used the phrase "SBY's family party" to refer to the Democratic Party. In other words, the KLB tends to be packaged as an event of chaos among "family members" regarding the "vehicle" controlled by certain family members.

Table 8: Exemplars Kompas.com and Tribunnews.com

Kompas.com	Tribunnews.com
<p>Pekalongan Regency Democratic Party DPC Chairman Mashadi admitted that he was invited to join the KLB by two former Democratic Party DPC Chairmen in Central Java.</p> <p>Endorsed Moeldoko as General Chairman, claimed to have been promised Rp 100 million</p>	<p>The dualism in the management of the Democratic Party following the outbreak in North Sumatra that named Moeldoko as chairman.</p> <p>Pekalongan Democratic Party DPC Chairman Mashadi admitted that he was offered a sum of money by a former DPC Chairman to join the KLB.</p>

Related to the protrusion of events (exemplars) as shown in Table 8, kompas.com and tribunnews.com seem to be inclined to package KLB as a party problem that leads to an internal power struggle. From the choice of words or sentences, kompas.com seems to direct readers' perceptions to internal problems, through highlighting the fact that there are party leaders who are persuaded by other party officials from different camps. Likewise, tribunnews.com presents the fact that there is a mass struggle within the internal body of the Democratic Party. This fact is further strengthened by the choice of the word "dualism" to direct readers to the context of internal problems that occur within the Democratic Party.

Table 9. Catchphrases Kompas.com dan Tribunnews.com

Kompas.com	Tribunnews.com
<p>Coup in the Democrats; the fire of the Democratic Party conflict</p>	<p>Cikeas dynasty; Democrat coup; Moeldoko Cs is fake</p>

The framing of internal problems becomes more visible with the formation of words, typical phrases, or slogans presented by *kompas.com* and *tribunnews.com* as shown in Table 9, namely "kudeta, api konflik, dinasti," or "abal abal." The choice of words reinforces the tendency of packaging internal party chaos. The phrase "dynasty: for example, is the implementation of family-based politics; dynasties relay strategic positions to brothers, relatives, and families to establish a political "kingdom" in the government both at the local and national levels. The use of this phrase seems to direct the reader to the idea that the KLB is a product of internal dissatisfaction with the "dynasty" phenomenon within the Democratic Party.

Looking further, the management of the Democratic Party cannot be separated from the fact that members of SBY's family occupy high positions. For example, during the leadership era of Chairman Subur Budi Santoso (2001-2004), Ani Yudhoyono was named deputy chairman. In the Anas Urbaningrum era, SBY's youngest son, Edhie Baskoro Yudhoyono, became Secretary General. Sartono Utomo (SBY's cousin) also became Deputy General Treasurer, Agus Hermanto (SBY's brother-in-law) as the Election Winning Commission. Agung Budi Santoso (Hadi Utomo's family, SBY's brother-in-law) is Secretary of the Department of Administrative Reform and Bureaucratic Reform. And, Hartanto Edhy Wibowo (SBY's cousin) became Chairman of the Department of SOEs (Puri Mei Setyaningrum, 2021). This continues in the current era, where the top control of the party is held by SBY's eldest son, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono and Edi Baskoro Yudhoyono.

Table 10. Depictions Kompas.com dan Tribunnews.com

Kompas.com	Tribunnews.com
Unconstitutional takeover of the Democratic Party leadership	Moeldoko Very unethical; AHY who is worthy; disgraceful leadership struggle; the end of the era of Democrats as SBY's Family Party; AHY who is considered weak and only an extension of SBY's family interests

Regarding depictions, both *kompas.com* and *tribunnews.com* also tend to direct the audience's understanding to the negative meaning of the Democratic Party itself. The use of the word "power takeover" reinforces that within the Democratic Party there is indeed a power struggle among its members. Somewhat different from *kompas.com*, which puts more negative emphasis on the Democratic Party, *Tribunnews.com* tends to point to the personalities of Moeldoko and AHY as the parties who are "at war." This is shown through the words "Moeldoko and AHY are at war". This is shown through the words

"Moeldoko is very unethical; AHY is worthy; the leadership struggle is not commendable." Even the two camps are also described as claiming each other regarding the figure of AHY as the current Chairman of the Democratic Party. By his supporters, AHY is described as a worthy figure and Moeldoko as an unethical figure. Meanwhile, opponents are portrayed as saying that AHY is considered weak and is only an extension of SBY's family interests, especially with the emphasis on the word : "family party."

Table 11. Visual Images Kompas.com dan Tribunnews.com

Kompas.com	Tribunnews.com
	

Related to the protrusion of events (explication) as shown in Table 8, kompas.com and tribunnews.com seem to be inclined to package KLB as a party problem that leads to an internal power struggle. From the choice of words or sentences, kompas.com seems to direct readers' perceptions to internal problems, through highlighting the fact that there are party leaders who are persuaded by other party officials from different camps. Likewise, tribunnews.com presents the fact that there is a mass struggle within the internal body of the Democratic Party. This fact is further strengthened by the choice of the word "dualism" to direct readers to the context of internal problems that occur within the Democratic Party.

Table 12. Roots Kompas.com dan Tribunnews.com

Kompas.com	Tribunnews.com
The fire started after Democratic Party Chairman Agus Harimurti	One of the chaos is due to a number of senior cadres

Yudhoyono (AHY) said there was a movement to take over the party leadership.	complaining about AHY becoming chairman.
This movement involves 5 people, 4 are former cadres, and one is an important government official in President Joko Widodo's circle of power.	SBY's insinuation that he made the Democrats a family party showed the dissatisfaction of several former cadres who were disappointed and then initiated an KLB in Sibolangit.

As shown in Table 12, Kompas.com and Tribunnews.com seem to attribute facts to people in the party who were involved in the KLB. Kompas.com mentioned that the problem grew because of AHY's statement that there was a takeover movement of the party leadership. It was also explained that the takeover was carried out by former cadres. Likewise, tribunnews.com seems to narrate that one of the causes of this chaos is a number of senior cadres who complain about AHY becoming chairman. This emphasis makes the issue of "family party" a point of internal party dissatisfaction, especially coupled with the emergence of the narrative "SBY's insinuation that the Democrats are a family party shows the dissatisfaction of several former cadres who were disappointed and then initiated an KLB in Sibolangit."

The Battle of Ideas and Media Ownership

News as part of the construction of reality will not be free from values, beliefs, which journalists believe in. News text as the main production of a media will not be separated from ideology. Text is language that is doing a certain activity in the context of the situation. It is in this "specific task" that ideology usually plays its part. This is reinforced by what Gramsci called the battle ground for competing ideologies, that the media is an arena between competing ideologies (Sobur, 2002). Framing shapes and changes audience members' interpretations and preferences through framing. That is, frames introduce or enhance the salience or real importance of a particular idea, activating schemas that encourage the target audience to think, feel, and decide in certain ways (Entman, 2007).

This is what happened in the framing of the four media studied on the Democrat Party KLB event. Each media has its own news prominence. Kompas.com directed the news to the party's internal turmoil by trying to occasionally link it to the Presidential Palace, given Moeldoko's position as Presidential Chief of Staff. Tribunnews.com also packaged the KLB as an internal battle between the AHY and Moeldoko camps, as a form of resistance to the dynastic politics of the Cikeas family. In contrast to the two above, okezone.com

and detik.com present a different construction from kompas.com and tribunnews.com. The diversity of narratives displayed can also be understood as a practice of achieving click and bait online media coverage.

In the context of news construction displayed by the mass media, there are several things that influence. Referring to Shoemaker & Reese (2013), first, content is influenced by the socialization and attitudes of media workers. This is a communicator-centered approach, emphasizing the psychological factors of journalists as individuals. Second, content is influenced by media organizations and routines. This approach argues that content arises directly from the nature of how the media works. Third, it is influenced by institutions and other social forces. This approach finds major impacts on content that lie outside of organizations and communicators: economic, political, and cultural forces. Audience pressure can be found in the "market" explanation of "giving the public what the audience wants." Fourth, the ideological function of the media, places major influences on media content as pressures to support their interests in power in society. It is organized into five levels of influence, hierarchically from macro to micro: social systems, social institutions, organizations, routines, and individuals. As Adam (2022) wrote regarding the framing carried out by Detik.com and Liputan6.com on the news that occurred, namely the attempt to take over the chairmanship of the Democratic Party, it can be interpreted that the two media are more inclined to the Democratic camp of Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono. Alvin (2022) proves that there is no neutral media. Each media has its own view of an event and emphasizes certain aspects of it. Ridho (2019) Mass media produces messages that are the result of reality construction.

Such is the case with Kompas. The daily during the New Order era appeared to be "obedient" to the government and was considered the New Order newspaper par excellence, maintaining (as it once did) a balanced and careful style of language.

Kompas owner Jakob Oetama described Kompas' characteristic caution with the following sentence: "I did say to my friends (journalists) 'we write, write, write, the more we go up and up, and the bolder we get, there is a yellow signal (danger), we go back. (Keller, 2009)

This precautionary principle can also be seen in how kompas.com and tribunnews.com (which are in the same media management group) present the news of the outbreak. This caution appears in the selection of sources that try to present the government's position regarding Moeldoko's position as Presidential Chief of Staff. Meanwhile, okezone.com was officially launched as the first online news portal owned by PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk (MNC), the largest integrated media company in Indonesia and Southeast Asia under the leadership of Hary Tanosoedibjo. The closeness of Hary Tanosoedibjo as a media owner and the Party Chairman of the Perindo Party as a government supporter cannot be seen directly that because of this factor as an element that makes okezone.com frame the KLB as an event that threatens the constitution and democratic life in Indonesia. Similarly, detik.com as a media founded by Budiono Darsono, and since 2019 taken over by Chairul Tanjung as part of PT Trans Digital Media.

The Nielsen Media Research survey stated that digital media readers are 6 million and have exceeded print media readers of 4.5 million people (Michael Reily, 2017). This condition forces media organizations to adjust to the fast-paced digital era, including some aspects of journalism editorial practices. New media changes journalism in several ways. First, the nature of news content changes inevitably as a result of the emergence of new media technologies. Secondly, the way journalists do their work in the digital era, especially regarding the need and use of reporting equipment. Third, the structure of newsrooms and the news industry. Fourth, new media reshapes the elements within news organizations, journalists, and their audiences, again including sources, competitors, advertisers, and governments (Nurwulan Suciati & Puspita, 2019).

If we look further at the framing of the Democratic KLB, the news writing process also emphasizes products that have selling points. Related to this, this change includes the strategy of making headlines on online media bombastic, curious, or confusing that can arouse readers to click on the news link. This kind of headline is called a seductive headline that usually uses provocative language to attract attention (Biyani et al., 2016).

Clickbait article titles also entice readers to click on the article by sparking curiosity. This is achieved by providing incomplete information so that readers are tempted to fulfill their curiosity by clicking on the article to find more information (Grabe, M. E., Zhou, S., Lang, A., and Bolls, 2000). Research conducted by Biyani et al. (2016) suggests that there are eight types of click-bait that often appear in online media, namely exaggeration, teasing, inflammatory, formatting, graphic, bait-and-switch, ambiguous, and wrong. Article titles related to click-bait are very close to sensationalism. Exaggeration is an exaggerated title on the url (uniform resource locator) page. Teasing is done by giving a headline that tries to provoke someone in a playful way by removing details from the headline in order to build suspense. Inflammatory attracts the attention of online readers with titles that intend to arouse angry or violent feelings by using inappropriate/vulgar expressions or use of words. Formatting is done by online media by giving titles that overuse capital letters or punctuation marks, especially capital letters or exclamation marks. Graphic is a title that contains unbelievable material. Bait-and-switch is where what is written/imagined in the headline is missing from the url: requiring additional clicks or none at all. Ambiguous is a title that is unclear or confusing to spur curiosity. Wrong is a title or article that is wrong: factually incorrect (just plain incorrect article: factually wrong).

The construction of online news by journalistic initiators in the new media makes a consensus, the language of journalistic language in online media, contains elements of hypertextuality, interactivity, and multimediality. News construction is hypertext. The inverted pyramid model is no longer suitable for the context of online news, because each news element can be connected to various other contexts of meaning, so that online media will provide various perspectives of facts and events, connecting with other facts and news. News is no longer bound by deadlines in the newsroom. News becomes an open construction field, easily updated and developed (Anshori, 2011).

CONCLUSION

This research produced findings in the form of grouping differences in the framing of the Democratic Party KLB news on the online media studied. Using the framing tools developed by Gamson & Modigliani, detik.com and okezone.com tend to develop a frame that the outbreak is a political event that endangers and attacks democracy, a product of interests outside the party (Presidential Palace), and the perpetrators are actors who have an interest in the 2024 Presidential Election. In contrast, kompas.com and tribunews.com developed a frame that the KLB was a political event that was part of the dynamics or internal problems within the Democratic Party, and the perpetrators were described as actors who were dissatisfied with the dynamics of the party, especially related to AHY's leadership, which was considered a reflection of the phenomenon of political dynasty.

This study shows how media production practices will never run in a vacuum, because these practices are carried out through media organizations or individual journalists who are also connected to various political or economic dynamics that surround them. Thus, this research can be part of the criticism of journalistic practices, which are considered as one of the practices that are pillars of democracy. In addition, the framing tools used helped to show the click-bait phenomenon in online journalism seen in the reporting of the four media. Methodologically, this kind of research has limitations that cannot reach the dynamics of news practices carried out by journalists or media organizations, because this method only focuses on the text messages produced. Therefore, this study can be used as a starting point for further research that focuses on news production practices, for example by using phenomenology, ethnography, or case study methods to obtain a more holistic landscape of findings.

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