

AMRI DUNAN & HAMEDİ MOHD ADNAN

Is Malaysia Little Brother of Indonesia? A Framing Analysis of Ambalat Conflict

ABSTRACT: Reformation era in Indonesia, since 1998, became the new act for relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia. Currently, some break up started after certain incidents happened and influence the intimate relationship between these two countries. For those incident happened, the case of Ambalat Block were reported widely by the media and being the hottest topics for discussion. This article describes and analyzes the framing of Malaysia verbally and non-verbally in the news of "Metro TV" and "TV One" from Indonesia television in Ambalat conflict. This research uses framing analysis "Television News" model developed by Amri Dunan & Hamedī Mohd Adnan (2013); and the inductive qualitative analysis with matrix method developed by B. Van Gorp (2010). In the cases of Ambalat framed by "Metro TV" and "TV One" try to place Malaysia in the situation of "little brother" with the means of didn't appreciate the sibling relationship and forgot the origin. Thus, Malaysia was framed negative in the news reporting of "Metro TV" and "TV One". However, the most interested thing is the reporter from "Metro TV" and "TV One" in Jakarta (Indonesia) tried to present the news reporting which fulfill the standard of journalistic. But, the reality is the value of patriotic and nationalism in their heart has made the news reporting shows the partiality to Indonesia. In future, the other programs like Talk Show or the sports program, which involved the relationship Indonesia-Malaysia, should put some attention for research.

KEY WORD: Indonesia-Malaysia conflict, framing, television news, "Metro TV" and "TV One", political ideology, and visual reporting.

RESUME: "Iakah Malaysia Adik daripada Indonesia? Satu Analisis Bingkai Konflik Ambalat". Era Reformasi di Indonesia, sejak tahun 1998, menjadi amalan baru dalam hubungan Indonesia dan Malaysia. Pada masa ini, beberapa perpecahan bermula selepas insiden tertentu yang berlaku dan memberi kesan dalam hubungan intim antara kedua-dua negara. Bersabit insiden yang berlaku, kes Blok Ambalat dilaporkan secara meluas oleh media dan menjadi topik hangat dalam perbincangan. Artikel ini menerangkan dan menganalisis bingkai Malaysia secara lisan dan bukan lisan dari televisyen Indonesia, iaitu dalam berita-berita "Metro TV" dan "TV One", bercanggah masalah Ambalat. Kajian ini menggunakan analisis bingkai model "Berita Televisyen" yang dibangunkan oleh Amri Dunan & Hamedī Mohd Adnan (2013); dan analisis kualitatif induktif dengan kaedah matriks yang dibangunkan oleh B. Van Gorp (2010). Dalam kes-kes Ambalat yang dibingkai oleh "Metro TV" dan "TV One" cuba untuk meletakkan Malaysia didalam keadaan selaku "adik lelaki" dengan cara-cara yang tidak menghargai hubungan adik-beradik dan terlupa asal-usul. Oleh itu, Malaysia telah dibingkai negatif dalam laporan berita daripada "Metro TV" dan "TV One". Walau bagaimanapun, perkara yang paling penting adalah bahawa wartawan daripada "Metro TV" dan "TV One" di Jakarta (Indonesia) cuba mengemukakan laporan berita yang memenuhi standard kewartawanan. Tetapi, hakikat daripada nilai-nilai patriotik dan nasionalisme dalam hati mereka telah membuat laporan berita yang menunjukkan sikap menyebelahi kepada Indonesia. Pada masa hadapan, program-program lain seperti "Talk Show" atau program sukan, yang melibatkan hubungan baik antara Indonesia-Malaysia, perlu diambil berat dan pemerhatian untuk penyelidikan.

KATA KUNCI: Konflik Indonesia-Malaysia, bingkai, berita televisyen, "Metro TV" dan "TV One", ideologi politik, dan laporan visual.

INTRODUCTION

The ideology believed by the Indonesian television media was influent by the press and the broadcast system in Indonesia. For Indonesia, the ideology being practised by media is *Pancasila* (the five basic principles

of the Republic of Indonesia) ideology. Under rules of President Soeharto (1966-1998), Indonesia newspaper system was called as Press of *Pancasila*.

Nevertheless, when the capitalism door opened to the press industry, and when the

RCTI (*Rajawali Citra Television Indonesia*) became the first private television studio in Indonesia during 1987 (Sen & Hill, 2007:112), the capitalism ideology slowly carry out the framing process in Indonesia television media. Besides, media in system of capitalism press is partially more to create the information characteristic, for example, personal, non-contextual, emphasize on action and depiction, and more stereotype (Hallin, 1986; and Iyengar, 1991).

Generally, relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia can be divided into three frames. During the confrontation of Indonesia-Malaysia, there is the frame of *Ganyang Malaysia*.¹ Second framing is the frame of *Saudara Serumpun* (cluster brother) during the New Order era (1966-1998); and the third frame is the frame of *Malingsia*,² during the Reformation era (1998 to date).

Indonesian people familiar with these frames, because of the incidents happened between Indonesia-Malaysia during the period above. The issues raised in relationship between Indonesia-Malaysia caused by the different responses, and the Indonesian public sensitively framing by the media. Indonesian media mislead their public by created the negative opinion towards Malaysia with different methods to rise up the nationalism spirit and anti-Malaysia sentiment.

Therefore, this research purposed to clarify the framing method, rectify the factors and the media ideology base, especially the television media. The main national television studio in Indonesia, *Metro TV* and *TV One* became the main media to put the effort in the news reporting about the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia.

¹The word of *Ganyang* comes from the Javanese language. It means "eat raw or devour". But, in the Indonesian political context, especially in the time of President Soekarno government (1945-1966), *Ganyang Malaysia* means "crush or smash Malaysia". For further information about the *Ganyang Malaysia* period (1963-1966), see Syed Othman Syed Omar (1999).

²The word of *Malingsia* comes from the Sundanese language in West Java. It consists of two words i.e. *Maling* (thief) and *sia* (you, in abusive language). So, in the context of social and political tension between Indonesia and Malaysia, especially in the cultural claim incidents, Malaysia is often labelled as *Malingsia* (you are thief) by the Indonesian people.

Metro TV and *TV One* in Jakarta (Indonesia) are the television studio with the specific theme in the conflict news reporting. They always deeply bring up the Malaysia reputation in series. The analysis of framing for issue of maritime boundaries (Ambalat block) will be done in this research.

THE RESEARCH PURPOSES AND QUESTIONS

Based on the background above, the research objectives has been decided as follows: (1) to identify the framing of Indonesian media television, i.e. *Metro TV* and *TV One*, on the issues of Ambalat; and (2) to identify the framing method in news reporting regard reputation Malaysia by the Indonesian television media, i.e. *Metro TV* and *TV One*, on the issues of Ambalat.

The research questions are the compilation of several queries since the research is the qualitative based and without formal hypothesis. From the research objectives above, there are several queries regarding the news reporting done by Indonesia television media.

The research issues related with the research objectives listed as follows: (1) What is the framing of Indonesian television media, i.e. *Metro TV* and *TV One*, on the issues of Ambalat?; and (2) How can the framing be done by Indonesian television media, i.e. *Metro TV* and *TV One*, on the issues of Ambalat?

LITERATURE REVIEW

William A. Gamson & Andre Mogdiliani (1989) pointed out that an important step in a framing analysis is the identification of framing devices, which are specific linguistic structures, such as metaphors, visual icons, and catch phrases that communicate frames. In addition, what of framing analysis help the researchers to examine latent aspect of the text, such as reasoning devices, problem definition, and moral evaluation (Gamson, 1989; and Entman, 1993).

Stephen D. Reese *et al.* eds (2007) explain that while theoretical diversity has been beneficial in developing and understanding the framing process, framing still lacks

a common shared theoretical model and suffers operational problems. They explain that for many scholars, framing has represented more of a research program than a unified paradigm. Indeed, a review of the literature confirmed an overall vague conceptualization of framing (Reese *et al.* eds, 2007).

In an effort to clearly define the process, Paul Messaris & Linus Abraham (2007:11) offered the following definition: *"Frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world"*. With this definition, they captured the dynamic process of negotiating meaning that occurs in the process, while highlighting the relationships within discourse that may undergo changes over time (Messaris & Abraham, 2007).

R.M. Entman's famous phrase has become mandatory for inclusion in most framing studies of text, and that is no different for visual framing (Entman, 1993:52). Visual framing in media also select some aspect of a perceived reality and makes them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation (Entman, 1991 and 1993).

Paul Messaris & Linus Abraham (2007:220) stated that the special qualities of visuals – their iconicity, their indexicality, and especially their syntactic implicitness – makes them very effective tools for framing and articulating ideological messages. Paul Messaris & Linus Abraham suggest that these three distinctive qualities of photographs make visual framing less obtrusive than verbal framing, in such a way that *"visual framing may convey meanings that would be more controversial or might meet with greater audience resistance if they were conveyed through words"* (Messaris & Abraham, 2007:215).

Elizabeth T. Kazmierczak (2001) explained that visual elements are language that produce and communicate thoughts and images about reality, and that this language is made up of symbols in which meaning derived from their context. Visuals are a

system of representation and signification that allow people to produce and communicate thoughts and images about reality. Paul Messaris & Linus Abraham (2007) defined also visual literacy as the gaining of knowledge and experience about the working of the visual media coupled with heightened conscious awareness of these workings.

Framing analysis on Television News as Method. As mentioned before, this research uses the framing analysis on "Television News" model which extended from model of William A. Gamson & Andre Mogdilians (1989) and use the B. Van Gorp (2005 and 2010) inductive qualitative analysis procedure. Framing Analysis on "Television News" model refers to a way to identify the framing method by verbal or non-verbal using the matrix method from television media on an issue, incident, or case.

Television media frame is the matrix frame which involves combination framing analysis verbal and non-verbal. This matrix frame composed by four devices: framing devices (verbal), reasoning devices (verbal), framing devices (non-verbal), and reasoning devices (non-verbal). Framing analysis on "Television News" model used in the non-verbal framing and reasoning devices (non-verbal). Framing devices (non-verbal) is formed by audio presentation strategy (language, illustration, and atmosphere) and visual presentation strategy (movement and camera angle, graphic, and cartoon). Reasoning devices (non-verbal) is formed by roots analysis, appeals to principal and consequences, and it is actually same with reasoning devices (verbal).

Before combine the verbal and non-verbal frame, the meaning of verbal frame and non-verbal frame need to be specifying with matrix frame with the analysis inductive qualitative procedure. Thus, a suitable method with paradigm constructive spirit, comparison method as the principle to make the inductive code by verbal and non-verbal, include open coding, axle coding, and selective coding, start from beginning till the end (Glasser & Strauss, 1971; and Van Gorp, 2010). To complete the findings,

triangulation being used to combine and compare the analysis findings for model television news reporting and interview and observation.

The second step is thorough interview with the framing actors like reporter, news producer, and the redaction leader. This thorough interview purposed to identify the framing method and the reason they create such symbols in the paper, picture, and voice. Besides the thorough interview, the observation and the study on the history through the document searching such as related text and audio-visual can give a short brief about framing.

During the document searching, the result shows that there are 195 screening for *Metro TV*, 149 screening for *TV one*, and 16 screening for *TVRI* (Television of the Republic of Indonesia) related to Ambalat issue, TKI (*Tenaga Kerja Indonesia* or Indonesian workers in Malaysia) issue, and cultural (*Pendet*³ dance) issue. The news screening showed to public in the program "Metro Hari ini" (Metro Today) in *Metro TV*, "Kabar Petang" (Afternoon News) in *TV One*, and "Warta Malam" (Evening News) in *TVRI* within 1st January 2009 until 10th October 2010.

Triangulation is the process between framing analysis on "Television News" model, the thorough interview and the observation. Data from the findings of the three method above being combined and create a first conclusion. This first conclusion will be tested until the researchers get a complete conclusion. Triangulation process repeat and repeat until all data collected from the above method combined and come out with a satisfied answer. This step purposed to emphasize on the validity, reliability, and the objectivity from the research finding.

DISCUSSIONS

First, Ideology and Media Owner Factor. Based on the framing analysis on "Television

News" model findings towards the case Ambalat, it is obvious that the *Metro TV* is more partially trend to bring out negative reputation of Malaysia. This trend is more focus on strategy non-verbal framing such as graphic, sound bite, intonation, and atmosphere. The negative reputation framing on Malaysia be done through graphic, super impose title on "Malaysia Claims" from the beginning of the news reporting until the end.

Angle, the combination picture close up the TKI (*Tenaga Kerja Indonesia* or Indonesian workers in Malaysia) member body injury with abuse or the low angle Indonesia warship try to kick out Malaysia warship di Ambalat. It can be shown in table 1.

Meanwhile, there is competition between Surya Paloh, owner of *Metro TV* and Aburizal Bakrie, owner of *TV One* in Indonesia. *Metro TV* is more supportive to NASDEM (National Democrat) Party established by Surya Paloh. The support shown in the advertisement and the activities for NASDEM Party which using the slogan of "changing movement", act as an opposition political party. NASDEM Party ideology is same with Surya Paloh ideology.

Thus, the patriotism and Surya Paloh character be considered as political ideology in the framing on the negative reputation of Malaysia, especially in the issue mentioned above. As what admitted by the reporter, producer, and the redaction leader, they understand Surya Paloh's characteristic and the nationalism influent the media framing.

According to Desi, if there is no any comment from higher authority, that means the news reporting met the media owner expectation. The economy ideology consideration, such as to get the better rating and better advertisement and the social ideology consideration as giving education information is dominant in Malaysia reputation framing. Negative reputation towards Malaysia never except from sentiment political ideology, nationalism, and the ideology belongs to *Metro TV* owner, Surya Paloh (interview with Desi, 13/9/2013).

³*Pendet* is Balinese dance of welcome. The people of Indonesia were angry towards Malaysia due to using the *Pendet* dance of Bali (Indonesia) for the purpose of promoting the Malaysia tourism.

Table 1:
Metro TV's Frame in Ambalat Case

Metro TV's Frame: Threaten from Malaysia			
Frame (verbal): Malaysia's Military Ship Threatening Ambalat Block		Frame (non-verbal): Malaysia's Military Ship Expelled from Ambalat Block by Indonesia's Military Ship	
Framing Devices (verbal)	Reasoning Devices (verbal)	Framing Devices (non-verbal)	Reasoning Devices (non-verbal)
<i>Catchphrases:</i> Malaysia's Military Ship <i>versus</i> Indonesia's Military Ship.	<i>Roots:</i> Due the Malaysia's Military Ship often enter Indonesia's area.	<i>Paralanguage:</i> In verse: "happens every day".	<i>Roots:</i> Due the Malaysia's Military Ship often enter Indonesia's area every day.
<i>Depiction:</i> "Neighboring states" are labels.	<i>Appeals to principle:</i> Indonesia's Military Ship defended Ambalat block from Malaysia's Military Ship.	<i>Graphic:</i> Three title strengthened the frames.	<i>Appeals to principle:</i> Indonesia's Military Ship was the good one and Malaysia's Military Ship was the bad one.
<i>Metaphors:</i> "Continues to heat up" is a parable on the situation in Ambalat.	<i>Consequences:</i> The desired effects of frame that Malaysia cherish Indonesia region.	<i>Angle:</i> High Angle for negative image.	<i>Consequences:</i> Government and people of Indonesia may support Indonesia's Military Ship action against Malaysia.
<i>Depiction:</i> "Anti-social" reflects a negative attitude.		<i>Angle:</i> The composition of the picture shows the positive image of Indonesia's Military Ship that expulsion Malaysia's Military Ship.	
<i>Exemplars:</i> About courage of Indonesia's Military Ship.			

Not much different with *Metro TV*. This trend is more focus on strategy non-verbal framing such as graphic, cartoon, sound bite, intonation, and atmosphere. The strategy of audio presentation was illustration and music with tempo to raise the public emotion that condition Ambalat in war or using the cartoon presentation strategy. These framing align with the history and founded purpose for *TV One* by Aburizal Bakrie, a businessman who is also the leader for GOLKAR (*Golongan Karya* or Functional Group) Party and the former President Candidate in Indonesia election in 2014.

It was improve dignity and the standard of Indonesia through the television and redaction. Because of the patriotism, *TV One* presents the negative reputation of Malaysia, even though the excuses given are suitable with the public facts. Aburizal Bakrie is the nationalism character, and it can be seen through the GOLKAR Party's political

advertisements and the *TV One* live news about Aburizal Bakrie. It can be shown in table 2.

According to representative of redaction leader, Nurjaman, when the politic incident regard with the *TV One* owner, Aburizal Bakrie, the redaction charity policy will support him. Anyway, that is a kind of independent for news redaction to support the truth. When the news redaction policy aligns with the vision, mission, and the journalistic method, Aburizal Bakrie, the owner for *TV One* will support the said policy (interview with Nurjaman, 15/9/2013). So, the patriotism and Aburizal Bakrie characteristic as political ideology in the framing on the negative reputation of Malaysia, especially in the issue mentioned above, in *TV One*.

According to the reporter, producer, and the redaction leader, whose know Aburizal Bakrie very well, they understand

Table 2:
TV One's Frame in Ambalat Case

TV One's Frame: Attack Malaysia			
Frame (verbal): Malaysia's Military Ship Violated Indonesian Territory		Frame (non-verbal): Malaysia's Military Ship Attack Indonesian Territory	
Framing Devices (verbal)	Reasoning Devices (verbal)	Framing Devices (non-verbal)	Reasoning Devices (non-verbal)
<i>Catchphrases:</i> Malaysia's Military Ship <i>versus</i> Indonesia's Military Ship.	<i>Roots:</i> Malaysia's Military Ship violations Indonesian territory.	<i>Angle:</i> Malaysia's Military Ship expelled Indonesia's Military Ship.	<i>Roots:</i> Due Malaysia's Military Ship entering the territory of Indonesia.
<i>Depiction:</i> "Ship in a red circle" is a nickname to Malaysia's Military Ship.	<i>Appeals to principle:</i> Indonesia's Military Ship standby to face Malaysia's Military Ship.	<i>Illustration:</i> To evoke the emotions.	<i>Appeals to principle:</i> To unify the Indonesian people against Malaysia.
<i>Depiction:</i> The word of "penetrating" shows a negative image of Malaysia's Military Ship.	<i>Consequences:</i> Indonesian people wary of the threat of war from Malaysia.	<i>Cartoon:</i> The animation maps and expulsion Malaysian ship.	<i>Consequences:</i> Indonesian people reacted hard against Malaysia.
<i>Metaphors:</i> "National" is a symbol of Indonesia.		<i>Graphic:</i> The tittle "Invasion from Neighbors State" wrote in big and red letter.	

Aburizal Bakrie's characteristic and the nationalism influent the media framing and media routine. According to Dodi, they are free to edit the news from Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia) on any cases. If there is no any comment from Jakarta (Indonesia), that means that the news reporting met the media owner, Aburizal Bakrie's expectation (interview with Dodi, 15/9/2013).

The economy ideology consideration, such as to get the better rating and better advertisement, and the social ideology consideration as giving education information, is less dominant in Malaysia reputation framing. Negative reputation towards Malaysia never except from sentiment political ideology, nationalism, and the ideology belongs to Aburizal Bakrie, the TV One owner.

Second, Framing Conflict on Ambalat. In the cases of Ambalat framed by Metro TV and TV One try to place Malaysia in the situation of "little brother" with the means of didn't appreciate the sibling relationship and forgot the origin. Thus, Malaysia was framed

negative in the news reporting of Metro TV and TV One. Based on the television news reporting model on framing analysis, generally, Metro TV and TV One almost use the same framing, which is conflict frame.

For the Ambalat issue, Metro TV framed it as "threaten from Malaysia", and TV One use the frame "Malaysia attack". The factors of media owner and the ideology practice by television media influent the framing in television media. Metro TV and TV One owned by the national politicians, Surya Paloh and Aburizal Bakrie, frame the Malaysia related issue by the political consideration than economic or social consideration.

The non-verbal framing done by Metro TV and TV One emphasize the verbal framing. Triangulation is the process between television news reporting model on framing analysis, in-depth interview, and the observation. Through the triangulation, the television news reporting framing influent by reporter, media routine, media owner, even the political system and current

broadcasting. The media television framing for *Metro TV* and *TV One* is same; they used the framing strategy verbal (script) and non-verbal (audio-visual).

Television studio reporter has the reporter framing which based on the understanding, knowledge, and profession on the issues. When chose the picture, interview resource or date, the reporters did the framing. The reports framing after this continued and repeated in the media routine to create media framing.

In few interviews, the reporters admit that the reporter framing changed exactly when enter the media routine, especially the politic related issues or conflict issue. Redaction leader, the news producer, and the producer from different related department create the media framing. The media framing affects by the organization cultur, organization mission and vision, media owner ideology, and the current broadcasting.

Third, Media TV Frame and Relation Indonesia-Malaysia. The critical paradigm spirit used in this research; this research still has a big question which needs to answer by the Indonesia media television. What is the commitment from Indonesia media television to create a harmony relationship between Indonesia-Malaysia in future? That means that the media television cannot stick in the political practice by the media owner or just stuck in the economic importance in the topic Indonesia-Malaysia relationship in framing news reporting.

Ideally, the Indonesia television media didn't became the television to spread the angriness and the hatred to the public through the incidents happened. Media television can be the alternative solution for the current problems (Tuchman, 1978; Hulteng, 1985; and Mulyana, 2011). Therefore, there is no point to expand the Indonesia-Malaysia relationship related to news reporting, but it should be reported according to the truth and the correct facts. The public will judge and evaluate themselves and it avoid the hegemony by the media television.

The journalistic method required the

media to avoid the sentiment or take side for one party and that are the responsible for the reporter. The over framing will make the thing became refraction by the political ideology, importance of economic or social than the media owner (Tagg, 1988; and Liebes, 1998). The media television should realize their real mission to spread the correct message. The message they spread out should perfuse with the caring and harmony for whole living in the earth created by Allah SWT (*Subhanahu Wa-Ta'ala* or Almighty), without discrimination on the race, religious, and ethnic.

For the importance of the Indonesia-Malaysia relationship in framing research in the future, a thorough and details research is needed. There is not the only way to know the Malaysia reputation in Indonesia television news reporting. It can be summarized that this research has its importance for parties below such as Indonesia ruler and Malaysia government, television media in Indonesia and Malaysia, Indonesia and Malaysia society, and the parties who also doing the related field research. This research can be used as information for different party and it can be categorized as transparent and reliable resource. Besides, this research will also provide the information and discussion on the knowledge in future from aspect scholarly or media development in Indonesia and Malaysia.

CONCLUSION

The research finding is the new model analysis for television news reporting framing which extended from model of William A. Gamson & Andre Mogdiliani (1989). This important finding can increase the media activity knowledge in future, and giving a direction for the research in related field in future. It can be also be cultivated globally in analysis of television media framing.

Other findings included the media frame, the media framing method, the factor and the ideology based which influent the framing can be the input to create the media policies in both countries. Besides,

the research findings can be the guidance for Indonesia television media to improve current news production system, especially the framing for relation Indonesia-Malaysia to create more harmony relationship between both countries in future.

In future, the other programs like Talk Show or the sports program, which involved the relationship Indonesia-Malaysia, should put some attention for research. Besides, the survey method should apply to identify the impact of media television framing towards Malaysia. The document searching or the news reporting since the Old Order (President Soekarno) government or Guided Democracy period, when the Indonesian television (TVRI or Television of the Republic of Indonesia) was firstly established in 1962, until Reformation government period, when the Indonesian private televisions were growth like mushroom appear rapidly during rainy season in 1998, should be done to get a literature about the Indonesia-Malaysia framing.

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