

## MEDIA DISCOURSE AND INTERNAL CONFLICT OF JAVANESE POWER IN YOGYAKARTA

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**ABSTRACT.** This paper attempts to reveal how the local media, *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, produces discourse on the Yogyakarta palace's internal conflict involving Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X and his siblings. The Special Region of Yogyakarta as a province in Indonesia has a special government system that is different from other regions. The governor of Yogyakarta is not elected by the people like in other regions in Indonesia but is determined by the DPRD based on who serves as the King of the Yogyakarta Palace. This phenomenon becomes interesting when there are differences of opinion among the people and within the Yogyakarta Palace regarding the acceptance of women leaders. The conflict began to arise when Sultan Hamengku Buwono X issued the *Sabda Tama* and *Sabda Raja* (*Sabda Raja*) which were interpreted as the Sultan's way to pave the way for his daughter to become heir to the throne. The Sultan's younger siblings opposed the female king to rule in Yogyakarta, so an internal conflict arose. The research method used is a qualitative method with a critical discourse analysis approach using the Norman Fairclough model to analyze news texts related to the Yogyakarta Palace's internal conflict from the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* Daily. From the results of the research, it was found that the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* Daily produced discourses on internal conflict in the Yogyakarta palace by representing the ideology and interests of Sultan HB X's younger siblings. This local daily newspaper also commodified internal conflict in the Yogyakarta palace as events that were produced and disseminated to the public for the benefits media economy.

**Keywords:** media discourse; internal conflict; Javanese power; Yogyakarta, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* Daily

**ABSTRAK.** Tulisan ini berusaha mengungkap bagaimana media lokal *Kedaulatan Rakyat* memproduksi wacana konflik internal keraton Yogyakarta yang melibatkan Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X dengan saudara-saudaranya terkait suksesi kepemimpinan. Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta sebagai salah satu provinsi di Indonesia memiliki sistem pemerintahan khusus yang berbeda dengan daerah lainnya. Gubernur Yogyakarta tidak dipilih oleh rakyat seperti di daerah lain di Indonesia tetapi ditentukan oleh DPRD berdasarkan siapa yang menjabat sebagai Raja Keraton Yogyakarta. Fenomena ini menjadi menarik ketika terjadi perbedaan pendapat di kalangan masyarakat dan internal Keraton Yogyakarta terkait penerimaan pemimpin perempuan. Konflik mulai muncul ketika Sultan Hamengku Buwono X mengeluarkan *Sabda Tama* dan *Sabda Raja* (*Sabda Raja*) yang dimaknai sebagai cara Sultan untuk memuluskan jalan putrinya sebagai pewaris tahta. Adik-adik Sultan yang menentang raja perempuan untuk memerintah di Yogyakarta, sehingga muncul konflik internal. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan analisis wacana kritis model Norman Fairclough untuk menganalisis teks berita terkait konflik internal Keraton Yogyakarta dari *Harian Kedaulatan Rakyat*. Dari hasil penelitian, ditemukan bahwa *Harian Kedaulatan Rakyat* memproduksi wacana konflik internal di keraton Yogyakarta dengan merepresentasikan ideologi dan kepentingan adik-adik Sultan HB X. Koran harian lokal ini juga melakukan komodifikasi konflik internal di keraton Yogyakarta sebagai peristiwa yang diproduksi dan disebarluaskan kepada publik untuk keuntungan ekonomi media.

**Kata kunci:** wacana media; konflik internal; kekuasaan Jawa; Yogyakarta; *Harian Kedaulatan Rakyat*

### INTRODUCTION

The Special Region of Yogyakarta, as one of the special regions in Indonesia with a regional government system that does not recognize general elections to determine Regional Heads, is a rare and special step in the Indonesian State which adheres to a democratic system. In accordance with the mandate of Law Number 13 of 2012 concerning the Privileges of Yogyakarta, the one who fills the position of Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta is Sultan Hamengku Buwono, while the position of Deputy Governor is filled by Adipati Paku Alam. As stated by Hawkin (1996) in (Kurniadi, 2009) that

the Special Region of Yogyakarta is a 'pilot project' of the new Republic of Indonesia at that time. The Kingdom of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat under Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX declared that it had joined the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia through an edict signed by Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX and Paku Alam VIII on September 5, 1945.

The emergence of an internal conflict between Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X and his younger brothers was preceded by the presentation of *Sabda Tama* by Sultan Hamengku Buwono X on March 6, 2015, which, among other things, warned the younger siblings and other palace relatives not to discuss succession issues at the Yogyakarta Palace.

This Sabda Tama received various responses from internal and external parties in the palace. Then on April 30, 2015 Sultan Hamengku Buwono X again issued an edict in the form of the Sabda Raja (Word of the king). This Sabda Raja (Word of the king) has further triggered the internal conflict in the Yogyakarta Palace because there were points that contained the change of the name of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono to Sri Sultan Hamengku Bawono. In addition, Sultan Hamengkubuwono X also removed the titles “khalifatullah” and “panatagama”.

Regarding Sabda Tama and Sabda Raja (Word of the king), according to Subagyo's research (2015) there are traces of the king's power in it. The removal of the title attributes of “Abdurakhman Sayidin Panotogomo Kalifatullah” which sparked pros and cons both within the palace and the wider community. For those who refuse, there are signs that the removal of these attributes is based on the motive of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X to appoint his daughter as the successor to the throne (Subagyo, 2015). The complexity of the internal conflict in the Yogyakarta Palace, which seemed to corner Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X with his Sabda Raja and dhawuh (orders) made many media questions about the conflict that occurred in the Yogyakarta Palace and the contents of the king's words and dhawuh (orders).

In contrast to Subagyo's research which focuses on the analysis of the Sabdatama (King's Word) issued by Sultan HB X as the King of Yogyakarta, this research analyzes media news texts that produce discourses related to conflicts that arose after the release of the Sabdatama. Discourse produced by the media became the basis for exposing the internal conflict that occurred in Yogyakarta which has become public consumption.

Several parties linked the issue of leadership succession in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta with the gender equality movement. The eldest daughter of Sultan Hamengku B X, who was prepared as the successor to the throne, is considered to be a form of women's participation in the monarchy and governance system in Yogyakarta. Sultan Hamengku Buwono X provides justification on behalf of the people and the participation of women in community life, including becoming a leader. In Javanese society, power is something that is great and sacred which comes from the Almighty. Power can be obtained by selected humans who have power so that they are able to carry or sit in leadership positions (Yasasusastra, 2011).

In the matter of leadership succession in Yogyakarta, there are also claims of language, namely language that carries the interests of power. Claims on behalf of society and equal rights of men and women (Nugroho, 2018). The media as the party that

raises the event and discourse of leadership change in Yogyakarta also tries to convey this reality with their perspectives and interests. Althusser (1971) in (Durham, Meenakshi Gigi and Kellner, 2006) states that media is actually in the middle of a social reality which is full of various interests, conflicts, complex and various facts.

Mass media is not a free and independent institution, but there is a connection with social reality with the various interests that play in the mass media. As a form of media production, news is manifested in the form of language. Language, in modern society, has developed not only as a medium of social control and power, but also contributes to the process of dominating others by other parties (Fairclough, 2001).

Much research has been done on media and politics by analyzing news texts, such as research from Fermana and Zetra (2022) which analyzes media and political relations by analyzing media framing. Fermana and Zetra's research conducted an analysis of the *Republika Daily* news text in relation to reporting regarding the events of the 2019 Presidential Election, where certain facts were highlighted by the national mass media which were beneficial to one of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. This research is different because it uses critical discourse analysis which does not only look at media framing, but also conducts an in-depth analysis of discourse production related to media ideology and the socio-cultural context when political events occur.

Research from Nasionalita and Nugroho (2020) entitled “Media Agenda on Yogyakarta Sultanate Succession” measures the media agenda related to the issue of the Sultanate succession in three selected newspapers, through the quantitative content analysis method. The study analyzes 62 news texts to see how three media (*Kompas*, *Republika* and *Kedaulatan Rakyat*) emphasize issues related to leadership succession in Yogyakarta.

Although analyzing the same issue, this research is different from research from Nasionalita and Nugroho, where researchers focus on in-depth analysis of media texts to uncover the relationship between media discourse and the socio-cultural context that occurs in Yogyakarta. This research will analyze the actors involved in internal conflicts at the Yogyakarta Palace due to differences of opinion in the leadership succession.

Another study that aims to analyze news content in the media is research from Achmad et al who conducted an analysis of four print and online media for 2021 related to the Indonesian Democracy Index in Blitar City (Zainal Abidin et al., 2023). This research used a textual analysis approach

that reviewed texts containing indicators from the Indonesian Democracy Index and assessed their effect on the addition or subtraction of the Indonesian Democracy Index score. Four media are Radar Blitar, Memorandum, mayangkaranews.com, and bhirawa.com. The researchers analyze news texts in four media that contain various political, legal, and security events in the City of Blitar.

From the analysis of media news and focus group discussion, Achmad et al studies found that there are no political, legal, or security events that affect the rise and fall of the score of the Indonesian Democracy Index in Blitar City. They also found that there were no controversial judges' decisions in Blitar City about politics and democracy, and there has also been no termination of controversial investigations by prosecutors or police in Blitar City during 2021.

Unlike the article by Achmad et al, this paper examines political events in the form of conflicts related to leadership succession in Yogyakarta by analyzing media news. The researcher observes and analyzes how conflicting parties in Yogyakarta use their strength and power to influence public opinion in the media. The discourse on internal conflict in the Yogyakarta Palace which was produced by the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* daily became the main focus of this research.

According to Bordieu (1982) in (Haryatmoko, 2015) language is also used to do something, as well as being seen as an instrument of power because social relations are basically a relationship of domination. According to (Foucault, 2008), discourse has produced knowledge, and knowledge has always been a weapon of power, where the discourse on power and knowledge is always present together. Power in Foucault's view is productive and invisible because it is present in every social relationship, is widely practiced, spreads and infiltrates every aspect of human life. Fairclough (2001: 2) states that discourse is a practice of social control and power. Discourse sees language as a form of social practice that can be used to demonstrate power.

Discourse can be a means to marginalize and demean groups that are not dominant in discourse. Through one's language, it can be displayed either badly or badly to the public. Van Dijk (2006) in his research on Manipulation and Discourse said that discourse is related to manipulation. Socially, manipulation is defined as illegitimate domination that justifies social inequality. Cognitively, manipulation as mind control involves interfering with the understanding process, the formation of biased mental models and social representations such as knowledge and ideology. Inadvertently, manipulation generally involves the usual forms and formats of ideological discourse, such as emphasizing our good things, and

emphasizing their bad things (Van Dijk, 2006).

Language in the media text is not interpreted as something neutral that can transmit and present reality as it is in its original state, but it is already charged with power. Language is also understood as a place where ideology resides, where ideology, which is the desire for power, is manifested in the form of a language phenomenon (Fairclough, 2010). The intended power is in the form of power to control perceptions, views, visions, as well as the perspectives of individuals and social groups. In conflict events, language is used to recontextualize events, namely how we represent elements of the world, such as the word "we" which represents a certain group of people or "social actors", through proper names, or titles, or through their characteristics (Randy & Briones, 2017).

The problem of leadership succession in Yogyakarta which led to internal conflict became even more interesting because it triggered a war of language and discourse by the respective parties to the conflict. According to Ricoeur (1986), discourse has four elements, namely there is a subject which states, to whom it is conveyed, the world or vehicle to be represented, and the temporality or time context (Haryatmoko, 2015). Discourse as social praxis appears in Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, namely by analyzing social irregularities and paying attention to whether existing social structures want it, change it or improve it (Fairclough, 2010).

The emergence of this polemic and conflict triggered the mass media in Indonesia, both print and electronic, to make it into the news. In the end, the news about these problems both directly and indirectly floated the discourse about the internal conflict in the Yogyakarta palace. One of the media that was very intense in producing news texts related to the internal conflict in the Yogyakarta palace between Sultan Hamengkubuwono X and his younger siblings was the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* daily newspaper.

*Kedaulatan Rakyat* Daily Newspaper as the oldest and largest local daily newspaper in Yogyakarta, has an interest in local political dynamics in the Yogyakarta region as its consumer base. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* Daily has a vision of "Becoming a Useful Institution for Others" and fills independence through efforts to educate people's lives. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* daily newspaper has a strategic role in the local political context. As local media, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* Daily provides space for debates regarding public policy. Local media can also play a mediating role between actors in political processes at the regional level (Yusuf, 2011).

A message that is produced and distributed by the media allows commodification in which a product is deemed to generate large profits for media

owners or capital owners (Mosco, 2009). Mass media become an easy target process for commodification because it becomes a place for commodity production and plays a role in disseminating it to the public. Mosco conveys the commodification of content (media content) as a process of commodification in communication that involves transforming messages, ranging from small things to a system that has meaningful meaning, into a marketable product. Commodification becomes important when mass media has become a commercial product (Mosco, 2009).

This research wants to reveal several things related to the process of producing and distributing news texts, namely how Kedauletan Rakyat Daily produces news texts related to the issue of internal conflict in the Yogyakarta Palace from the perspective of language and power. Apart from that, there is also the relationship between media ideology and the linguistic aspects produced by the Kedauletan Rakyat daily newspaper. How is the social, political and cultural situation that is the background for the linguistic aspects used by the Kedauletan Rakyat daily and the process of commodifying conflict events by Kedauletan Rakyat Daily into a commercial product that is suitable for sale to the public.

The purpose of this research is to see the production of texts carried out by the Kedauletan Rakyat daily regarding the issue of internal conflict in the Yogyakarta palace. In addition, it is also aimed at exposing the relationship between media ideology and the linguistic aspects produced by the Kedauletan Rakyat daily newspaper. The next objective is to analyze the social, political and cultural situation and the process of commodification of conflict events by Kedauletan Rakyat Daily into a commercial product that is suitable for sale to the public.

## METHOD

This study uses a qualitative research approach and the Critical Discourse Analysis method of Norman Fairclough's model. This method was chosen because it has several advantages over other critical discourse analysis models. As stated by Fairclough (2010: 235) that critical discourse analysis is a method that seeks to see the social irregularities of a text in relation to the social, economic, political and cultural context. Social irregularities in the context of critical discourse are inequality, discrimination, lack of freedom or gender bias. Critical discourse analysis is related to discursive conditions and the consequences of social and political inequality as a result of the domination that occurs (Kasmani, 2019).

Haryatmoko (2015) summarizes that Fairclough's critical discourse analysis has clear analytical steps

and is able to show at a time when alignments and theorizing should begin. Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is an analysis that involves three levels of analysis, namely text analysis (micro level), discourse production analysis (mezzo level), and sociocultural analysis (macro level) (Haryatmoko, 2015).

Dimensional analysis of text includes traditional forms of linguistic analysis, analysis of vocabulary and semantics, grammar of sentences and smaller units, and sound systems (phonology) and writing systems. At the discourse level, it looks at the relationship between the internal and external levels because it examines the text as a genre, as a discourse, and in terms of style (Fairclough, 2013). At the external level, a text emerges from a number of levels, namely situational, institutional and societal (Fairclough, 2003).

The research data were obtained from news texts produced by Kedauletan Rakyat Daily during the period March to May 2015. During that period, Kedauletan Rakyat produced twenty-eight (28) news texts related to internal conflict in Yogyakarta palace. From the twenty-eight news texts, the researcher then analyzed five (5) news texts that produced the discourse of internal conflict in the Yogyakarta Palace. These five news texts were selected based on the title of the news text which became the headline on the main page of the Kedauletan Rakyat daily. In addition, five news texts were also selected based on consideration of the content of news texts that were directly related to the conflicting parties, namely Sultan HB X and his younger siblings, namely Prabukusumo and Yudhaningrat.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Kedauletan Rakyat Daily's Production of Internal Conflict Discourse

In this section the author will present an analysis at the text level to obtain key words or sentences related to the production of discourse by the media. The focus of this text analysis (micro-level analysis) is sentences from the news text produced by the Kedauletan Rakyat daily related to the internal conflict at the Yogyakarta Palace. News discourse analysis is carried out by looking at semantic, grammatical, and phonological relations as stated by Norman Fairclough. News texts were analyzed by focusing on the words and sentences conveyed by the conflicting parties, namely Sultan HB X and his younger siblings.

#### First News Text:

*"Sultan Keluarkan Sabdatama, Larang Bicarakan Suksesi Keraton"* ("Sultan Issues



Sabdatama, Bans Talking About the Succession of the Palace”) (Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily, 7 March 2015)

This news text discusses the order of the Sultan, who does not wish to discuss the succession of the Yogyakarta Palace in the form of a Sabda Tama on March 6, 2015. In the headline of the news text written by the local daily newspaper Kedaulatan Rakyat, there is a phonological relation in the form of the command sentence “Forbidden to Talk about Kraton Succession” as an affirmation of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X’s order regarding the problem of leadership succession in the Yogyakarta Palace. In the second paragraph of the news text, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily writes the following argumentative sentences:

*“Munculnya wacana peluang perempuan gubernur, membawa perbedaan pendapat antara keluarga Kraton dan internal DPRD DIY”* (The emergence of the discourse on the opportunity for women governors, brought differences of opinion between the Kraton family and the internal DIY DPRD). (Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily, March 7, 2015)

This semantic sentence was conveyed to provide the reason why Sultan Hamengku Buwono X issued the Sabda Tama which prohibited discussion of succession at the Yogyakarta Palace. Differences in opinion and interpretation of the Special Yogyakarta Law regarding women’s opportunities to become governors of the Special Region of Yogyakarta were the main problems that occurred in the discussion of the Draft Special Regional Regulation and escalated to the internal conflict between the Sultan and his younger siblings.

From a political perspective, what the Sultan did by issuing Sabdatama was a form of limiting opinion formation and the emergence of discursive aspiration space in political space. The restrictions made allow for the potential for channeling the issue of palace succession to only a limited circle to avoid upheaval and minimize segregation at the grassroots level. Even so, these restrictions should be made after consideration of the social and political impacts arising in reference to the larger public interest.

In the next text Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily delivers a direct quote from Sultan Hamengkubuwono X’s statement regarding Sabda Tama:

*“Sabdatama ini hanya untuk internal Kraton Yogyakarta saja, untuk mengingatkan adik-adik itu jangan asal bicara. Saya wajib mengingatkan, ukuran Sabdatama ini sama saja bicara tentang Undang Undang Keistimewaan”* (This Sabdatama is only for the internal Kraton

Yogyakarta, to remind the younger siblings not to talk carelessly. I must remind you that this Sabdatama measure is tantamount to talking about the Privileges Law). (Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily, 7 March 2015).

With the grammatical relation of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X as a subject, which issued “Sabdatama” as a direct object and aimed at an indirect object, namely “brothers and sisters” who were ordered to obey the king’s orders. The phrase “don’t just speak” becomes a phonological relation in the form of a speech intonation which contains a firm command. This phrase also indicates that the Sultan considers that his younger siblings are incompatible with the Sultan.

Restrictions on portions within the palace and specifically on Sultan’s younger siblings indicate that those who have the potential to become successors are asked to exercise restraint and not cause a public uproar. Keraton’s leadership succession is positioned as an internal issue that should be resolved “quietly” without having to involve external parties.

Second News Text:

*“Prabukusumo Akan Tetap Bicara”*  
(“Prabukusumo Will Keep Talking”).  
(Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily, 8 March 2015)

In this news, discusses more about the decision of the Sultan’s younger brother, GBPH Prabukusumo, who continues to reveal what he thinks is the truth even though he is opposed to the Sultan. Citing a statement from GBPH Prabukusumo, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily delivered the following sentence:

*“Menurutnya, paugeran merupakan aturan sekaligus adat istiadat keraton yang sejak dahulu hingga sekarang sama dan tidak ada perubahan”* (According to him, the paugeran is the palace’s rules and customs which have been the same since then and have not changed). (Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily, 8 March 2015)

This argumentative sentence was constructed to explain the position of “paugeran” as a rule that could not be changed by anyone, including the Sultan. These problems led to debate and conflict between the Sultan and his younger siblings regarding the replacement of the King at the Yogyakarta Palace. This difference of opinion between the Sultan and his siblings was produced by Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily with statements from the Sultan’s younger brother in several news texts, such as GBPH Prabukusumo, GBPH Yudhaningrat, and GBPH Hadikusumo. To show the conflict that occurred, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily again touched on the contents of the Sabda

Tama issued by Sultan Hamenku Buwono X that the King prohibited anyone from discussing the issue of succession at the Yogyakarta Palace.

The issue of political interests does require the same starting point to think so that they have the same point of view. Regarding the “paugeran” which is the boundary of the Keraton’s juridical rules, it can be interpreted differently by different interests. The narrative built by the power holders will be different from those who are struggling to gain power and even tend to be the opposite. This is where it is then necessary to have a common vision in viewing rules from the same point of view in a political system of power that is based on what is best for the people.

#### Third News Text:

*“Hapus Gelar Khalifatullah, Sabdaraja Timbulkan Pro-Kontra”* (“Remove the Title of Khalifatullah, Word of the King raises the pros and cons”). (Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily, 2 May 2015)

From the headline of the news text, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper conveyed to the public regarding Sabda Raja (Word of the king), one of which was to abolish the title “Khalifatullah” as a matter of pros and cons in the community. Regarding this, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily then delivered a statement from the Sultan’s younger brother, GBPH Yudhaningrat which was produced in the following indirect sentence:

*Gusti Yudha bersuara keras menanggapi Sabdaraja. Menurutny, isi Sabdaraja yang dikeluarkan Sultan HB X telah menabrak tatanan.* (Gusti Yudha spoke out loud in response to Sabdaraja. According to him, the Sabdaraja contents issued by Sultan HB X had broken the order.). (Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily, 2 May 2015)

The emphasis on the rejection of Sabda Raja (Word of the king) is stated in the text through phonological relations in the form of the phrase “loudly voiced” which is interpreted as the delivery of conflicting opinions regarding the content of Sabda Raja. In addition, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily also conveyed the opinion of the Sultan’s younger brother who mentioned Sabda Raja as something that “broke the order”. This clearly confirms Yudhaningrat’s rejection of the Sabda Raja content because he is considered to have violated the rules that have been in effect so far in the Yogyakarta Palace.

#### Fourth News Text:

*“Dianggap Ubah Tatanan, Adik Sultan Ziarahi Makam Leluhur”* (“Considered Changing Order, Sultan’s Brother Visits Ancestral Tomb”). (Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily,

5 May 2015)

Visiting ancestral graves becomes a semiotic slap on the relationship between rules and history. The palace, which is a symbol of culture and noble wisdom that is firmly bound to history and ancestors, should be a pillar in obedience to the traditional order. Pilgrimage to ancestral graves is also a reminder that what is owned today and what is held tightly is a legacy from ancestors who have rules.

In this news, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper, discusses the replacement of the title of Sultan which is considered an action that changes the structure of the Yogyakarta Palace. As conveyed by Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily in the following sentence:

*“Keluarnya Sabdaraja oleh Raja Kraton Yogyakarta, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, mendapat reaksi keras dari adik-adiknya. Lima poin dari Sabdaraja itu dianggap mengubah tatanan yang ada di Kraton Yogyakarta.”* (“The resignation of Sabdaraja by the King of the Yogyakarta Keraton, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X, received a strong reaction from his younger siblings. The five points from Sabdaraja are considered to have changed the existing order in the Yogyakarta Palace.). (Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily, 5 May 2015)

The use of the phrase “strong reaction” in this sentence is to show a reaction to the action of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X in issuing Sabda Raja which was responded by not obeying the order. The relation of the grammatical meaning of the phrase “strong reaction” shows the disapproval or opposing response of the Sultan’s siblings towards Sabda Raja. The next sentence explains the argument for the refusal made by the Sultan’s younger siblings to Sabda Raja because it is considered to have changed the existing order or rules in the Yogyakarta Palace so far.

Furthermore, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily conveyed differences of opinion from the Sultan’s brothers regarding the removal of the title “Khalifatullah” as conveyed by Sultan Hamengkubuwono X in Sabda Raja. Regarding this, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily again quoted a statement from GBPH Prabukusumo which conveyed the issue of the title Khalifatullah which had been used for generations by the founders of Mataram.

*“Jadi khalifatullah adalah khalifah Allah, sehingga setiap laki-laki yang beragama Islam merupakan khalifatullah karena laki-laki tersebut diberikan kewajiban untuk menyiarkan Islam.”* (So khalifatullah is the caliph of Allah, so that every male who is Muslim is khalifatullah because he is given the obligation to broadcast Islam). (Kedaulatan

Rakyat Daily, 5 May 2015)

In this sentence there is an explanation of the title “Khalifatullah” which means “caliph of Allah”. “Khalifah” has a lexical meaning as the title of head of religion and king in an Islamic country that implements Islamic sharia (law) in state life. In this case, the Sultan’s siblings did not agree with the removal of the title because they considered the Yogyakarta Palace to be an Islamic kingdom as it was founded by its predecessors. The title “Khalifatullah” is not just a word that is pinned without meaning but has historical value, philosophy and long responsibility. Releasing this title seems to erase Part of the history that forms the identity of the Keraton.

Fifth News Text:

*“Tak Sesuai UU No 13/2012, Adik Sultan Minta Gelar Dikembalikan”* (“Not in accordance with Law No. 13/2012, Sultan’s younger brother asks for a title to be returned”). (Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily, 7 May 2015)

This news text represents the statements of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X’s younger brothers, represented by GBPH Yudhaningrat. The Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper, discusses the Sabda Raja controversy in this text with a provocative opening sentence as follows:

*“Adik-adik Sultan HB X tidak lagi mengakui kakaknya sebagai Ngarsa Dalem serta Gubernur DIY karena tidak lagi menggunakan gelar Khalifatullah dan Hamengku Buwono, dan mengganti menjadi Hamengku Bawono seperti tertuang dalam Sabdaraja I.”* (Sultan HB X’s younger siblings no longer recognize his brother as Ngarsa Dalem and the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta because he no longer uses the titles Khalifatullah and Hamengku Buwono, and changes to Hamengku Bawono as stated in Sabdaraja I.). (Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily, 7 May 2015)

The issue of changing the title of Sultan through Sabda Raja was again aired by Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily from the perspective of the Sultan’s younger brothers. The meaning relation in this sentence was produced to convey the claim of resistance from the Sultan’s siblings against his brother by arguing that the titles “Khalifatullah” and “Hamengku Buwono” were lost as stated in Sabda Raja. Apart from being incompatible with the structure of the Yogyakarta Palace, the change in title was deemed incompatible with the Number Privileges Law. 13 of 2012. Furthermore, still quoting a statement from GBPH Yudhaningrat, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily again delivered the

sentence:

*“Sri Sultan dianggap sudah merusak tatanan di Keraton”* (“The Sultan is considered to have damaged the order in the Palace”)

*“Sultan harus mendirikan kerajaan baru dan sebutan Hamengku Bawono bukan kesepuluh tetapi pertama”* (“The Sultan must establish a new kingdom and the title Hamengku Buwono is not the tenth but the first”)

The emphasis on the above sentences shows the position of Sultan’s younger siblings as opposed to the Sultan. The statement addressed to the Sultan directly and openly confirmed that the Sultan had violated the Palace regulations. Even in this statement, it can be seen that Sultan’s brother considers the Sultan not to be the leader of the palace anymore if he continues to uphold Sabda Tama and Sabda Raja.

### **Media Ideology and Discourse of Internal Conflict of the Yogyakarta Palace**

The discourse on the internal conflict of the Yogyakarta palace involving Sultan Hamengkubuwono X with his brothers and sisters was produced by Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily in news texts with various genres, discourses and styles. Sources from the two parties with different opinions became news sources that were produced in a language style adapted to the style of the Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper. From the results of the analysis of the news text, it was found that the discourse production was carried out by the Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper. The Sultan as the King as well as the Governor represents the interests of the rulers in Yogyakarta is displayed in Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily with a quote from the prohibition command, as when a leader reminds his subordinates. Meanwhile, the Sultan’s brothers and sisters are represented as representatives of the Yogyakarta Palace relatives.

The discourse on internal conflict was produced by quoting statements from sources who were considered to represent the interests of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X’s brothers and sisters who had different opinions regarding the succession in the Yogyakarta Palace. The argumentative declarative sentence was produced by the Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper, quoting statements that contradicted what the Sultan conveyed in Sabda Tama. The discourse of internal palace conflicts has become the dominant discourse produced by the Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper, since the issuance of the Sabda Tama, then continued with the Sabda Raja (Word of the king) and Dhawuhraja (the second king’s word). The genre used by Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper in this conflict discourse is editorial, incident reports, and quotations from



interviewees.

By presenting news sources from the Sultan's younger brother who responded to the word of the king with negative sentences, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily produced discourse on the internal conflicts of the Yogyakarta Palace. In several news texts, Yudhaningrat's source represented court relatives who opposed the word of the king. Meanwhile, Sultan Hamengkubuwono X in this text is presented as a representative of the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The discourse strategy carried out by Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily in this news text was to select sources from the Sultan's younger siblings who contravened the Sultan's decision to issue Sabda Raja (Word of the king). Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily selects sources as a discourse strategy to show who is saying what, and how the language is used.

Internal conflicts involving two parties, in the practice of discourse produced by the Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper, it rarely displays opinions or statements from Sultan Hamengkubuwono X's side. Sources who get a lot of places in the production of discourse on the internal conflict of the Yogyakarta palace by GBPH Yudhaningrat and GBPH Prabukusumo. These two men became representatives of the relatives (younger siblings) of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X as different parts of opinion regarding Sabda Raja (Word of the king), especially regarding the change of the Sultan's title. Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper produces news texts with a discourse strategy that represents the ideology and interests of the Sultan's brothers and ignores the opinions and interests of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X. This is fine in the news production process, but the public will see Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily as a local media that sided with one of the conflicting interests.

Selection of sources for the news production process is indeed commonplace in the world of journalism, but if more sources are presented than one party who is in conflict, then the presentation of reality in the news text becomes less balanced. This is what happens in the discourse production of internal conflicts in the Yogyakarta palace by the Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper. Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily provides a very unequal space for the two parties who have different opinions and lead to internal conflicts. The discourse of Kedaulatan Rakyat Newspaper on sensitive issues such as power conflicts tends to shift from objective news reporting to discourse driven by ideology and media interests. Journalists who have power and control over media news use it to control the minds of their readers, according to their political orientation (Fornkwa, 2015). This is manifested through the choice of words and argumentative structures they use in producing news. From the

features of the genre, discourse and style of discourse produced, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily chose to provide space for representation for the interests of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X's younger brothers.

The language and discourse strategy used by conflicting parties is a clear example of how language can be used as a "weapon" to wage war on opinions in the media. With media power relations, Sultan's younger siblings are trying to convey their opinion to the public that what Sultan HB X did was wrong. The word "paugeran" became a weapon for those who disagreed with Sabda Raja and Dhawuhraja to attack Sultan's policies through the People's Sovereignty Daily. And this received a positive response from the KR Daily which consistently produced discourse on internal conflict in favor of the interests of Sultan HB X's younger siblings.

In the production of this internal conflict discourse, KR Daily commodifies the conflict events that occurred in the Yogyakarta palace. The mass media is an easy target for commodification because it is a place for the production of commodities and plays a role in disseminating them to the public. Vincent Mosco (2009) conveys the commodification of content (media content) as a process of commodification in communication that involves transforming messages, ranging from small things to a system that has significant meaning, into market products. Commodification becomes important when the mass media has become a commercial product (Mosco, 2009).

### **The Sociocultural Background of the Yogyakarta Palace's Internal Conflict**

The production of texts and discourses carried out by Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily cannot be separated from the social, political, and cultural situation of the people in Yogyakarta at the time the text was produced to the public. The issues raised and the discourse developed are influenced by the social and cultural context that surrounds them. As we all know, Yogyakarta as one of the provinces with "special" status in Indonesia has experienced a long journey as a cultural institution as well as a political institution. The sociocultural context of this study is related to how the media choose discourses in reporting related issues of internal conflict in Yogyakarta. As stated by Fairclough (2010), a text emerges from a social structure, social practices and social events that work within the framework of a larger social system. In this study, for example, we can read the interactions between the Sultan and his siblings in relation to their special relationship as blood relatives. However, we can also see the relationship between the Sultan and his younger siblings in the Yogyakarta palace as an institution, or the relationship between leaders and



subordinates in the wider society.

Social structure, according to Fairclough (2010) is an abstract entity that defines potential, namely a set of possibilities. However, the relationship between what is structurally possible and what happens, that is, between structure and events, is a very complex relationship. Events are not simple or direct influences from abstract social structures, mediated relationships. There is an intermediary entity between structures and events, namely social practices. Social practice can be considered as a way of controlling the selection of certain structural possibilities and overriding others, and maintaining these choices over time, in certain areas of social life (Fairclough: 2010).

The social and cultural structure in Yogyakarta has a unique pattern of relations in this succession conflict. From observations made in the field, the internal conflict did not have a serious impact on the social and cultural life of the people at the grassroots level. They continue to carry out social and cultural activities as they should and seem to ignore all the issues that have arisen related to the succession.

The collective awareness of the Yogyakarta people in viewing internal conflicts by leaving the process of conflict resolution to interested parties alone is an interesting note in this research. It is as if society gives freedom to conflicting parties to find solutions and believe that they are capable of doing so. And most important of all is the belief that the palace's decisions are the best for the people of Yogyakarta.

This is inseparable from the social and cultural adage that developed in Yogyakarta that "nderek Sultan" is an honor, and obedience to the decisions of the Kraton is an absolute order. So that in the political public space, the discussion on the issue of succession does not attract much public attention even though it has been amplified by the media. This uniqueness may only be found in a society structure with a monarchical typology that gives full trust to its leaders.

Historically Yogyakarta has had a different history from other regions when it was integrated into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Yogyakarta is integrated into the Republic of Indonesia through the Declaration of 5 September 1945. This decree which is very sacred has positioned Yogyakarta as a Special Region within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In this edict, it is clear that Yogyakarta is a kingdom and has a special status and is part of the territory of the Indonesian state. Institutionally, the palace as a cultural institution has political power in Yogyakarta, because the king of the Yogyakarta Palace also holds a political position as the Regional Head (Governor)

of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. In the context of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, which does not recognize direct regional head elections (governor) has attracted the attention of the public.

### **Media Commodification of Internal Conflict of the Yogyakarta Palace**

In the context of this internal conflict discourse, Kedauletan Rakyat Daily carried out the process of transforming messages from a set of data and facts into a system of signs and meanings which could then be marketed and had capital value. Data and facts about differences of opinion that led to conflict between Sultan Hamengkubuwono X and his younger siblings were then processed and produced into several news texts. The produced and distributed representation of the news text content eventually becomes an exposure which has undergone a commodification process. Thus, Kedauletan Rakyat Daily gets economic benefits from the internal conflict discourse production process carried out by the editor. Media content in the form of news texts has become a tool for capital owners to produce products that end in the capital.

The commodification carried out by the Kedauletan Rakyat daily cannot be seen as a mere coincidence. In a political perspective, commodification is always associated with the interests of the struggle for power with the amplification of the media to make individual and group interests appear to be the public interest. Media commodification is needed to invite the public to discuss issues. The more often the issue is discussed and the wider the public who discusses it, the issue will become very important because it will attract public attention.

The commodification of media and the representation of interests becomes the embryo of the birth of political propaganda in shaping public opinion in achieving political goals. The propaganda method most often used in situations like this is "card stacking" in which the propagandist tries to direct the public to the thoughts desired by the propagandist.

As stated by Vincent Mosco (2009), the commodification of content (media content) is a process of commodification in communication that involves transforming messages, ranging from small things to a system that has meaningful meaning, into a marketable product. Commodification becomes important when mass media has become a commercial product. Kedauletan Rakyat Daily Newspaper as a media company is very dependent on the number of readers who access news through daily newspapers. In addition to the daily circulation of printed newspapers, the large number of audiences reading Kedauletan Rakyat Daily will of course make advertisers come, which means that the company's

profits will also increase.

Politically, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily also has an interest in relations with court relatives as local media. This relationship can be seen in the selection of news sources who provide more space and opportunity to convey opinions and personal narratives in the Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper. Reporters who conduct interviews with sources have selected sources who are considered to be “selling” economically and can protect the political interests of the media. The news production process does not only involve media workers at the field level, but has gone through filters on the editorial table to the editor in chief. This shows that the news text produced by Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper represents the ideology and interests of the company as a local daily newspaper.

### CONCLUSION

The practice of producing this discourse is carried out by the Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily Newspaper, ignoring the vision and mission of media companies which try to always be neutral and not side with one particular interest or group. This institutional context cannot be separated from the economic and political interests of Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily to protect consumers and readership in the Yogyakarta region, as well as the Javanese-Jogja people who spread throughout Indonesia. The commodification of the internal conflict in Yogyakarta was carried out by Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily to get readers' attention and support. In the production of this internal conflict discourse, Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily codified the contents of the conflict that occurred in the Yogyakarta palace. Various events, opinions and opinions from sources relating to the internal conflict of the Yogyakarta palace become material in the news production process. Mass media become an easy target process for commodification because it becomes a place for commodity production and plays a role in disseminating it to the public. Kedaulatan Rakyat Daily as a media company carries out the process of producing and distributing texts related to the internal conflict at the Yogyakarta Palace, which are then consumed by the public as a commodity.

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