

Editorial policy of *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Tribun Jogja*, and *Harian Jogja* in reporting regional management by Kasultanan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat

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Abstract

The Province of the Special Region of Yogyakarta is an anomaly in a democratic country. The position of regional head in this province is held by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate which adheres to a monarchical system so that regional management experiences various obstacles, such as internal palace conflicts or allegations of maladministration. As mass media whose freedom is regulated by law, the three mass media in DIY also have to deal with a unique local government system. This study discusses the editorial policies of three local media in Yogyakarta: *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Tribun Jogja*, and *Harian Jogja* regarding the DIY government under the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and maps out the factors that influence the editorial policy. In-depth interviews were conducted to each of the media representatives to obtain data that then analyzed. This study concludes that each media is more careful in criticizing and controlling the government. Various factors also influence this policy, both at the individual level, media routines, organizations, social institutions, and social systems. This research concludes that the editorial policy is more careful in the function of control and criticism as well as the existence of various factors both at the individual level, media routines, organizations, social institutions, and social systems that underlie these decisions.

Keywords: *journalism, editorial policy, hierarchy of influence*

INTRODUCTION

As the fourth pillar of democracy, the press has a controlling role that functions to oversee the running of the executive, legislative and judicial branches. This freedom is fully guaranteed in Indonesia through Law no. 40 of 1999 concerning the Press. The existence of this regulation at the same time guarantees the implementation of mass media coverage activities, including in carrying out the functions of control and criticism.

The 2021 Press Freedom Index survey conducted by the *Dewan Pers* (Press Council) shows that in general, press freedom in Indonesia is at a score of 76.02 with an indication of “quite free” freedom. This score has increased by 0.75 points compared to 2021 with a score of 75.27 (*Dewan Pers*, 2021). In Yogyakarta, the average score of the press freedom index is better than the national press independence index. The same survey shows that the average index of Yogyakarta’s press freedom is at a score of 77.75 (quite free). The score increased by 1.91 points compared to 2020.

The score which is higher than the national average indicates that in general the press in Yogyakarta is in a free condition and its independence is relatively guaranteed. The Press Council noted that in general, intervention from outside media institutions is rare. However, from within institutions, intervention still occurs, especially those related to the interests of companies and media owners (*Dewan Pers*, 2021). This condition is

interesting because when viewed from a social and political perspective, the press institution in Yogyakarta is in two social and political situations at once, namely being part of a democratic society under the Republic of Indonesia as well as being part of a feudalistic society under the administration of the Kasultanan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat (Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate) and the Kadipaten Pakualaman (Duchy of Pakualaman).

Even though it adheres to a democratic republican system of government, there are some exceptions to the state governance system in Indonesia. These exceptions can be seen in a number of provinces that are categorized as special regions. This privilege was born not only in the form of a designation, but also received a special law which provides a number of exceptions that distinguish the governance of this area from other regions. One of the oldest and still existing special areas is the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

The history of the privilege of Yogyakarta is based on the actions of the Sultan of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwana IX (HB IX) who helped a lot in the struggle for Indonesian independence. In addition, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwana IX helped a lot in the process of Indonesian independence as well as changing the government system within the palace and developing its function as a center for culture, tourism, and education (Wardani, 2012). This concept also received support from the people of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate because HB IX applied the concept of “throne for the people” which prioritized community development. The performance of HB IX is considered as the basis for the loyalty of DIY residents to the Sultan and the Sultanate which help smoothen the process of the issuance of Law Number 13 of 2012 concerning Privileges (Wardani, 2012; Huda, 2014).

Based on the explanation of Article 4 letter (u) of Law Number 13 of 2012 concerning the Privileges of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the privilege of Yogyakarta was obtained as an acknowledgment of the origin rights of the DIY Province which was originally the sovereign Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and then decided to integrate with Indonesia as a province-level region.

For the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate, the Privilege Law legitimized the power of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate. This law stipulates that Sultan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat and Adipati (Duke) of Kadipaten Pakualaman have the right to serve as Governor and Deputy Governor, and the DIY Government has the right to manage government institutions at the provincial level. Based on this law, current governor of DIY is the tenth sultan of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X and the deputy is the 10th duke of Pakualaman Duchess, Paku Alam X. In addition, the DIY Regional Government also has the authority to manage culture, land, and spatial planning in the DIY administrative area.

Despite having dominant power, so far there has been almost no sharp criticism of the administration in DIY. The great submission and obedience of the DIY community to the DIY government under the Ngayogyakarta Palace was born thanks to the hegemony with various jargons such as “manunggaling kawula gusti” or “Jogja Istimewa” which are continuously produced and reproduced and amplified through various mass media, government documents, as well as orations and speeches in various parts of DIY (Ekasari, 2019).

The role of mass media in this privileged hegemony process is also evident from a number of studies. Currently, there are three major news media that born and operate in Yogyakarta: *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Tribun Jogja*, and *Harian Jogja*. The three media not only published their news through newspaper, but also through digital media such as e-print, website, and social media.

Research conducted by Indrakrista shows that *Tribun Jogja* as a local media in DIY is trapped in reporting with a bureaucratic administrative framework and tends to ignore the community as the main source of news. Whereas the existence of the community as control over the course of government is an important factor (Indrakrista, 2015). Another finding made to the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* newspaper showed that this media tended to side with the Sultanate. This is especially evident during the polemic of the succession of sabdaraja (Rukmini, 2015). Meanwhile, the latest findings show that the news in the three mass media in DIY framed the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate as having properly managed and utilized land rights obtained through the mandate of the Privileges Law for the benefit of the wider community even though the Sultanate received criticism after the publication of a series of investigative news that revealed allegations of land maladministration

in the DIY (Adikara, 2022).

The great influence of the mass media in building public discourse is the basis for this research to discuss the editorial policies of three local media in Yogyakarta: *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Tribun Jogja*, and *Harian Jogja* regarding the DIY government under the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and to map out the factors that influence the editorial policy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ideally, the function of the press in Indonesia is regulated in Law Number 40/1999 which states that the press has a function as a medium of information, education, entertainment, social control, and an economic institution (Surbakti, 2015). This arises because the press has strategic presence and has the ability to influence a wide audience. The strong presence of the press also raises the concept of the press as the fourth pillar of democracy with the function of controlling the rulers. But in fact, the idea of the fourth pillar and as a watchdog on the way of power is an idealism that is very difficult to realize. This is because the existence of the press as a social institution will clash with other forms of profit-oriented business institutions. The presence of the press must also be negotiated with political interests so that this institution can continue to exist. This makes press autonomy only materialize to a certain level before finally colliding with political and economic interests (Berry, 2008; Phillips, 2015).

The clashes of the press in carrying out their roles as social and business institutions can be explained by the concept of a hierarchy of influence which is always present in every press work. The concept of hierarchy of influence explains various factors at the micro, meso, and macro levels. In detail, the influence hierarchy consists of influences at: (1) individual level, (2) media routine level, (3) organizational level, (4) social institution level, (5) social system level (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014; Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2020; Dimitrova, 2021)

Influence at the individual level refers to the micro elements that influence news production. At this level, personal ideology, behavior, personal ethics, work ethic, and interests of journalists become influencing factors in the news mediation process. The influence on the level of media routine refers to the various routines that become habitual in the news production process within the organization. This includes the influence of performance targets, reporting strategies, data collection strategies, writing to news publications. The influence at the organizational level is the influence on the news which includes the ideological factors and general policies of the media organization. When working, the three influences at the intramedia level also get two influences from the extramedia level, namely the level of social institutions where media institutions have to negotiate their role and existence with other social institutions. At this level the influence of power becomes one of the most influential factors. While the outermost level is the influence of the social system level which is a macro level where the social and cultural ideological factors in which the media are located are one of the factors that shape the way the media works in mediating news (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014; Krisdinanto, 2014; Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2020)

METHODS

This research is a case study conducted to reveal the editorial policies of three mass media in Yogyakarta: *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, *Tribun Jogja*, and *Harian Jogja*. The three mass media were chosen because they are the three largest mass media in DIY. The three mass media have both print and online versions. *Kedaulatan Rakyat* is the oldest mass media in Yogyakarta which was established in 1945. *Harian Jogja* is a local mass media in Yogyakarta which is incorporated in the Bisnis Indonesia Group together with the economic daily *Bisnis Indonesia* and the local *Harian Solopos* in Solo. Meanwhile, *Tribun Jogja* is a local mass media in Yogyakarta, which is part of the Kompas Gramedia Group and is part of the *Tribun Network*.

To obtain information, in-depth interviews were conducted with representatives of the mass media editors and one journalist who was a representative of the Yogyakarta Independent Journalists Alliance. The four resource persons in this study were Chief Editor of *Kedaulatan Jogja* Octo Lampito, Production Manager

of *Tribun Jogja* Hendy Kurniawan, Chief Editor of *Harian Jogja* Anton Wahyu Prihartono, and Chairman of AJI Yogyakarta Shinta Maharani. Interviews were conducted separately in the period of January 2022. In addition, secondary data sources were archives, documentation, literature, and other data sources to help deepen findings and discussions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Kedaulatan Rakyat

The *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (KR) Daily Newspaper is the oldest newspaper in Yogyakarta and Indonesia that still exist. The origins of this newspaper came from the Japanese propaganda newspaper *Sinar Matahari* which was published in 1942. However, *Sinar Matahari* journalists reported mostly information that benefited Indonesian fighters. In the end the *Sinar Matahari* editorial crew chose to stop operating temporarily when the Japanese government threatened to temporarily shut down *Sinar Matahari*. When Indonesia proclaimed independence on August 17, 1945, a proposal emerged to revive *Sinar Matahari*. 40 days later, on 27 September 1945 this newspaper was born by utilizing the assets of *Sinar Matahari* with the new name “*Kedaulatan Rakyat*” so as not to be associated with the Japanese government (Raditya, 2019).

The image of *Kedaulatan Rakyat* as a newspaper that fights for the people, stands tall thanks to the news in its inaugural edition entitled “*Kekoeasaan Pemerintah Daerah Djogdjakarta, Seloeroehnja di Tangan Bangsa Indonesia*” (The power of the Yogyakarta regional government is entirely in the hands of the Indonesian people). *Kedaulatan Rakyat* believe, that image is still strong today. KR’s long history and the role of Pakualam IX in maintaining the existence of this media made KR’s relationship with the Pakualam Duchy, Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate, and the people of Yogyakarta very close. This closeness can also be seen from the trust given to him and the KR team in various activities and meetings both at the Sultanate and at DIY government events. However this closeness is personal and cultural because KR is a newspaper that fights for the people.

In the context of Privileges, KR supports the existence of this Law and assesses that the implementation of the mandate of the UUK has so far improved compared to when it was originally enacted. According to him, the DIY local government is not too rigid in interpreting the mandate in the UUK and is able to use it for the welfare of DIY residents in general. KR also stated that there was no problem with the rules regarding land which were considered potentially used by the Sultanate because from the beginning the Yogyakarta Sultanate had rights to land in Yogyakarta which was later legitimized by the UUK.

Regarding the ownership of the company, the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* had no connection whatsoever with the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate. The land where they are currently is also their property. This makes it easier for them to be independent and free from external company intervention.

In terms of reporting idealism, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* emphasizes the principle of independence and balance of information. Balance is the main thing in reporting, including reporting on conflicts or criticisms of the DIY government and the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate. However, KR admits that in carrying out their criticisms they often direct criticism to the DIY Government and the Sultan as Governor because this status is directly related to the public interest. Criticism of the Hamengkubuwono X as the King of Ngayogyakarta has also been conveyed, but not too often as long as it is not related to the public interest. KR chose to avoid reporting on Sultanate’s internal problems such as the power struggle or the chaos regarding the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate law (*Paugeran*) because it was considered not to have direct implications for the community and to avoid actually escalating conflicts that could potentially threaten the existence of the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate as a cultural caretaker in Indonesia.

KR’s independence had made KR receive criticism from Sultan HB X even though the criticism was not conveyed personally. Octo said that Sultan HB X was a person who chose to remain silent if he objected to a news report. His protest was not conveyed directly but through his subordinates in the DIY government who forwarded his objections to the KR editor. However, KR chose to be more vigilant and subtle in criticizing the Sultanate or the Yogyakarta Government because of the consideration of the loyalty of the people of Yogyakarta

which is still relatively strong to the Sultan and Sultanate Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat. Another reason, is that the character of the people of Jogja has a relatively subtle cultural character.

However, their editorial decision was more due to economic reasons because the news in DIY will be consumed by DIY residents and they don't want to lose the market because the news is considered as "badmouthing" DIY and the privileges of DIY. KR also concerned if there would be pressure from the public if their news was deemed too harsh to offend the Sultan, either as the king of the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate, as a cultural institution or as governor in Yogyakarta.

Tribun Jogja

Tribun Jogja is a local mass media incorporated into the Tribunnews network which is managed by PT Tribun Digital Online, a subsidiary of the media giant Kompas Gramedia Group, and oversees online and print media spread across 34 provinces in Indonesia. The establishment of Tribunnews is an effort to organize local newspapers under Kompas Gramedia to be in an information network so that they can provide local news (Tribunnews, n.d). The online version of Tribunnews started running on March 22, 2010, while Tribunnews was born on April 11, 2011 through a printed version which was then integrated with the online version. Based on the Similarweb site, the average visit to the jogja.tribunnews.com portal in the November 2021-January 2022 period is around 2.8 million times. This number is also the highest when compared to KR and *Harian Jogja*.

Hendi said that *Tribun Jogja* was not at all affiliated with the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate, both in ownership of shares and assets. This independence, made the Tribun more independent in carrying out its control function over the running of the government in Yogyakarta. In terms of reporting, *Tribun Jogja* chose to side with the public and community interests. This is shown in the attitude of the Tribun in the eviction process during the construction of the New Yogyakarta International Airport, which chose to side with the local residents. At that event, *Tribun Jogja* actually wanted to maintain this critical attitude, but in practice *Tribun Jogja* faced many obstacles that forced them to negotiate their critical stance. According to him, this obstacle is not from external intervention, but rather from the company's internal decisions.

Some of the things that prevent them from being overly critical is the change in society's paradigm in consuming mass media. Currently, the news, especially in the online media of *Tribun Jogja*, relies heavily on trending and sensational topics because these topics are more in demand by the public which can be converted into financial benefits for the company. This trend makes "heavy" news that highlights the government less desirable. This condition makes the focus of the work of the *Tribun Jogja* journalists also slightly shift although he ensures that the Tribune journalists will continue to carry out their maximum control function over the government. Another problem that also arises is the quality of Human Resources which does not have the same tenacity as in the past. According to him, this can be seen from the willingness and enthusiasm of new journalists who are sometimes "lazy" in conducting searches. Hendi concluded that this problem was triggered by two factors, firstly, journalists are now spoiled with technology so that it is sufficient to search using instant messaging applications or smartphones. Another reason is that the company's current workload requires journalists to work faster which leaves no time for in-depth investigations.

This time limitation also makes *Tribun Jogja* journalists tend to avoid sources from the Ngayogyakarta Palace environment so that this media does not contain much news related to the palace's involvement in the governance of Yogyakarta Special Region. According to Hendi, seeking information from the Sultanate, which is very secretive, takes time and energy. According to him, the simplest way to get official information from the Sultanate is to do a doorstep against the Sultan. But even that often does not provide a satisfactory answer. As an alternative, Tribun's journalists chose to find substitute sources from government representatives related to the issues raised.

Regarding the pressure in the news regarding regional management and the Yogyakarta Sultanate, *Tribun Jogja* ensures that the media is independent and does not accept pressure from any party. However, he admits that there are always reactions from the public regarding the news, especially those criticizing the privileges of DIY and the authority of the Sultanate. According to him, this happened because the community was still very loyal to

the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate so that some people were reactive to criticism, even according to him there was a mass organization that specifically defended the sovereignty of the Yogyakarta Sultanate. However, according to him, the comments are normal and do not interfere with the routine of reporting. In fact, he felt that the media were sometimes tired of criticizing the Sultanate because there seemed to be no reaction from the Sultanate because of its very strong position. This boredom makes criticism rarely conveyed and chooses to change topics so that the news is not monotonous.

Harian Jogja

Harian Jogja is a mass media which was first published on 20 May 2008, with the website www.harianjogja.com launched at the same time. This media is a subsidiary of the Bisnis Indonesia Group (Bigmedia) network. This media group has a number of media networks including Bisnis Indonesia, Bisnis.com, Kabar24.com, Solopos, Solopos.com, and Solopos FM. In Jogja, *Harian Jogja* also has the Star Jogja radio network. In Yogyakarta, the *Harian Jogja* network circulates throughout the DIY region.

During its development, *Harian Jogja* had become the second largest local media in Yogyakarta and grew rapidly. This media has also changed its office location three times. The current editorial office is located on Jalan AM. Sangaji 49 is a cultural heritage land whose land is owned by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate. *Harian Jogja*'s closeness to the Sultanate is also demonstrated by the process of launching this media which was carried out at the Governor's Office complex in Kepatihan, Danurejan, Yogyakarta. The Chief Editor of *Harian Jogja*, Anton Wahyu Prihartono, also admitted that some of *Harian Jogja*'s shares are owned by the family of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate, although he said he did not know the details of the percentage of share ownership. Despite having a fairly close relationship with the Sultanate, the media still prioritizes idealism to appear as an independent press agency. He gave an example of this by providing coverage in accordance with the facts that occurred in a balanced manner.

Regarding the view on the role of the Sultanate in the DIY government and carrying out the mandate of the UUK, so far the implementation of government by the Governor of Yogyakarta, Sri Sultan HB X, was in accordance with his duties. Anton said the mass media continued to carry out a control function over the DIY government under the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and the Pakualaman Duchy, with restrictions not to touch much on internal aspects such as internal conflicts that occurred in the palace. According to him, the topic does not have a direct impact on the public and is not for public consumption. He also emphasized the importance of cover both sides in reporting, especially those with a tendency to criticize the government management by the Yogyakarta Palace. This indicates a cautious attitude when reporting news that is critical of the management of the area by the Sultanate.

Anton acknowledged that the position of the Sultan in the news in the *Harian Jogja* was more likely to be placed as the Governor of Yogyakarta than as the Sultan of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate because HB X's position as governor was a position that was in direct contact with the public. *Harian Jogja* has only positioned HB X as king when discussing matters related to culture, such as sekaten or grebeg.

With this strategy, so far *Harian Jogja* has relatively never received any intervention from parties outside the mass media organization. He stated that there was no pressure to interfere with the journalistic activities carried out by the media. However, he acknowledged that there was a response that was born when the media reported critical things. According to him, this response actually came from the community in the form of comments which were usually given through the online media they managed. Anton assessed that in press work, this kind of response is a common thing and is not a problem.

AJI Yogyakarta

The Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) Yogyakarta is an alliance of journalists operating in Yogyakarta. This journalists organization is part of the AJI Indonesia network which houses journalists from various mass media, especially those who practice working in the DIY area. In carrying out its activities, AJI Yogyakarta does a lot of advocacy for journalists and carries out collaborative reporting projects to produce

quality journalistic works.

As a representative of the journalists' alliance in Yogyakarta, Shinta confirmed a change in the trend of journalism in Yogyakarta. She admits that from the human resources perspective, journalists' interest in in-depth coverage has decreased. In addition, for some topics, journalists in Yogyakarta feel a little worried about reporting that is critical of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate, especially in carrying out the mandate of the UUK. One example can be seen from the lack of interest of DIY local journalists in an investigation project regarding the alleged agrarian conflict involving the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and the Kadipaten Pakualaman over SG and PAG lands.

AJI suspects that the lack of interest arises because of concerns about pressure, especially from community groups (*ormas*) that support the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate. According to Shinta, these community groups are militant and very loyal to the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate. They also include community groups that support and closely oversee the process of ratifying the Privileges Law. In order to avoid these potential threats, in the agrarian investigation project that they had carried out, AJI Yogyakarta had to carry out mitigation strategy including providing a safe house if after the news was published it turned out to be necessary to protect the safety of journalists even though in the end it was not used because the situation was relatively conducive.

AJI also admitted that the Sultanate was considered an institution that was very closed to the media crew. AJI acknowledged that this condition was an obstacle in reporting, but it was not an excuse not to seek information from the palace's internal sources, especially in news related to the palace. AJI also rejected the notion that criticism of the palace was considered to have no impact. As evidence, in the investigative project carried out, a personal response emerged via a short message from one of the families of the Yogyakarta Palace.

All of these findings show the uniformity of attitudes of local mass media in DIY in determining editorial policies in reporting on the management of Yogyakarta by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate. All media managers admitted that they chose a position to report with a focus on supporting the local government in DIY. All media agreed that the implementation of the UUK mandate which became the legal basis for the management of regional government by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate was relatively good although it had to be controlled. Criticism is still conveyed but with extra considerations to avoid strong protests from Yogyakarta community groups who are considered loyal to the Sultanate.

However, of the three mass media, *Harian Jogja* is more careful in conveying criticism. *Harian Jogja* also tends to be easier to praise the implementation of government carried out by the Ngayogyakarta sultanate. This can be understood because of the interest factor represented by the company's share ownership from the Sultanate. Meanwhile, the *Tribun* is relatively more daring to criticize, although in the end it does not criticize too often because of considerations of media routines that force them to produce news quickly and attract public interest. Meanwhile, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* chose to be more neutral for economic reasons even though KR also sometimes tends to frame their news towards the Sultanate as positive like when they cover about New Yogyakarta International Airport Project (Arifin & Basuki, 2018).

This result explains findings in Adikara (2022) which found that *Harian Jogja* in the 2021-2022 period more often cover about land management in Yogyakarta compared to the *Kedaulatan Rakyat* and *Tribun Jogja*. From all these reports about land management by the Sultanate, *Harian Jogja* often focuses on the positive side of land management carried out by the Sultanate and is the least in reporting and criticizing the issue of conflict and legality of land assets under the management of the Sultanate compared to the other two media.

In general, the factors that influence editorial policy in the three DIY local mass media are relatively the same. At the individual level, the low interest of journalists to produce news that requires hard work such as in-depth or investigative reporting is the reason. The journalist, tend to find news that easy to produce to avoid working too hard. The journalists also think that hard news spark less readership and interest since the audience tend to choose a softer news. At the media routine level, the reasons for the strict daily reporting targets and obstacles in seeking an official statement from the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate were identified. This reason explain journalist personal choices to find easy to produce news than a more serious one. Instead of waiting for statement from sources that hard to find, journalist prefer to find alternative story to fulfill their

targets.

Meanwhile, at the organizational level, the general media policy that chooses to prioritize economic sustainability is quite a strong reason. Both media agreed that their main audiences are citizen of Yogyakarta and most of them have a strong feeling and relationship with the Sultan and Sultanate. Criticize Sultanate too far will put them in a risk of losing important audiences. At this level, in *Harian Jogja*, it was identified that there were factors of interest from media owners that made this media have to be more careful in reporting critics toward Sultan and Sultanate in governing DIY.

At the extramedia level, the influence of the people who still have strong loyalties and the existence of the Sultanate which is still respected by the residents of DIY also makes the local mass media relatively cautious in reporting critiques. Unlike the Sultan and Sultanate that tend to be passive when responding to critics, some citizen in Yogyakarta tend to be more reactive and unpredictable. This condition put media to act more carefully not only to protect their journalist, but also protecting their business. The reasoning at the level of social institutions is also reinforced by reasons at the level of the social system where the culture of DIY, the socio-cultural aspects of the people who tend to avoid conflict and are reluctant to others, also have a role in structuring the editorial policy of the local mass media.

Overall, every decision made by the editorial board in every media was made with economic factor as a basis. Power of political actor and audiences seen as the most important factor to consider. Sri Sultan HB X seen not only as governor, but also cultural icon (Pamungkas & Pramesti, 2021). Yusuf (2011) notes that the creation of media and information no longer just a mere media politics, but also relate to capitalization of industry. This put economic structure as an important factor to survivability of local media.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and discussion above, it can be concluded that the local mass media in Yogyakarta tend to be careful in carrying out their control function in reporting on regional management by the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate and the Pakualaman Duchy. A number of factors that make the control function in the form of criticism of regional management by the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate include: (1) Lack of human resources, (2) limited time due to media routines and the attitude of the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate which is closed to the media. (3) the editorial policy that chooses to be more careful to avoid strong protests from community groups who are still loyal to the palace, (4) the culture of the people who are still attached and loyal to the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate, (5) economic factor that pushes the media to create story that more appealing to the audiences. The development of studies in this theme can be carried out in more depth to understand the hierarchical factors of influence to obtain more detailed data

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research were conducted by the support of Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI) Yogyakarta and Kurawal Foundation.

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