

Frame And Blame An Analysis Of How Local Newspaper Framed The Conflict Between Conventional And Technological Application-Based Transportation In Medan

Deka Harwinta Zianur, Fanani Sari Putri, Ilham Zuniadi

Abstract: The title of the research was Frame and Blame: An Analysis of How Local Newspapers Framed the Conflict Between Conventional and Technological Application-Based Transportation Service in Medan. Waspada Daily Newspaper as local newspapers more frequently put a human face on the issue, while national papers more frequently framed it a moral wrong. The objective of the research was to find out how the newspaper constructs the news about this conflict and how it explains the conflict as part of its social responsibility in its news product. The research used qualitative method with paradigm constructivism which considers the subject, Waspada Daily News, as the central factor in the communicative activity and social relations and as the function of control toward social facts which occur in society (the conflict between motor pedicab drivers and go-jek riders). Framing analysis is a descriptive textual analysis of media used to find out how news is understood and framed by media. The research used Gamson and Modeglioni framing model analysis, based on constructivism approach in order to find out the representation of media. The theory of Berger and Luckman Reality Construction was used to explain social reality constructed through the process of externalization, objectivity, and internalization. The result of the research showed that 1) Waspada Daily Newspaper prioritized the conflict because the conflict was the effect of the lack of income of motor pedicab driver, and also because there was no regulation on the transportation/operation of Go-Jek online, 2) Waspada Daily News exposed the conflict in the front page in four days consecutively which indicated that there were attention and seriousness of moral evaluations.

Index Terms: Framing, Local Newspapers, Transportation Service, Conflict, Medan.

1 INTRODUCTION

According to the data from the Central Bureau of Statistics, the number of inhabitants in Medan ranks the third after Jakarta and Surabaya (census of population in 2010). The large amount of population has caused the high rate of vehicle ownership. The data shows that each year there is the increase of ±350,000 motor vehicles of various types (Dirlantas Sumut, 2015). Undeniably, it is one of the main causes of traffic jams in Medan. Ekawati (2014) found that traffic jams cause the uncertainty in time and cost. Tahir (2015) said that one of the attempts to curb traffic jams is by using public transportation in daily activities. Unfortunately, the solution cannot merely be applied because the available public transportation has many problems by itself such as inappropriate facility and infrastructure of public transportation, uncertainty of fare and schedule, lack of security for passengers, drivers' recklessness in driving their vehicles, and other reasons which make people reluctant to use public transportation.

November 2015, in the midst of the complicated problems concerning public transportation services in Medan, a technological application-based transportation service which is called "Go-Jek" appears in public. By providing facilities, certainty in fare and schedule, security, clarity of riders' status, and various choices in other competitive services, Go-Jek has gradually been able to attract the market which is controlled by motor pedicab, as conventional transportation services. This condition, along with the difference in fare and service quality, causes the percentage of passengers of conventional transportation to decrease. The move of customers and the absence of regulation on the legality of online transportation operation have caused disappointment and anger of conventional transportation, especially pedicab drivers; they feel that their income decreases significantly after the existence of Go-Jek in Medan. On February 2017, the anger and disappointment reached their climax with mass demonstration of pedicab drivers in front of the City Hall, Medan. The demonstration appeared in several local and national printed media, including Waspada Daily Newspaper. Waspada Daily Newspaper which is one of the local newspapers was established in 1947; it is the first newspaper established in Medan. It proves that it has been deeply loved by the people even though it is competed by various media, either conventional or electronic. Its existence within 70 years has proved that it has loyal readers. The news about the conflict between motor pedicab drivers and Go-jek riders in Medan becomes the headlines in the front page of Waspada Daily Newspaper in four days (from February 23 until February 25, 2017). The appearance of the news in the headlines indicates that this phenomenon is considered as the important thing to be discussed deeply by indicating various stakeholders and the right policy which should be applied in addressing the existence of online-based transportation. The objective of the research was to find out deeply how Waspada as local newspapers framed the conflict between motor pedicab drivers as conventional transportation service and Go-

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Jek riders as technological application-based transportation service in Medan.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The research used qualitative research method with constructive paradigm and framing analysis model which was used to analyze the ways or media ideology during the reconstruction of the fact. It examined selection strategy, assertion, and factual linkage into more meaningful, more attractive, or remembering strategy to lead people's interpretation according to their perspectives. In other words, framing is an approach to find out how the perspective used by journalists when they select issues and write news. The perspective will eventually determine what will be taken, what part which will be accentuated and eliminated, and where the news will be brought (Nugroho, Erianto, Surdiasis, 1999: 21). Therefore, news becomes manipulative and is aimed to dominate the existence of a subject as something legitimate, objective, natural, or unavoidable.

SOCIAL REALITY CONSTRUCTION

A reality cannot stand by itself without the existence of individuals, either inside or outside of the reality. Social reality will have meaning when it is constructed and meant subjectively by other individuals so that they can stabilize it objectively. An individual constructs social reality in the real world, based on other individuals' subjectivity in their social institution (Sobur, 2002:90). Language is one of the basic devices in constructing a social reality. Hartley (1982: 36) points out that social structure will not exist when there is interaction among the persons involved in it through the process of using language. Therefore, there are numerous cases in which a group has the power to control meaning in the midst of social interaction by using language. It is obvious that language has an implication on the existence of certain meaning (Sobur, 2002: 90). According to Halliday, language is controlled by certain social structure which, in turn, is maintained and transmitted through language (Hatley, 1982: 61). Hamd (in Sobur, 2002: 90) also points out that language does not only reflect reality but also creates it. It does not merely describe reality but can also determine description about reality which emerges in people's mind. By using language as the most prominent symbol, journalists are able to create, maintain, develop, and even demolish a reality (Eryanto, 2002: xi). Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966), in their book, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociological of Knowledge*, point out that individuals intensely create their mutual reality subjectively. They begin explaining social reality by separating understanding between reality and knowledge (Sobur, 2002: 91). They specify reality as causality in realities which are considered having the existence which does not depend on self-willingness. Meanwhile, knowledge is defined as certainty that the realities are real and have specific characteristics (Sobur, 2002:91). Constructively, social reality is, at least, a part of human product, the result of cultural process, and the use of language (Eriyanto, 2002:xi). According to Berger and Luckmann, social reality is constructed through the process of externalization, objectivity, and internalization. It does not occur in vacant space, but it is full of interests (Sobur, 2002: 91). The construction of a certain social reality cannot be separated from the provision of political, social, and economic power owned by the doer (Nugroho, Eriyanto, Surdiasis,

1999: viii). The research's reason for using the theory of social reality construction was to obtain a description how *Waspada Daily Newspaper*, Medan, constructed the news about the conflict between motor pedicab drivers and Go-Jek riders that still currently occurs in Medan.

MEDIA REALITY

Media organizes reality from various events to become a meaningful story or discourse. The reality which is presented in the media is not considered as a device of fact, but it is the result of a certain outlook from the real establishment (Eriyanto, 2001: 29). Walter Lippman calls the function of media as the establishment of meaning in which the interpretation of mass media on various events can radically change people's interpretation on a reality and the pattern of action. Lippmann realizes that the function of media as the establishment of reality will significantly influence its audiences. News which is contained in a newspaper is a report from an event. It is a meaningful story which consists of language elements. It is necessary to know that an event is a reality, and news is a construction of reality. It provides a concept toward reality because news looks on a reality as the result of human construction. The content of media is usually based on the event in the real world, but it presents and projects certain elements and media structural logic which are used in projecting the elements. Certain media even tend to limit and select the source of the news in interpreting comments from the source of the news and provide different portions toward other perspectives in which certain projections will occur toward the meaning of a certain reality (Sudibyo, 2001: 51)

THE THEORY OF GATEKEEPING

The theory of gatekeeping is one of the oldest in the field of mass communication research. Psychologist Kurt Lewin first proposed a gatekeeping process in his post-World War I research on social change. Although this research was not originally applied to the study of communication, Lewin did suggest that his theory of how "items" are selected or rejected as they pass through "channels" could be applied to the flow of news. This idea was quickly picked up by communication scholar David Manning White, whose case study of a newspaper wire service editor's selection of the day's news set into motion a line of research on news selection that has persisted in the past half century. In its simplest conceptualization within mass communication, gatekeeping is the process by which the vast array of potential news messages are winnowed, shaped, and prodded into those few that are actually transmitted by the news media. It is often defined as a series of decision points at which news items are either continued or halted as they pass along news channels from source to reporter to a series of editors. However, the gatekeeping process is also thought of as consisting of more than just selection, to include how messages are shaped, timed for dissemination, and handled. In fact, gatekeeping in mass communication can be seen as the overall process through which the social reality transmitted by the news media is constructed, and is not just a series of "in" and "out" decisions (Shoemaker, Eicholz, Kim and Wrigley, 2001). Media gatekeeping was then more fully developed in White's classic case study of a wire editor at a small-town daily newspaper. White catalogued the news stories provided by wire services, and the news stories that ended up in the newspaper, and

explored the editor's reasons for included or excluded certain stories. Relatively simple in design, this work emphasized the potential agenda-setting role of wire services, but, moreover, the effect that a single editor's ideas about news could have on media content. It is however the identification of broader trends in news selection across individuals, and media outlets, and time that have made gatekeeping a particularly fruitful theory of news selection. Gatekeeping is in this view more than just a product of an individual's preferences, whims, or errors. Regardless of the editor, or the media outlet, certain types of stories will be selected, while others will not. There is thus a strong possibility that there will be systematic differences between news content and the real world (Soroka, 2009).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

THE THEORY OF FRAMING MODEL ANALYSIS OF WILLIAM A. GAMSON AND ANDRE MODIGLIANI

In recent years, framing theory has taken over from agenda-setting and cultivation theory as the most commonly applied research approach in the field of communication science. The framing concept, however, does not belong exclusively to the tool set of the communication scholar. Framing is a central process by means of which government officials and journalists exercise political influence over each other and the public (Nuri and Balas, 2010). In a communication perspective, framing analysis is used to analyze methods or ideology of media in constructing facts. This analysis is concerned with the selection strategy, projection, and the linkage of facts into news in order to make it more meaningful, more attractive, and more remembering to lead people's interpretation according to their perspectives. In other words, framing is an approach to find out how perspectives used by journalists when they select issues and write news. The perspectives will eventually determine the facts they are taking, what parts which are projected and demolished, and where the news will be brought (Nugroho, Eriyanto, Surdiasis, 1999:21). The formula or model used by Gamson and Modigliani is based on constructive approach which considers representation of media and articles consisting of interpretive package which contains certain constructions of meaning. In this package are two structures: core frame and condensing symbol. The first structure is the central organizing ideas which help communicators indicate the issue substance which is being conversed, while the second structure contains two sub-structures: framing devices and reasoning devices. Core frame (central idea) basically contains core elements to provide relevant understanding toward an event and to lead issue meaning which is established by condensing symbol (symbol which is used). Condensing symbol is the result of analysis on symbolic device interaction (framing devices and reasoning devices). Framing devices structure which includes metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual image emphasizes on the aspect of the way "to see" an issue. Reasoning devices structure emphasizes on the aspect of justification toward the way "to see" the issue - the roots (causal analysis) and appeals to principle (moral claim).

Table 1: Framing Model of Gamson and Modigliani

FRAME	
Central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issues	
FRAMING DEVICES	REASONING DEVICES
Metaphors (Parable or Modality)	Roots (Causality)
Catchphrases (Phrase which attracts and brings out in a discourse which usually contains jargons or slogans)	Appeals to Principle (Basic premise, Moral claim)
Exemplar (Connecting frame with examples, explanation. By theory or by comparison which clarifies frame)	Consequences (Effects and consequences)
Depictions (Description of connotative issues like vocabulary or label)	
Visual Images (Picture, graph, image supporting messages which will be conveyed)	

FRAME OF WASPADA DAILY NEWSPAPER, MEDAN, IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN MOTOR PEDICAB DRIVERS AND GO-JEK RIDERS

Waspada Daily Newspaper, Medan, issued five news items about the conflict between motor pedicab drivers and Go-Jek riders on February 22 until February 25, 2017.

Table 2. The News of Waspada Daily Newspaper About the Conflict Between Motor Pedicab Drivers and Go-Jek Riders

NO	DATE OF EDITION	NEWS ITEM
1.	February 22, 2017	1. Pedicab Drivers Protested Go-Jek Riders 2. Online Transportation Office Closed
2.	February 23, 2017	Pedicab Drivers Attacked Go-Jek Riders
3.	February 24, 2017	Both Parties Restrained Themselves
4.	February 25, 2017	Go-Jek Riders Attack Pedicab Drivers

THE FRAME OF WASPADA IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN MOTOR PEDICAB DRIVERS AND GO-JEK RIDERS

After the framing analysis on each news item above, the continuance of the research was how to establish a specific space to find out the framing of Waspada Daily Newspaper in the pattern of the framing and constructing the conflict between motor pedicab drivers and go-jek riders.

Idea Elements

In the viewpoint of Waspada Daily Newspaper, the conflict was the effect of the lack of income of motor pedicab drivers drastically, compared with their income before the existence of Go-Jek online transportation. It could be seen from the news item as follows:

"Online transportation directly causes our income to decrease drastically. We don't want online-based transportation to exist in Medan. We need proper necessities of life and our children have to go to school"

The text above clearly emphasized on the fact that the conflict was triggered by the existence of online-based transportation which was increasing rapidly in Medan. This condition was hated by the motor pedicab drivers because the fare charged by Go-Jek riders was very low. Of course, passengers would use online-based transportation, compared with the fare which was charged by motor pedicab drivers which was based on the negotiation between them and passengers. By the shift of passengers from conventional transportation like motor pedicabs will surely decrease their drivers' income drastically.

FRAMING DEVICES

Metaphors

Metaphors which appeared in Waspada Daily Newspaper were as follows:

"Ronald Marpaung says that the Transportation Agency of Medan must not ignore the fate of 25 thousand motor pedicab drivers. From starting to go out from their homes until late in the afternoon they only get Rp. 80,000 rupiahs, but now they only get Rp. 50,000 although they try to find passengers until evening."

From the text above, it was found that the conflict became tense or critical because, the Medan Municipal Government, in this case, Transportation Agency of Medan, did not pay any attention to the fate of motor pedicab drivers. In consequence, online-based transportation (Go-Jek) grew uncontrollably which made motor pedicab drivers positioned them as the enemy against Go-Jek riders.

Exemplars

Comparison presented by Waspada Daily Newspaper was as follows:

"Conflict between motor pedicab drivers and the application-based transportation (Go-Jek/Grabcar riders), Thursday (2/23), began to be calm down after Polresta (Police Precinct) Medan mediated both parties to control themselves...They agreed to control themselves. Not to do any sweeping...besides that, they also waited for the Decision of the Mayor about the operation of Go-Jek and Grabcar."

From the text above, it was found that the conflict could actually be settled although the situation was still susceptible for the conflicts if the Regional Government, in this case the Mayor, did not take any measures in organizing the operation of the two transportation modes.

Catchphrases

Jargons or slogans which were presented by Waspada Daily Newspaper emphasized more on the absence of the regulation on online-based transportation because the regulation which was in effect indicated the markers of vehicles as the distinguishing its operation on the road. Waspada Daily Newspaper presented in its text as follows:

"Not only that, online-based transportation is black colored-license plates. 'The Government seems not take measures on this occasion; what's up?', they said, followed by shrilled voice."

It was obvious in the Waspada frame that the presence of online-based transportation is illegal and violates legal provisions. It was confirmed by the following text:

"...they also demand that administering inspection / STNK/BK is made easier and stop discrimination toward motor pedicab drivers and provide appropriate social security. It can be concluded that motor pedicabs is recognized as a valid transportation mode in Medan."

In its text, Waspada Daily Newspaper framed properly so that although the regulation on motor pedicabs was not certain, the issuance of inspection and its kinds for motor pedicabs. It could be concluded that motor pedicabs were recognized as one of the transportation modes in Medan.

Depiction

The text in Waspada Daily Newspaper was as follows:

"...the day after they did the demonstration in front of the City Hall and the Governor's Hall (Waspada, 2/23) motor pedicab drivers which demanded the Mayor of Medan to stop the operation of application-based transportation in Medan because it decreased their daily income got involved in coming to blows with a number of Go-Jek riders at Lapangan Merdeka, Medan"

From the text above, it is was found that there was no confirmation of the Government, in this case the Medan Municipal Government, so that the conflict was prolonged which was indicated by the conflict which occurred everywhere; it was not possible that it would claim victims. Therefore, it is expected that the Medan Municipal Government immediately searches for the best solution to overcome it.

Visual Image

In the news report of Waspada Daily Newspaper, there were also pictures which supported the frame as a whole. There were two pictures; the first picture was under the title, Abang Betor Protes Gojek (Motor Pedicab Drivers Protest Go-Jek Riders) in which the picture showed thousands of motor pedicab drivers did demonstration in Medan. In that picture, it was described a very peaceful action, indicated by the absence of police officers in the midst of the demonstration.



In the second picture, the news item was entitled “Betor Serang Go-Jek” (Motor Pedicab Drivers Attacked Go-Jek Riders). It was described as a tense situation indicated by the police officers broke up Go-Jek riders. It was also indicated that the action was done because it was afraid if the Go-Jek riders would run amuck and attacked motor pedicab drivers.



REASONING DEVICES

Roots (Causality)

Waspada Daily Newspaper also presented roots element in its news items. Roots were a causal analysis on causality (cause and effect). The news item was as follows:

“... Meanwhile, motor pedicab drivers that was associated in SATU (Public Transportation Solidarity Association) also demanded, in front of the Governor’s Office, that the Provincial Government controlled online-based transportation.”

From the text above, it was found that the purpose of the demonstration by motor pedicab drivers in front of the City Hall and to the Governor’s Office, Medan, was to demand the Mayor to stop the operation of online-based transportation because it was clearly contrary to Law No. 22/2009 on traffics and road transportation and the Government Regulation No. 74/2014 on Road Transportation.

Appeals to Principle

Moral claim was also present in the news item of Waspada Daily Newspaper in which the basic premise or moral claim was presented as follows:

“... the Medan Municipal Government will re-evaluate the number of motor pedicabs to determine the need for them. In the case of online-based transportation, said Akhyar, the permit is not in the Medan Municipal Government but it is through internet-based permit.”

Based on the news item text above, Waspada Daily Newspaper basically made the frame that Medan did not need online-based transportation like Go-Jek. On the other hand, in order to meet the people’s needs for public transportation, the Medan Municipal Government should take up with and guide motor pedicab drivers to do self-development and improve the services to their passengers.

Consequences

Consequences present in the news item followed by the next text:

“Besides demanding the stop from the operation of online-based transportation, they also ask DPRD (Regional Parliament), the Mayor, and the Governor to make motor pedicab as the Icon for tourism in Medan.”

As we know that motor pedicabs have been long existed and have become the principal characteristic/icon of Medan. Therefore, in the future, when the service has been improved, the first time visitors come to Medan, they will remember motor pedicabs.

CONCLUSIONS

After use the framing analysis on each news item, researcher found that:

FRAME	
The conflict was the effect of the lack of income of motor pedicab drivers drastically	
FRAMING DEVICES	
Metaphors	The Transportation Agency of Medan must not ignore the fate of 25 thousand motor pedicab driver
Exemplars	Conflict between motor pedicab drivers and the application-based transportation (Go-Jek/Grabcar riders), Thursday (2/23), began to be calm down after Polresta (Police Precinct) Medan mediated both parties to control themselves
Catchphrases	Online-based transportation is black colored-license plates
Depictions	Motor pedicab drivers which demanded the Mayor of Medan to stop the operation of application-based transportation in Medan
Visual Images	Shown in the front page of Waspada Daily Newspaper at February 22 and February 23, 2017

REASONING DEVICE	
Roots (Causality)	The purpose of the demonstration by motor pedicab drivers in front of the City Hall and to the Governor's Office, Medan, was to demand the Mayor to stop the operation of online-based transportation
Appeals to Principle	"... the Medan Municipal Government will re-evaluate the number of motor pedicabs to determine the need for them. In the case of online-based transportation, said Akhyar, the permit is not in the Medan Municipal Government but it is through internet-based permit."
Consequences	"Besides demanding the stop from the operation of online-based transportation, they also ask DPRD (Regional Parliament), the Mayor, and the Governor to make motor pedicab as the Icon for tourism in Medan."

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The result of the research showed that local newspapers play a very important role in leading the people or readers to an idea which is equal to the news makers. The people will be led to the channel which has been determined by Waspada Daily Newspaper. In this case, it was clearly seen that Waspada Daily Newspaper as local newspapers in medan positioned its news items to take side with motor pedicabs rather than to Go-Jek online-based transportation. It was indicated from all news items that were issued and sented showed that in this case motor pedicabs were right because they were the victims by the existence of Go-Jek. This was the strategy of Waspada Daily Newspaper in leading its readers' mindset to be in accordance with the mindset of the news makers. The texts presented force us to narrow and immediately draw the hypothesis which us trapped in the news channel and thought which are not certain in their truth.

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