

Social Movements in Framing Perspectives: A Study on Corruption Case Issues in Indonesia

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Abstrak/Abstract

Penelitian ini melihat gerakan sosial dengan menggunakan perspektif framing. Dua teori digunakan, yaitu teori framing dan teori gerakan sosial. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode studi kasus, yaitu: studi kasus instrumental. Kasus yang dianalisis dalam penelitian ini adalah 10 kasus penting yang berkaitan dengan perselisihan antara Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) dan Polisi Nasional (Polri) antara tahun 2009 dan 2012. Data dikumpulkan melalui observasi, wawancara mendalam, tinjauan dokumen, dan analisis teks. Studi ini menunjukkan bahwa tidak ada upaya khusus dari aktor-aktor gerakan pro-KPK (yaitu: hubungan masyarakat KPK) untuk mendekati atau mempengaruhi media agar versi berita mereka lebih banyak beredar di media. Temuan ini membuktikan bahwa keberhasilan gerakan sosial dalam perselisihan KPK-Polri, di mana laporan berita di media terutama mendukung KPK, bukan karena keberhasilan aktor gerakan sosial dalam mendekati media, melainkan karena kesesuaian nilai-nilai antara jurnalis dan aktor gerakan sosial. Hasil penelitian ini memiliki implikasi untuk teori pada hubungan antara frame, media dan gerakan sosial. Peneliti mengusulkan suatu model untuk menggambarkan hubungan antara para aktor gerakan sosial, media / jurnalis, framing media, dan framing khalayak. Model ini merupakan pengembangan dari model yang diusulkan oleh Gamson, Scheufele, Benford, dan Snow.

This research looks at social movement by using framing perspective. Two theories are used, namely framing theory and social movement theory. This research uses the case study method, i.e.: instrumental case study. The cases analyzed in this study are 10 important cases pertaining to the dispute between the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and the National Police (Polri) between 2009 and 2012. Data is collected through observation, in-depth interviews, documents review, and text analysis. This study shows that there is no special effort from pro-KPK movements' actors (i.e.: the public relations of KPK) to approach or influence the media in order to have their version of news circulated more in the media. This findings proves that the success of social movements in the KPK-Polri disputes, where the news reports in the media predominantly support the KPK, is not due to the success of social movement actors in approaching the media, but rather because of the congruence of values between the journalists and social movement actors. Results of this study have implications for theories on the relationship between frames, media and social movements. The researcher proposes a model to portray the connection between the actors of social movements, media/journalists, media framing, and audience framing. This model is a development of the model proposed by Gamson, Scheufele, Benford, and Snow.

Kata kunci/Keywords:

Gerakan sosial, framing dan gerakan sosial, media dan gerakan sosial, framing inti, proses framing, bingkai aktor gerakan sosial

Social movement, framing and social movement, media and social movement, framing processes, frame social movement actors

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Introduction

Social movement theory is quite widely employed in Indonesia. This theory is generally used to explain the phenomenon of the emergence of protest movements or civil disobedience. Social movement studies can also be sorted based on the approach used. Buechler (1995) divides the social movement theory into three groups. The first one is resource mobilization theory. This theory sees that social movements may only appear if there are resources that can accommodate disappointment until it can become movements. Dissatisfaction and protest vote arising in the society can only become movements if there are people, organizations, sources of funds, and leadership that can organize the dissatisfaction. The

second one is political opportunity theory, which contrasts with the resource mobilization theory. If the resource mobilization theory focuses on the internal factors of actors and civil organizations existing in the society, the political opportunity theory looks more at the external aspects instead. The social movements may only appear if there is an open political opportunity. The success of the social movements is determined by whether changes that occur support the processes and struggles of the social movements. The third theory is framing theory, which focuses more on how issues are shaped by actors of social movements. This theory focuses not only on the organizations and resources of social movements, but also on a far more important element, namely the issue. The extent of the society's involvement with the social movement's issues determines whether someone will support or not the social movement. The success of the social movements is, thus, not determined by the organizations' capabilities and resources, but rather by whether the public is involved with the championed issues. Community mobilization will emerge if the community members feel represented by the championed issues. People feel that they become a part of a group, and come together with the social movement. Therefore, this theory focuses more on how reality is constructed, determines how community members understand movement's issues, and ultimately determines the shape and level of the community's involvement in the social movement.

Most studies on the social movements in Indonesia can be included in the resource mobilization theory. One of the main characteristics of this approach is its attention to actors and organizations from the social movements. The studies generally profile the organizations of social movements, the patterns and forms of struggle, the challenges, and so on. An example is a study conducted by Siregar (2004); Mulyadi (2002); Ngadisah (2002); Suwondo (2002); Silaen (2004). Another approach widely used is the political opportunity approach, namely how actors see and utilize existing political opportunity in fighting for certain problems or ideas. A study carried out by Herlijanto (2002) and Mardiniah (2004), for instance, uses this approach.

Social movements in Indonesia rarely use the framing approach. The framing approach has a different explanation in understanding the existence of social movements. According to the framing approach, social movements are better understood as a contestation arena among social movements' actors in winning public attention. The framing perspective can contribute to how actors and social groups define, frame, and disseminate issues to public in order to mobilize public support for the social movements. According to the framing perspective, the success of a social movement is not seen from whether actors and social groups can mobilize resources and take

advantage of existing political opportunities, but rather seen from their abilities to frame and define an issue in order to gain the public support.

To examine social movements based on the framing approach, the researcher studies the disputes between KPK and the National Police in handling corruption cases as a case. The disputes occurred in 2009, known as Geckos (KPK) versus Crocodiles (police) Volume I, and in 2012 (known as Geckos versus Crocodiles Volume II). The disputes between KPK and the Police were related to meaning battle and message framing battle. The actors who were involved and concerned over these issues came from very diverse background, ranging from the government, police, legal practitioners, academics, non-governmental organizations, researchers, public figures, and so on. Each actor proposed their respective understanding and framing of the event. According to the framing perspective, the disputes between KPK and the Police are understood more from how the actors and parties involved interpreted issues concerning the actors, as well as how each actor filed a claim, framing and meaning on the issues. This case is interesting because there are 446 articles on Save KPK movement published on two daily newspapers, namely Kompas and Media Indonesia. Media Indonesia published 238 articles, while Kompas published 208 articles. Media Indonesia also topped in terms of the average number of words (538 words) compared to Kompas' 416 words (Jamil, 2016).

This study wants to explain the process and dynamics of the formation of framing in social movements. This study offers social movement models according to the framing approach.

Literature Review

Framing and Social Movements

Framing refers to the scheme of an individual's understanding, that is how one can place, perceive, identify, and label events in a certain understanding. In an event, framing takes part in organizing experiences and instructions for actions, both individually and collectively. In this case, framing plays a role in determining the success of public participation in social movements (Eriyanto, 2001: 219). Actors and leaders of the social movements can frame events in such a way that the public has the same opinions, judgments, and feelings. The success of the social movements or protest movements is determined by the extent to which the public has the same view on an issue, the common enemy, and the common goal (Eriyanto, 2001: 219).

According to Gamson (et al., 1992), the success of social movements lies in how events are framed until it causes collective actions. In order for collective actions to occur, it requires interpretation and meaning of symbols that collectively can be accepted. The effect of framing in social movements is mobilization, that is whether individuals feel sympathetic with the championed issues and problems, whether individuals feel that they can become a part of the social movements, and whether the individuals are willing to collectively take collective actions. According to Gamson (et

al., 1992), all social movements inevitably carry out a framing process, which will determine the success or failure of the social movements.

Gamson (1992: 1-8) identifies three types of framing processes generally carried out in social movements. Actors and social organizations will carry out these three frames in conducting their social movements. The first one is aggregate frame, which deals with defining issues or events as joint problems. This is the initial stage or process carried out by the actors or organizations of the social movements. The success of the social movements is very much dependent on whether the championed issues are seen as joint problems. The second one is consensus frame, which relates to the process of identifying individuals as part of the public. When an issue is successfully formed as a joint issue, the actors of the social movements must formulate a strategy so that each individual can feel connected with the championed issue. One must be convinced that they are part of the movement facing the problems together. Thus, it is not enough to emphasize that an issue or policy is a big problem or a joint problem, but it is requisite for individuals to be affected by the issue. The third one is collective action frame, which relates to the process of constructing a belief that the championed issue can only be addressed by carrying out joint protests. Only with the joint protest movement, their dissatisfaction can be heard by policy makers and a policy can be changed.

Core Frame

The Framing Theory places meaning and culture in an important position for the birth and emergence of the social movements, that is how they affect people and groups in giving a meaning to a situation or condition and providing a solution to a problem (see Snow and Benford, 1998; Gamson, 1992). According to this theory, social movements arise when groups or elites frame issues in certain perspectives (issue framing) and describe disappointments and concerns in certain frames. Issue framing is important because it can influence either support or opposition to an issue. By framing an issue, the disappointment and dissatisfaction of an individual can be represented. With the right frame, someone can even be part of the issue and promote it so that it is supported by many people, provoking the public's interests and emotions, and so on.

The process of framing includes selecting certain facts or aspects of reality, so that the selected aspects become more prominent (Goffman, 1974: 21). The framing theory assumes that social movements only emerge and grow in popularity when the meaning of the movements' championed case or issue is associated with an organization, and the organization connects the meaning so that it becomes a collective action. People or groups can connect with each other and act collectively when they see an issue or an event in the same way and frame it using the same value system.

Based on the framing theory, the success of a social movement depends on the success in defining the problem of an event and providing a reasonable alternative solution to overcome the problem (Entman, 1993). A study done by McVeigh, Myers, and Sikkink (2004) on the Ku Klux Klan group proved this. The group was very cohesive, with the leader succeeded in framing the event as a justification for violence. Using this frame, the violent actions could get justifications.

The Framing Theory believes that an issue or event is not in a vacuum. Issues are dynamic and present in certain cultural contexts. An issue can be framed in different ways and develop over time. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) conducted an interesting research on nuclear power. Nuclear power, at times, was perceived as part of technological progress, yet there were other times when nuclear power was understood and interpreted as a threat to the humankind. In this case, the understandings of nuclear power were constructed and interpreted differently, affected by the society and inherent in certain cultures.

However, this theory holds a number of weaknesses and receives criticisms from experts (Fisher, 2007). One criticism is that the theory focuses too much on culture, similarity, and understanding of an issue, yet it forgets the importance of structure. Homogeneous similarity and understanding of an issue or event will not lead to social movements when no one is organizing (resource mobilization) and when there is no political opportunity to trigger a social movement.

An important aspect of framing in social movements is how a case, issue, or event is constructed using a particular framework. This is called core framing (Benford & Snow, 2000: 615). According to Benford and Snow (2000: 615-617) and Snow, Vliegenthart, and Corrigan-Brown (2007: 387-388), there are three forms of core framing. The first one is diagnostic framing, which relates to how social movement actors frame the cause of a problem. Diagnostic framing is often referred to as "boundary framing", referring to the portrayal of a party considered good or bad and the construction of the protagonist and antagonist of an event. The second one is prognostic framing, which relates to the recommendation of solutions of a problem. Social movement actors not only define what and who is considered guilty, but also what solutions must be adopted to solve a problem. This frame refers to actions seen as valid and required to be carried out by social movements. The third one is motivational framing, which relates to the efforts to invite public to participate and engage in the social movements. According to Benford and Snow (2000: 617), this frame states the need to "call to arms for engaging in collective action, including construction of appropriate vocabularies of motives". Social movements' actors formulate vocabularies used to provoke the public to engage in the issues promoted by the social movements. Lastly, form is called contested processes, which relates to the means of attracting

outsiders, such as media, opposition, observers, and so on, so that they also feel connected to the issue framed and championed by the social movements.

The processes above are interrelated. Social movements' actors will carry out these processes so that their movements can succeed. They must frame events in an attractive way so that the members of the social movements can feel connected and have the same perspective in seeing and understanding an event. The framing must be distributed to as many people as possible and connect all of them. In expanding the movement, the framing must also be distributed outside the members of the movements using other means, such as through media coverage. Each of these processes will be described below.

Framing Processes and Dynamics

Framing is conducted through a dynamic process. Benford and Snow (2000: 623-625) mention two important aspects related to the processes and dynamics of frame formation. The first one is discursive process, which pertains to the speech or writing of the members of the social movements related to the movements' activities. According to Benford and Snow (2000: 623), the discursive process consists of two forms, namely frame articulation and frame amplification. Frame articulation is the process of connecting people's experiences with others in order to connect the experiences with the issues championed by the social movements. On the other hand, frame amplification relates to the emphasis of particular points of view in assessing an issue. Frame amplification is generally characterized by the making of slogans or symbols consisting of several words that can provoke emotions. This is basically the process of emphasizing an issue from a particular point of view. The simple illustration is the protest movements of workers to demand salary increase. The frame articulation of the protest is characterized by efforts to unite the experiences of each worker so that all workers feel attached to the championed issues. In contrast, the frame amplification of the protest is marked by the emphasis on certain perspectives on the protest and the making of words or symbols to simplify the protest's objectives.

McCaffrey and Keys (2000: 42-43) and Snow *et al.* (1986) divide the discursive process into two forms, namely micro level and macro level. Micro level refers to the process carried out by social movements' actors in understanding and interpreting an event. This is similar to the frame articulation proposed by Benford and Snow (2000). On the other side, macro level is placing the frame into a cultural basis, so that the framed understanding acquires social justification. An example is the healthy live movement. At the micro level, the movement's actors will frame the importance of a healthy live. While at macro level, the movement's actors will seek a justification,

either culturally or religiously, to emphasize the importance of healthy live.

The strategic process proposed by Benford and Snow (2000: 624) refers to the process of how the framing of an event is spread to the public so that the framing can generate the same vocabularies for all members of the social movements. This process is also carried out in order to recruit new members who sympathize and support the movements. The strategic process involves four aspects, namely frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation (Benford & Snow, 2000).

Frame bridging refers to the process of connecting two or more ideologies or concepts that are different from the social movement's actors' stance. Through this process, more members can be recruited to join and support the social movement. Meanwhile, frame amplification refers to the process of connecting frames with the values, beliefs, faith, and culture that the society believes. Through this process, the frame will be strengthened because it is not only amplified by the society's beliefs and culture, but also justified socially and culturally. According to Benford and Snow (2000: 624), conducting social movements will be difficult if the movements contradict the prevailing values in the society. The social movements may even get stigmatized. In regard to frame extension, this process relates to maintaining the effectiveness and endurance of the frame. Social movements' actors must think strategically to keep the movement's championed issue prioritized and remembered by the public. This is done among others by making an extension so that the longevity of the issue can remain long. Lastly, frame transformation relates to changing the existing frame with new values. Social movement's actors often follow new developments and new values emerge in the society. The actors, thus, often transform the frame by adopting the new values. This shows that event frame is not static, but rather it continues to evolve and transform, changing accordingly to new developments and values.

Contested Processes

In a social movement, framing is not a singular process. Social movements' actors frame an event and present the frame as a social reality to the public. Regardless, at the same time, other social movements' actors will also present different frames. Benford and Snow (2000: 625-627) refer this phenomenon as framing contestation, in which different actors frame an event differently and counter each other's frame.

Similar to Benford and Snow (2000), Fiss and Hirsch (2005) also mention that framing is not singular. In a social movement, each actor will present their respective interpretations of reality, which are realized in the form of frames. Actors compete and fight with each other in order to have their respective frame accepted by the public.

Media and Social Movement

Social movements are connected to the media. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) state that there is an interactive system between media and social movements. Social movements need the media so that the movements and its messages can be widely distributed among the public. On the other hand, the media also needs the social movements to generate news reports that can be presented to the public.

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 116) argue that social movements need the media much more than the media needs the social movements. Social movements need the media for three reasons. First, social movements need public mobilization. Through news reports circulated by the media, it will be easier for the social movements' actors to mobilize public support or recruit new members to join the movements. Second, social movements need validation. According to Gamson and Wolfsfeld's (1993: 116), validation refers to the "recognition" of the existence of the social movements. The existence of the social movements can be generally recognized through media coverages of the movements. Third, social movements need to expand its movements. Through media coverages, social movements can expand and recruit new members who previously have not supported the social movements.

The relationship between social movements and media is complex. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) hypothesize the possible relationship between the two. There are six possibilities (hypotheses) surrounding the relationship between media and social movements. The first one is that social movements that have a good structure, network, organization, professionalism and strategic planning will be more likely to get a wide coverage from the media, and the media coverages will also be more likely to be in line with the social movements' framing of an event. This hypothesis is related to the ability of the social movements to influence the media's agendas and policies. Social movements that have better organization and media-related strategies will be more likely to influence the media coverage. These social movements have the capability to hold press conferences, make releases, and various other efforts so that their activities can be easily known and reported by the media.

The second hypothesis is that the greater the ties between the social movements' actors who with the media, the greater the possibility of the activities and frames of the social movements being accommodated by the media. According to Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 121-122), social movements' actors generally cannot relate well with the media. The actors from the social movements often cannot explain their championed issues well as they do not have the rhetorical competence to do so. The success of social movements is determined by whether in the movements there are actors who can frame their championed

issues well and send the messages to the media.

The third hypothesis is that social movements that present something close to the adopted cultural values will increasingly get sympathy from the wider public. According to Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 123), social movements often face a dilemma. The dilemma arises due to the view of whether the social movements voice the interests of the wider public or threaten the public. A simple example is labor movements demanding salary increases and protesting workload. If the media coverages put more emphasis on the negative impacts of these movements on traffic congestion, riots, or companies' losses, then it is likely that public sympathy and support for the social movements will also be weak. In Gamson and Wolfsfeld's (1993: 123) views, this often creates a dilemma for the social movements. Likewise, the actors of the social movements surrounding environmental issues often face the options of whether to directly fight the company and identify the environmentally-destructive companies as their enemy or to amplify the society's awareness of environmental issues by, for example, providing counseling and treatment for victims of the social movement. The choice of strategies will determine the media coverages and the direction of the public support.

The fourth hypothesis is that the greater the number of media elites propagating the social movements, the more effective the framing strategy made by the social movements will be. This hypothesis relates to how effective media coverages are in enforcing the social movement actors' strategies. The impacts of the media coverages will be greater when the social movements are reported by the media that has a wide coverage and is read by a large number of elites.

The fifth hypothesis is that social movements that can adjust accordingly to news/journalistic values will get more media attention, which also influences the choice of the social movements' strategies. The media has their own standards and considerations in reporting events. Social movements' actors able to frame their movements' championed issue in accordance with news values will be more likely to get a large portion of reporting.

The sixth hypothesis is that social movements able to present and frame the issues of their movements imbued with nuance, color, drama, and conflicts will be more attractive for the media to cover and report (see Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993: 124-125). This hypothesis is almost similar to the fifth hypothesis. It relates to whether the messages and strategies of the social movements can conform to the journalistic standards and values. Social movements able to present a dramatic event will attract more interest from the media to cover.

Research Method

This study uses qualitative research method.

The research method used is a case study. The cases examined in this study are disputes between KPK and the Police occurred in 2009 and 2012. The data collection techniques used in this study are document analysis, content analysis, direct observation, and in-depth interviews.

The in-depth interviews were carried out with seven social movements' actors, namely Dadang Trisasongko (Secretary General of Transparency International Indonesia/TII), Tama Langkuni (Senior Indonesian Corruption Watch/ICW researcher), Falri Elnumeri (Center for Law and Policy Studies/PSHK), Syamsul Alam (Contrast Coordinator; Bahrain, Director of Advocacy, Indonesia Legal Aid Foundation/YLBHI), Alvon Kurnia Palma (Director of Indonesia Legal Aid Foundation/YLBHI), and Police Grand Commissioner Agus Rianto (Head of General Information Department of Headquarters of National Police). Interviews with four journalists, namely Totok Suryanto (Vice Editor in Chief of *TV ONE*), Budi Setyarso (Senior Editor of *Tempo* Magazine), Adi Prinantyo (Editor of *Kompas* Daily) and Heni (Editor of *Media Indonesia* Daily), were also conducted.

Another data collection technique used in this study is text analysis. The text analysis was carried out on newspaper reports on the disputes between KPK and the police. Content analysis on national newspapers, namely *Kompas* and *Media Indonesia*, was also conducted.

Findings

Both in the KPK-Police dispute Volume I and KPK-Police dispute Volume II, the disputes were framed more in favor of KPK compared to the police. Interestingly, alignments in KPK's frames occur not only in general, but also in specific issues and cases. In the case of KPK-Police dispute Volume I, the researcher took five specific issues, namely the criminalization of KPK, screening of wiretaps in the Constitutional Court (MK), the establishment of Team 8 by the president, and the presidential intervention and legal options for stopping the dispute. All of these five issues framed the dispute Volume I in favor of KPK. The same thing also happened in the dispute between KPK-Police Volume II. Of the five selected specific issues (investigation of the authority of SIM simulator, investigation of Novel Baswedan's case, withdrawal of police investigators from KPK, presidential intervention and legal basis for case devolution from the Police to KPK), all news reports were in favor of KPK.

How are these frames formed? De Vreese (2005: 55-57) divides frames into two types, namely generic frame (general) and issue-specific frame (specific). The generic frames are frames or general views used to view objects, while specific frames are frames used to view specific issues.

In the case of KPK-Police disputes, either Volume I or Volume II, the specific issue frame is the same as the generic frame. It could be said that the specific frame follows the generic frame. The

Table 1. Generic Frame and Issue-Specific Frame

<i>Generic Frame</i> : weakening efforts to corruption eradication, corruptors do everything they can to return to power.				
a) Criminalization of KPK	b) Screening of Wiretaps in Constitutional Court (MK)	c) Establishment of team 8 by President	d) Presidential intervention	e) Legal Options for Stopping Cases
<i>Issue-Specific Frame</i> :	<i>Issue-Specific Frame</i> :	<i>Issue-Specific Frame</i> :	<i>Issue-Specific Frame</i> :	<i>Issue-Specific Frame</i> :
Bibit-Chandra case was engineered and designed to criminalize KPK.	Screening of wiretaps was a new means to fight legal mafia and corruptors.	Establishment of Team 8 showed that Presidents had a strong commitment in eradicating corruption.	President needed to intervene in the Bibit-Chandra case because he had an obligation to maintain the public trust in legal institutions	The Bibit-Chandra case was stopped and not brought to the court.

media already has a frame for KPK and Police, and every specific case involving the KPK-Police disputes, the general frame is “taken” and adopted to explain specific events. The media’s then prevailing frame stipulated that there were attempts to weaken KPK; the frame argued that corruptors would do everything they could to return to power. This frame was a generic frame which was then used to assess the specific cases of the KPK-Police dispute Volume I. For example, for the specific issue of the criminalization of KPK, the generic frame (attempts to weaken KPK) was used to assess this specific case. The media’s frame portrayed the Bibit-Chandra case as deliberately engineered and made to weaken KPK. The specific case of screening of wiretaps in the Constitutional Court (MK) was also assessed using the generic frame. This case was framed as an attempt to show the attempts to weaken KPK. The specific issue of the establishment of Team 8 was also assessed by using the generic frame, namely this issue was an attempt to prompt the criminalization of KPK. The issue of the presidential intervention was assessed through the generic frame as well, saying that the President must save KPK from any attempts to weaken the commission. Likewise, the issue of legal options for stopping the disputes was also assessed by using the generic frame, that is KPK leaders needed to be saved from the criminalization efforts. It could be said, thus, that all the specific cases that occurred in the case of KPK-Police dispute Volume I were assessed using the generic frame. Whatever was done by the police and KPK was assessed using the frame. It is unsurprising, then, if the frames used were more in favor of KPK than the police.

The same thing happened in the case of the KPK-Police dispute Volume II. Interestingly,

the generic frame used was the same as the one used in the case of KPK-Police dispute Volume I. The media even considered the KPK-Police dispute Volume II as a continuation of the previous dispute. The general frame used was an attempt to weaken KPK. The SIM simulator case demonstrated the attempts to weaken KPK and anti-corruption movements in general. As in the case of KPK-Police dispute Volume I, the general frame was also used to assess the specific issues. All specific issues, ranging from the investigation of the authority of SIM simulator case, investigation of Novel Baswedan’s case, the presidential intervention, until the withdrawal of Police investigators from KPK were perceived as efforts to weaken KPK. It is not surprising if in all specific issues, all frames used were in favor of KPK.

Core Framing

Benford and Snow (2000: 615) define core framing as a constructed collective action where society members understand a problem or situation uniformly, including the same prognostic framing. Social movements’ actors always struggle and voice the core framing. Here, every event and action is understood in a singular and same way, so that the society’s members define these random issues and problems equally and uniformly. Every social movement always strives for the core framing.

In the disputes between KPK and the police, pro-KPK social movements’ actors managed to form the core framing. All events that occurred were then defined and understood using the core frame that has been created. The core frame of the KPK-Police dispute Volume I was that the disputes were efforts to weaken KPK and corruptors’ efforts to fight against corruption eradication. Every case that occurred in the KPK-Police

Table 2. Generic Frame and Issue-Specific Frames of KPK-Police Dispute in 2009

<i>Generic Frame:</i> weakening efforts to corruption eradication, corruptors do everything they can to return to power.				
a) Investigation Authority of SIM Simulator Case	b) Case Investigation Involving Novel Baswedan	c) Withdrawal of Police Investigator Personnel in KPK	d) Presidential intervention	e) Legal Basis for Case Devolution from Police to KPK
<i>Issue-Specific Frame:</i>	<i>Issue-Specific Frame:</i>	<i>Issue-Specific Frame:</i>	<i>Issue-Specific Frame:</i>	<i>Issue-Specific Frame:</i>
KPK was authorized to handle SIM simulator case both morally and judicially.	The police’s efforts to find faults was intended to split KPK’s concentration in dealing with the SIM simulator corruption.	The police’s policy of withdrawing police investigators from KPK intended to disturb KPK’s concentration in handling the SIM simulator corruption.	The President needed and had the authority to intervene. He could order the Police Chief to hand over the case to KPK.	The case devolution had a very strong legal basis and could use Corruption Criminal Act. It was not difficult and no need to be wordy.

Table 3. Core Framing of Disputes between KPK-Police in 2009

<i>Core Framing: weakening and criminalization efforts to KPK, corruptors' efforts to fight against corruption eradication.</i>				
a) Criminalization of KPK	b) Screening of Wiretaps in the Constitutional Court	c) Establishment of Team 8 by the President	d) Presidential intervention	e) Legal Options for Stopping Cases
<i>Diagnostic framing:</i>	<i>Diagnostic framing:</i>	<i>Diagnostic framing:</i>	<i>Diagnostic framing:</i>	<i>Diagnostic framing:</i>
KPK was the protagonist, police was the antagonist	KPK and MK were the protagonists, the police was the antagonist	KPK and the President were the protagonists, the police was the antagonist	KPK was the protagonist, the police was the antagonist	KPK was the protagonist party, the police was the antagonist
<i>Prognostic framing:</i>	<i>Prognostic framing:</i>	<i>Prognostic framing:</i>	<i>Prognostic framing:</i>	<i>Prognostic framing:</i>
Release of Bibit-Chandra	Dismantle legal mafia	Steps and innovations were needed to resolve the KPK-Police disputes	The President needed to intervene in the KPK-Police disputes	Settlement out of court, because the court process has been engineered.
<i>Motivational framing:</i>	<i>Motivational framing:</i>	<i>Motivational framing:</i>	<i>Motivational framing:</i>	<i>Motivational framing:</i>
The efforts to weaken KPK were systematic. People's power was needed.	The efforts to weaken KPK were systematic. Help was needed from pro-KPK legal institutions	The efforts to weaken KPK were systematic. Assistance from the pro-democracy and corruption eradication groups was needed.	The efforts to weaken KPK were systematic. Extraordinary steps were needed from the President.	The weakening efforts to KPK were systemic, legal breakthrough, not trapped in technical rules of formal law.

dispute Volume I (the criminalization of KPK, the screening of wiretaps in the Constitutional Court (MK), the establishment of Team 8 by the President, the presidential intervention and legal options for stopping cases) was defined using the core framing. The diagnostic framing of all cases was the same, namely placing KPK as the good party while the Police was placed as the bad party. The prognostic framing used was also the same in each case, namely against the corruptors who attempted to weaken KPK. Pro-KPK actors also succeeded in conducting the motivational framing, namely inviting the society's members to be involved in the social movements. In this case, the actors succeeded in constructing frame which portrayed the efforts to weaken KPK had taken place systematically; hence, it needed the efforts of all citizens to fight against the corruptors. KPK should not be left alone and it needed

to be assisted by the society's members in facing the efforts to weaken KPK.

The same thing happened in the case of KPK-Police dispute Volume 2. The social movement's actors managed to build the core framing in the form of systematic efforts to weaken KPK. Every specific case that analyzed in the KPK-Police dispute Volume I (the investigation of the authority of SIM simulator case, the case investigation involving Novel Baswedan, the withdrawal of police investigators from KPK, the presidential intervention, and the legal basis for case devolution from the police to KPK) was defined using the core framing. The social movement's actors could even construct this case as a continuation of the Bibit-Chandra dispute. The SIM simulator case was part of the resistance to corruption eradication.

Table 4. Core Framing of Disputes between KPK-Police in 2012

<i>Core Framing: weakening and criminalization efforts to KPK, corruptors' efforts to fight against corruption eradication</i>				
a) Investigation of the Authority of SIM Simulator Case	b) Case Investigation Involving Novel Baswedan	c) Withdrawal of Police Investigators from KPK	d) Presidential Intervention	e) Legal Basis for Case Devolution from the Police to KPK
<i>Diagnostic framing:</i>	<i>Diagnostic framing:</i>	<i>Issue-Specific Frame:</i>	<i>Issue-Specific Frame:</i>	<i>Issue-Specific Frame:</i>
KPK was the protagonist, while the police was the antagonist.	KPK was the protagonist, while the police was the antagonist.	KPK was the protagonist, while the police was the antagonist.	KPK and the President were the protagonists, while the police was the antagonist.	KPK was the protagonist, while the police was the antagonist.
<i>Prognostic framing:</i>	<i>Prognostic framing:</i>	<i>Prognostic framing:</i>	<i>Prognostic framing:</i>	<i>Prognostic framing:</i>
The SIM simulator case should be handled by KPK.	Novel Baswedan should be freed from lawsuits and criminalization efforts.	Police stopped the investigation of the withdrawal of police investigators from KPK, making KPK unable to work well.	The President needed to intervene in the KPK-Police disputes.	Cases that have been handled by the police should be handed over to KPK on the basis of the Act of Corruption Criminal Act.
<i>Motivational framing:</i>	<i>Motivational framing:</i>	<i>Motivational framing:</i>	<i>Motivational framing:</i>	<i>Motivational framing:</i>
KPK should not be left alone; it should get public support in countering the police's power.	Novel should be helped because he had to face the police's power, which included the power to conduct legal cases.	KPK should not be left alone; it should get public support in countering police's power.	The President must help KPK in countering the Police's power..	KPK should not be left alone; it should get public support in countering the police's power..

As in the case of KPK-Police dispute Volume I, the actors involved in the case succeeded to form the diagnostic framing, namely labelling KPK as the good party while the police as the bad party, in portraying the specific cases of the dispute. The prognostic framing was also the same in each case, namely handing over the SIM simulator case to KPK. Every effort made by the police (such as the criminalization of Novel Baswedan, the withdrawal of police investigators from KPK) must be resisted. In this case, the actors suc-

ceeded in portraying the efforts as systematic attempt to weaken KPK. Hence, all citizens were needed the counter such attempt and to fight against the corruptors. The SIM simulator case was not just an ordinary legal dispute between law enforcement agencies, but it also became a "war" against corruption. Following this, the movement's actors then invited ordinary citizens to get involved in helping KPK in countering the efforts to weaken the anti-graft commission and corruption eradication in the country.

Table 5 Media Framing, Social Movements' Actors, and Journalists Involved in the KPK-Police Dispute in 2009

Specific Issue	Frame		
	Media	Social Movement Actor	Journalist
The Criminalization of KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK
The Screening of Wiretaps in the Constitutional Court (MK)	Pro KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK
The Establishment of Team 8 by President	Pro KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK
Presidential Intervention	Pro KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK
The Legal Options in Solving the Cases	Pro KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK

Table 6. Media Framing, Social Movements' Actors, and Journalists Involved in the KPK-Police Dispute in 2012

Specific Issue	Frame		
	Media	Social Movement Actor	Journalist
The Investigation of the Authority of SIM Simulator Case	Pro KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK
The Case Investigation Involving Novel Baswedan	Pro KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK
The Withdrawal of Police Investigators from KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK
Presidential Intervention	Pro KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK
The Legal Basis for Case Devolution from the Police to KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK	Pro KPK

Actor, Media Framing and Social Movement

This study finds an alignment between the frames found in the media coverages, frames among social movements' actors, and frames that emerged and developed among the journalists. Both in the cases of KPK-Police dispute Volume I and Volume II, all frames that were developed were in favor of KPK. In the disputes between KPK and the Police, the similar frames circulated made the social movements more supportive towards KPK compared to the Police.

Could the results of this study be concluded as the success of pro-KPK social movement's actors? The pro-KPK social movement's actors managed to frame the issue so that it was more in favor of KPK compared to the Police. The actors carried out various strategies so that the circulated frames in the media were more supportive of KPK compared to the Police. The results of this study showed that the pro-KPK frames did not solely come from the social movement's actors. The negative views toward the police and the positive images surrounding KPK also emerged among the journalists. In other words, there was an alignment of opinions and beliefs between the journalists covering the disputes with the pro-KPK social movement's actors. The social movement's actors interviewed said that they did not make any special efforts to approach or influence the journalists' perspective because the journalists' perception had been similar already with those of the pro-KPK social movement's actors'.

In this case, it is interesting to analyze what caused the emergence of the media framing stating that KPK had to be saved from the corrupt police. Reese (2001: 12-19) provides six principles of the framing formation. The first one is message organizing. Frames are always related to the organizing process, so that messages can be identified cognitively and culturally. The second principle is fulfilling certain rules (principles). Humans tend to simplify events and reality, but the simplification process is not random, but rather it follows certain rules or principles. The third one is absorbing society's (shared) values. The message selection and prominence processes are not only conducted individually but also socially. The fourth principle is relatively constant (persistent). The processes of interpreting events in a certain way, determining the message's prominence, and selecting the message are relatively consistent throughout time. The frame of an event or reality can indeed change, but such changes generally take a relatively long time. The fifth principle is symbolic (symbolically). The process of selecting message and determining its prominence are symbolically realized and can be observed from the use of words, sentences, photos, pictures and so on. Lastly, the sixth principle is structure. All of these symbols are interrelated to one another, forming an understanding coherently.

In this study, the six principles described by Reese (2001) can be found as follows. The frame

circulated in the society in Indonesia toward the police tends to be bad. The prejudice of the police as a corrupt institution is developed in the society, emphasizing corruption cases involving police officers, such as the case of the procurement of communication equipment and Communication Network (Alkom-Jarkom), the allegation of police officers' fat bank accounts, the cases of the procurement of TNKB (Motor Vehicle Registration Certificate) and STNK-BPKB (Vehicle Registration Certificate - Proof of Motor Vehicle Ownership), and so on.

The first Reese's principle found is message organization. The message frames that not all police officers are corrupt, but there are still many idealistic officers who expect the police to be clean. For instance, Traffic Brigade, which is often considered as corps embroiled in many cases of corruption, is only one part of the police organization, but due to the public's limited knowledge of law enforcement institutions, people tend to generalize the police under one characteristic, namely corrupt. In contrast, KPK is often considered as capable of detaining corruptors at various levels of government, starting from regents, governors, members of the House of Representatives, chairmen of parties, to ministers.

The second Reese's principle found is fulfilling certain rules. This simplification process meets certain principles. Every event is always translated in accordance with existing interpretations. When, for example, the cases of Alkom-Jarkom's fat bank accounts, TNKB, and STNK-BPKB were reported using prevailing interpretations, justifying and strengthening the existing frames. KPK succeeded in making arrests of important figures in the law enforcement, bureaucracy, and the police, with some of them were even arrested with the help of evidence found at the location of the arrest.

The third Reese's principle found is absorbing the existing (shared) values in the society. People have various experiences and views. People's views that dealing with the police is something that should not happen and just go to the Police One Roof System Office for a photo making for a SIM. The stories of people dealing with the police have been shared generation to generation. People absorb these prevailing views, values, and stories in the society. While news reports on the success and achievements of KPK receive public appreciation.

The fourth Reese's principle found is relatively consistent (persistent). The view that the police are corrupt tends to be consistent. The actual events that occur are always reported in accordance to the prevailing interpretation schemes or the general views on the police that have been previously formed. In contrast, KPK, compared to other anti-corruption institutions formed during the old order and the new order, is the first institution expected to be the front guard in handling corruption cases.

The fifth Reese's principle found is symbolic (symbolically). The constructed perception of the police as a corrupt institution can be symbolically seen from language, photos, words, and expressions presented in the media. News coverages such as "Seribu Wajah Susno" (Tempo, October 16, 2009), "Asap kotor proyek simulator" (Tempo, October 12, 2012), "Plat nomor Polisi tambang korupsi" (Forum, November 19, 2012), and many others portray the constructed perception of the police. On the other hand, in regard to KPK, language, news, and photos presented in the media show the institution's achievements coherently.

The sixth Reese's principle found is the inter-related and coherent structure, language, photos, words, and sentences in the media that support each other. What is reported in the media coverages about the corruption cases involving the police and the success of KPK are all related and coherent.

Theoretical Implications

The results of this study have implications for theories on the relationship between frames, media, and social movements. These three concepts, frames, media, and social movements, are closely related and have attracted the interest of some experts to explain them. In order for the social movements to succeed, the movements' actors must create frames that can win support from the public. If they are supported by the public, these frames can mobilize public support. In order for the frames to be widely supported by the public, the social movements' actors need media coverages. The movements' actors must try to construct frames that later can be adopted by the media as well. When the frames adopted by the movements' actors and the media are in line, the public is more likely to also adopt the same frames.

Many experts argue that the success of social movements is always characterized by the similarities between the media's frame and the public's frame (Alimi, *et al.*, 2006; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gamson & Stuart, 1992; Gamson & Wolsfeld, 1993). Nevertheless, the experts differ in terms of how to explain the process of frame forming in media and public; does the public's frames become the basis for the formation of the media's frames? Or is it the opposite?

Several experts give different opinions about the relationship between the media's, individual's, and public's frames. The most quoted experts are William A. Gamson, David A. Snow, Robert D. Banford, and Dietram Scheufele. The followings will be a discussion of the models made by these experts.

Gamson Model

In many of his writings (Gamson, 1991; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gamson & Stuart, 1992), Gamson presents the relationship between social movements' actors, the media's frames, and the

public's frames. An important question from the social movements is what motivates a person to engage in a social or protest movement and what causes the social movements' actors to defend KPK and garner support through Cicak (2009) and Semut Rangsang (2012) movements.

The effects of framing is public mobilization, that is to make someone feels involved with the championed issues and problems, feels that they are part of the social movements, and willing to collectively take collective actions. According to Gamson (*et al.*, 1992), all social movements inevitably carry out a framing process, which determines the success or failure of the social movements. Gamson (1992: 1-8) identifies three types of frames generally produced by social movements. Movements' actors and organizers will produce these three frames in promoting their social movements.

The first type is aggregate frame, which deals with portraying an issue or event as a common problem. This is the initial stage or process carried out by the actors or organizers of the social movements. This study shows that the social movements' actors involved in the KPK-Police dispute Volume I and Volume II argued that both disputes were initiated by the police to criminalize and weaken KPK. Because these disputes involved police officers, the social movements' actors argued that the police would protect its officers out of fraternity. Following this, the police were alleged to make conscious efforts to weaken KPK. The issues of the criminalization and the weakening of KPK become a focal point that binds the social movements' actors in defending KPK.

The second type is consensus frame, which relates to the process of identifying individuals as part of the public. When an issue is successfully formed as a common issue, the actors of the social movements then formulate a strategy so that members of the society can find the issue relatable. This study finds that everyone who cared about law enforcement and felt that corruptors needed to be tried accordingly was called to jointly defend KPK from corrupt individuals or institutions. The emergence of public support on social media platforms, including Facebook and Twitter, and on public space in the form of graffiti can be considered as a type of consensus frame produced by the social movements' actors.

The third type is collective action frame, which relates to constructing a problem in such a way so that it appears that the problem can only be solved by carrying out joint protests. The emergence of joint actions mobilized by social movements' actors in the KPK-Police dispute Volume I (2009) and Volume II (2012) in the forms of demonstrations at the Proclamation Statue and at the Indonesian Hotel Roundabout and an art stage in front of the KPK building illustrates Gamson's collective action, which takes part in the success of the social movements.

Regarding the relationship between the media and social movements' actors, an important question posed by Gamson is why the media presents news in certain frames. According to Gamson, there are three explanations. The first one is the amplification of cultural values prevailing in the society. The media absorbs values existing in the society, so that when covering an issue they adopt the existing beliefs and values in the society. These values can change according to the dynamics and development in the society. In his study of nuclear bomb reporting, for example, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) saw how the media used stories that developed in the society, ranging from public's concerns about nuclear bombs to stories on the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union and. The stories that developed in the society affected how the media reported the cases of nuclear weapons.

The second one is actors' actions. Media coverage is also determined by the activities of each social movements' actor in influencing the media. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) in their study of nuclear bombs found how those who support or oppose nuclear weapons proposed different frames and tried to influence the media so that their respective frames were most accepted by the media. The supporters and oppositions also made various activities ranging from organizations, funding, to conducting demonstrations.

The third one is media practice. The media's reporting frame is also influenced by the values and beliefs adopted by individual journalists and the media. In the case of the news coverages on nuclear bombs, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) argued that there were journalists who from the initial stage of the coverages had already had either a supporting or opposing view on nuclear bomb. The values of the journalists, then, became the basis for the media to construct frames.

This media frame influences public opinion on issues. According to Gamson and Modigliani (1989: 9), public often do not understand complicated issues. The frames presented by the media help the public in simplifying and understanding complex issues. Although they do not explicitly state that the media frames (inevitably) affect the public opinion, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) state that frames presented by the media present symbols, rituals, and stories that can be used by the public in understanding the events or issues on daily basis.

Simplified, Gamson's opinion on the relationship between social movements' actors, media's frames, and public opinion can be described as follows.

According to the model made by Gamson, it can be concluded that media's frame arises from the actions of the social movements' actors. Media's frame for a case does not emerge suddenly, but it is born from gradual actions carried out by social movements' actors in influencing the media. This is because frame is not singular (frame dispute).

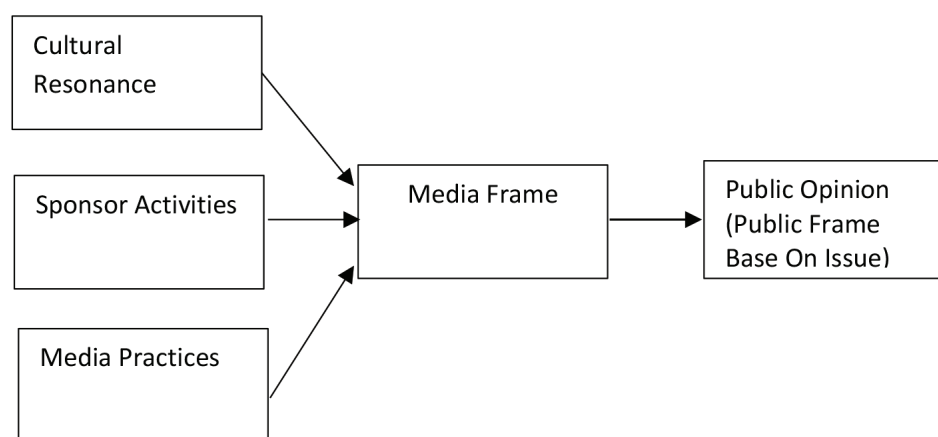


Figure 1. Gamson and Modigliani Model
Source: Pictured from Gamson & Modigliani (1989: 1-8).

Each person has a different understanding of a case or an issue. In order for the frame or understanding of the actors or group to be widely accepted, the actors must fight for it to be more acceptable to the media. However, this is not the sole factor. The frames that appear in media coverages are also influenced by existing cultural values in the society and the views adopted by the media and journalists on the issue.

The author argues, however, the weakness of the Gamson model was its emphasis on the relationship between culture amplification, actors' actions, and media practice. Gamson sees the three factors as independent, while they can be interrelated. Social movements' actors can use prevailing culture and values in the society (cultural resonance) so that the frames they make are more accepted by the public. Social movements' actors can also influence the media practice, so that the frames made by the social movement actors are more acceptable.

How does Gamson and Modigliani's model work in the context of this study? This study finds that the media's frames in the KPK-Police disputes sided more with KPK. From the interviews with pro-democracy actors and editors from news outlets, this study finds that there were indeed aligned efforts from movements' actors and journalists in the case of the KPK-Police disputes.

However, this was not autonomous. The pro-KPK social movements' actors made use of people's bad views towards the Police so that their frames were more accepted by the public. For a long time, the public was averse against the police. Many old stories appeared in the society saying that in dealing with the police "find a missing ax needle" or police officers who had fat bank accounts and charged motorists illegal fees on roads. The stories were used by the social movements' actors to emphasize their frames in reporting the KPK-Police disputes, which was the disputes aimed to hinder corruption eradication. The police were part of those who did not want Indonesia to be free from corruption. Because of the

circulated bad image and stories about the police, the frames used by the pro-KPK actors were more acceptable to the media than the frame used by the police, stating that the police were changing and determined to clean up the institution from within. Kompas' survey states that 77.3% of the survey's respondents thinks the police is bad, and only 20.8% of the respondents thinks the opposite (Kompas, July 1, 2013). After escaping from the Armed Forces, the police has not been able to enhance their image. A number of corruption cases involving the police's top brass contributed to the pervasiveness of the police's bad image.

Benford and Snow Model

Benford and Snow in their various writings (Benford, 1993; Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow *et al.*, 1986; Snow *et al.* 2007) present another explanation on how media's frames are formed and how they eventually affect the public's frames as well. In contrast to Gamson's model, Benford and Snow's model focuses more on what processes carried out by social movements' actors to make their frames acceptable to the media and ultimately the public. According to Benford and Snow, social movements' actors have diverse views on one issue, so there must be strategic actions to make their respective frames most attractive to the media and the public.

Strategic actions in frame formation consist of four parts. The first part is frame bridging, which refers to the process of connecting two or more ideologies or concepts that are different from the social movement actors'. Through this process, more potential society's members can be recruited to join and support the social movements. The second part is frame amplification, which refers to the process of connecting frames with the values, beliefs, faith, and culture that the society adopts. This process is similar to Gamson's cultural resonance. The third part is frame extension, which relates to preserving and strengthening the frames' longevity. As new frames continuously appear in the society,

it is crucial for movements' actors to keep their frame remembered and supported by the public. The fourth part is frame transformation, which relates to adding and incorporating new values to frames. Social movements' actors follow the developments of new values emerging in the society and incorporate the values to their frames accordingly so that they suit the society.

Simply put, according to Benford and Snow's model, media's frame of an issue is affected by social movements' actors' actions. The actors play an active role in framing an issue until the frame is adopted by the media. Benford and Snow believe that an issue can be seen with different perspectives and frames, all with equally correct reasons and arguments. Therefore, the actors must formulate particular strategies in such a way so that their framing dominate so and receive maximum media coverages. Benford and Snow's model bear similarity and difference with Gamson's model. In terms of the similarity, both models place actors' action as an important part in the process of social movements' frame formation. In regard to the difference, on the other hand, Benford and Snow's model, unlike Gamson's, does not pay any attention to journalists' and media's important role in forming the frame.

Benford and Snow's model has an advantage compared to Gamson's because they describe systematically the process of actors' frame formation until the frame adopted by the public. Nevertheless, this model also has its own weakness, namely placing the media as objects. Media's frames are only seen as a result of the struggle of the social movements' actors. Benford and Snow's model perceives the frames produced by the media as merely descriptive of social movements and its actors. The model does not see journalists as active parties who also take part in constructing events in certain frames.

How does Benford and Snow's model work in the context of this study? This study, on one hand, discovers the process of frame formation, that is how social movements; actors, especially those who support KPK, employed particular frame strategies such as frame bridges, frame amplification, frame extension to frame transfor-

mation. These strategies made the frames produced and circulated by pro-KPK groups attracted more media coverages compared to the frames supporting the police. This study also finds that journalists played an active role in portraying and reporting the events. The journalists interviewed for this study said that in KPK-Police disputes, they inclined to support the KPK rather than the police. Even if there had been no social movements, they would still have reported the disputes in favor of KPK. This finding is also supported by the results of the interviews with the social movements' actors. The interviewees said that they did not make much effort to influence the media. If their frame was more dominantly reported in news outlet, it was due to the similarity of the values shared by the journalists and the social movements' actors. The pro-KPK social movements' actors said that the news about KPK itself had high news value, motivating them to report the case. Because the public hated corruption and supported KPK more, the media coverages' was also more inclined to support KPK. This study shows that journalists and the media actively constructed messages. The pro-KPK media's frame was not only prompted by the pro-democracy actors, but also by the journalists and media.

It is also interesting to see what caused the emergence of the pro-KPK attitude in the media. Did it emerge because of the media's wish to defend the public interest to counter corruption? This study finds that the pro-KPK attitude in the media was due to the interests of the media themselves. The journalists interviewed argued that during the disputes, the relationship between the public and KPK was harmonious. Hence, it would not be possible for the journalists to take positions contrary to their "market's" direction. Furthermore, the KPK-Police disputes had high news value, so the media, with all their capital interests, would present the news as their readers wanted. Based on these considerations, the media would try to find and report the actual condition of the KPK-Police disputes. If, in this case, the media presented pro-KPK news reports, then it should be understood that the media pro-

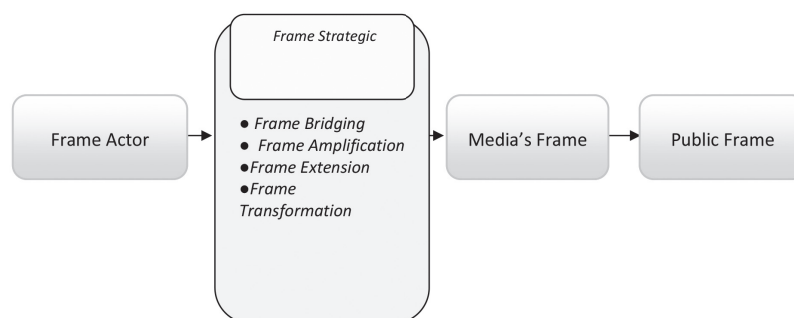


Figure 2. Benford and Snow Model

Source: Benford (1993), Benford & Snow (2000); Snow *et.al* (2007)

trayed the disputes as such due to market considerations, which in this case happened to be in line with the interests of the social movements' actors.

This study demonstrates that the media's attitude in one case must be seen in accordance to their position within the case itself. The media's interest in reporting a case is determined by the media's own interests. The media, within certain limits, will pay attention to how social movements' actors frame an issue, yet it will not become a major consideration in news report. Public demonstration initiated by social movements' actors in Lapindo mud flood case, for instance, was conducted in such a theatrical fashion. Actors covered their whole body with mud or walked from Porong to Jakarta to attract media's attention and coverages. Yet, despite all of this, TV One and ANTV channels did not report the demonstration. The capital interest of the channels' owners is an important consideration in regard to media coverage.

Scheufele Model

Another model explaining the relationship between social movements, media, and public's frames is developed by Scheufele (1999, 2000). This model does not specifically talk about the social movements, but it is more generally about actors that influence media's coverage and how these aspects are related. The author uses this model to explain the relationship between the media, social movements' actors, and public's frames. In general, there are three areas explained by Scheufele's model, namely actor area (2), media area (1) and public area (3). The social movements' actors (2) will try to influence the media (1) so that the actors' championed frames receive most media's coverages. In the end, the media's coverages (1) can influence the public's frame on an issue (3). The strengths of Scheufele's (1999; 2000) model are that it can see the relationship between the actors, media, and pub-

lic in a series of event, where the relationship is visible. The media's frame (1), for example, can be seen to influence the social movements' actors. Conversely, the existing public's frame (3) can also influence the media as the media and journalists live in the society adopting the public's frame. Hence, to certain extent, they will share the values existing in the society.

Scheufele's model describes two frames. The first frame is media frame, which relates to the process of forming frames in the media, with the output in the form of media's coverages. The second frame is individual frame, which relates to the views of individuals, which in this case, on the KPK-Police disputes. As previously explained, Scheufele's model has its own limitation, especially when used to explain social movements' frames in specific. Following this limitation, this study minimizes the weakness and revises the model by adding two aspects in the model. The first aspect is the relationship between the social movements' actors and the media's frame input. In Scheufele's model, the media's frame input and individuals' frame input are described separately. In this revised model, they are described in an interconnected way; the social movements' actors try to influence the media so that their frame will be noticed more by the media and ultimately accepted more by the public.

The second added aspect is the process of frame formation. In Scheufele's model, it is not clearly described how individuals' frame is formed. In this revised model, the frame is described as being formed through a process. The social movements' actors will try to make their frames dominant and accepted by the public. The formation and dissemination processes are not simple, but passed through certain processes, namely frame formation (discursive), frame dissemination (strategic) and making the frame more dominant (contestation). A revision of the Scheufele's model can be seen in the following figure.

How does this Scheufele's model works in the

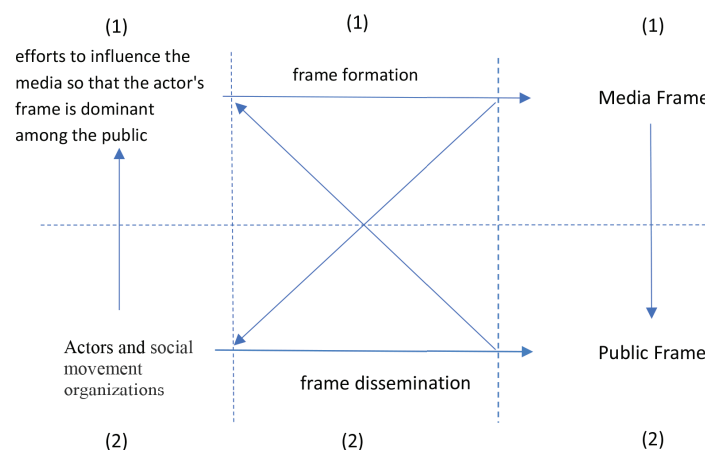


Figure 3. Adaptation of The Scheufele Model
Source: Adaptation from Scheufele (1999), Scheufele (2000).

context of this study? This study reveals that there was an interrelationship between pro-KPK actors, the public, and the journalists/ media. However, this model has its own weakness. The frames of each entity (social movements' actors, media, and public) are seen to be influenced by one entity to another entity. However, what actually happened, as found in this study, was that they were interrelated. In the Scheufele's model, for example, the public's frame is believed to be affected by the media's frame. In fact, on the other hand, the media's frame is also influenced by the public's frame. The public's hatred toward corruption and its bad views about the police, coupled with the public's support for KPK, influenced the media in forming its frame. One example is the relationship between the public's frame and the social movements' actors. In Scheufele's model, the public's frame was only seen as a result of the formation of the social movement actors. The social movement actors actively disseminated frames to public with various strategies. The results of this study unveiled that what happened was the interrelation between the social movement actors and public. The public frame was not solely formed by the social movement actors. The views of the public on KPK and the police have been formed prior to media's coverage, and they indirectly influenced the social movements' actors. They utilized public's support for KPK and used it to formulate social movement' frames. The public here could not simply be viewed as passive objects, but rather as active participants in constructing frames.

Conclusions

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher proposes a model looking at the relationship between social movements' actor, media or journalists, media's frame, and public's frame. This model is a development of Gamson', Scheufele and Benford', and Snow' models. There are two aspects distinguishing the model offered by the author with other models. The first aspect is that each party (social movements' actors, audiences, and media) must be perceived as active participants in constructing reality. In Benford-Snow's

model, on the other hand, the media is simply perceived as passive object. Media's frame, according to Benford-Snow's model, is simply a result of actions conducted by movements' actors. Whereas in reality, the media play certain roles in framing an event independent from the movements' actors. Likewise, the model proposed by Gamson, Scheufele, and Benford and Snow also puts the public as passive object. Public's frame is seen solely as a by product of the frames presented by the media.

In the model offered by the author, all entities (social movement actors, public, and media) are seen as active subjects. They each take part in constructing events. The entities must be perceived as subjects with their own independent thoughts, alignments, and ultimately active role in constructing events. They are not solely as a result of the frame presented by other entities, as described by Gamson', Scheufele' and Benford and Snow' models. As seen in this study, both media and social movements' actors turn out having their own independent views on the Bibit-Chandra case, which happened to be in line with the views of the pro-KPK actors. These views are not caused or affected by the social movements' actors.

In addition to being seen as active subjects, all entities (social movement actors, public and media) must also be seen as interconnected. The social movements' actors are interrelated with the journalists/media organizations (a). The media organizations are interrelated with the media's frames (b). The social movements' actors are interrelated with the public's frames (c). The media's frames are interrelated with the public's frames (d). The journalists/media are interrelated with the public's frames (e). Lastly, the social movements' actors are interrelated with the media's frames (f). These interconnectivity is illustrated by the findings of this study. An example is the relationship between the media's frames and the public's frames. The view of the public is likely to be influenced by the frames presented in the media coverages. Regardless, at the same time, the media coverages are also affected by the prevailing public's frame in countering corruption.

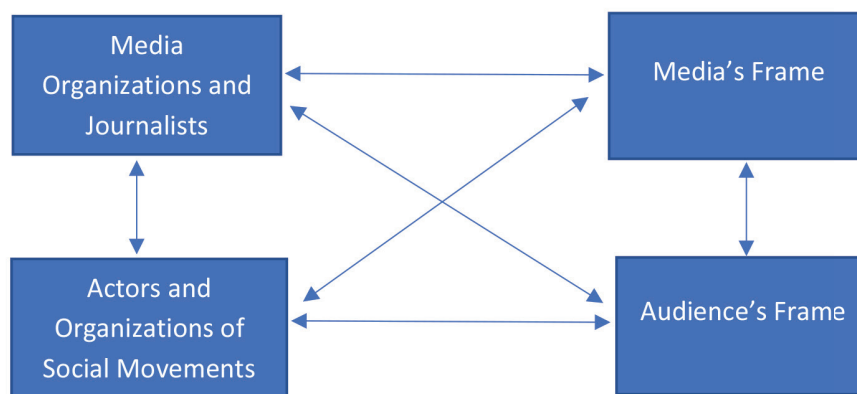


Figure 4. Model Development

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