

**Media Power Relation in The Leadership Succession of Yogyakarta  
Sultanate (Norman Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis to The Program  
“Indonesia Satu” Net.TV Episode of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X)**

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***Abstract***

*Yogyakarta is the title as a "special area", where the monarchy in Yogyakarta recognized in the form of a republic that embraces the democratic system. The specialty of Yogyakarta which has been regulated in Law No. 13 of 2012 requires the Governor of Yogyakarta is the person holding the Sultan of Yogyakarta Palace. Problems in the internal environment of the palace began to emerge when the Sultan HB X does not have a son as heir to the throne of the king. When the Sultan considered prepare his eldest daughter to become heir to the throne, some nobles Keraton reject the decision because it is considered incompatible with "paugeran" prevailing in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. This paper wants to unravel how the leadership succession in Yogyakarta which raises the pros and cons from the perspective of language and power in the media. The method used is the analysis approach waacana critical (critical discourse analysis) model of Norman Fairclough. The purpose of this study is to describe aspects of language used in representing the succession of leadership in Yogyakarta. It also describes the relationship between the ideology of the media, in this case Net.tv with aspects of language are produced, and to describe the social, political, and cultural background aspects of language use. In this study, using the theory about the relation of language, power and ideology of Michel Foucault to see and analyze how the leadership succession in Yogyakarta in the perspective of the media discourse.*

***Keywords: succession, power, media, language, critical discourse analysis***

**Preface**

Yogyakarta, as a special region in Indonesia with the monarchy system which does not recognize the election to determine the Regional Head, is a rare and special measures in this country. In accordance with the mandate of Act No. 13 of 2012 on Privileges Yogyakarta, that which fills the post of Governor of Yogyakarta is the lane, while for the post of Deputy Governor Paku Alam filled by Duke. It's

which became the sole privilege of Yogyakarta compared to other regions in the State Indonesia.

The existence of Act No. 13 of 2012, on the one hand be seen as the central government attempts to regulate the system of government in Yogyakarta, but on the other hand is also a tool which bind to the Sultanate and Pakualaman Yogyakarta. This happens because of the determination of the governor and deputy governor has raised issues relating to the cultural power that holds the Sultan of Yogyakarta Sultanate and political power as the Sultan of Yogyakarta Governor.

In this case, democracy is not forever be in the definitive space, the power of the people for the people. Rather, how the act of sovereignty that actually live in the midst of today's national anomaly. In Yogyakarta who have embraced the monarchy since long in the Yogyakarta Sultanate can run a democratic system. The powers that be in Yogyakarta nature is not within the control of the Sultan's own hands and it has been explained above where since the early days of independence Yogyakarta already had the legislature. Even has embraced the concept of separation of powers or trias politica which divides the power of the state into three branches of power, namely the legislative, executive, and judicative.

If the concept of trias politica drawn into the system prevailing in Yogyakarta never mind there is and has been run. Executive level authority vested in the Governor of Yogyakarta Special Region in this lane is Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X. While the legislative authority held by the Yogyakarta Provincial Parliament, who represent the people of Yogyakarta. The phenomenon of power in Yogyakarta is exciting to be studied further. Especially when problems arise in the internal environment of the palace when Sultan HB X does not have a son as heir to the throne of the king.

Pros and cons emerged as Sultan considered prepare his eldest daughter to become heir to the throne. Most royalty Keraton Yogyakarta reject the decision because it is considered incompatible with "paugeran" prevailing in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. Discourse on the internal conflicts related to the turn of the helm in Yogyakarta and gain widespread media and public attention. The opinions and the opinions of various circles of society appeared in the media with a variety of forms, such as news, dialogue and opinion.

Most forms of media production, including news, manifested in the form of language, because the relationship between language and the media are the two things that can not be separated. Language is one of the media for human communication. With language, humans can express ideas, thoughts, and feelings to others, either directly or with the media. Currently the definition of the language has evolved, not just a means to communicate, but the language has become a media intermediary in the implementation of power through ideology. Language, in modern society has evolved not only as a medium of social control and power, but also accounted for the domination of others by others (Fairclough, 2001: 3).

Language according to Fairclough is the practice of social control and power (2001: 2). Discourse discourse viewed the language as a form of social practice that can be used to magnify the influence of power. Discourse can be a means to marginalize and humiliate a group that does not dominate the discourse. Through the language of a person can be shown to the public good or bad. Language is not interpreted as something neutral that can transmit and represent reality as its original state, but he has been charged power.

The problem of leadership succession in Yogyakarta mentioned above becomes increasingly attractive as it gets publicity of the mass media in Indonesia, both print and electronic. News about these problems in the end, both directly and indirectly float discourse on leadership succession in Yogyakarta. One of the mass media were actively reporting on the discourse of the leadership succession in Yogyakarta is Net.tv. The news spread through the news program as well as the dialogue program. One program Net.tv who raised the issue of leadership succession in Yogyakarta, Indonesia The episode was the show Sultan Hamengkubuwono X.

This paper wants to unravel how the media raised the issue of leadership succession in Yogyakarta from the perspective of language and power. Also to see how the relationship between the ideology of the media, in this case Net.tv with aspects of language are generated, and how the social, political, and cultural aspects of language be used background. So that this issue is important enough to be analyzed and reviewed critically.

### **Problem Identification**

Based on the description of the background issues that have been described above, so that the scope of the discussion in this study is more concentrated, the authors find it necessary to limit the issue of how the discourse on leadership succession in Yogyakarta, especially in terms of the selection of the heir to the throne of the king who once successor government powers Province DIY seen from a theory of language and the power of Michel Foucault.

In this case, the author is more focused approach to the concept of power, discourse, and supervision. Adapaun in detail, can be delivered some formulation of the problem as follows :

1. Aspects of language are to be used Net.tv to represent the succession of leadership in Yogyakarta?
2. What is the relationship between ideology and aspects of language Net.tv generated in representing the succession of leadership in Yogyakarta?
3. The situation of social, political, and cultural aspects of what lies behind all that is used to represent the linguistic leadership succession in Yogyakarta?

### **Research Perspective and Method**

This research uses a critical paradigm or post-structuralist. Research post-structuralist according Saukko (2003: 20) evaluates research in terms of how good the research successfully decipher the language style and social discourse that for a certain time is derived as a 'truth' about the world. While the paradigm of research methodology is a semiotic perspective of material that does not perceive reality as a fixed entity that should be explained (positivist view) or clay symbolic easily formed into realities were different (view prismatic), but rather to understand the relationship between reality and research as the reality that interacts (Saukko, 2003: 28). Thus, although a semiotic perspective of this material to understand that research is not to explain but to 'create' the world, this perspective underlines that reality exists outside research and that reality could 'fight back', making some types of research and conclusions are more likely than others.

While research method used in this research is descriptive qualitative method, a method that ber-tuju-an me-ngenai memberikan systematic

description of data, attributes, and relationships phenomena-phenomenon to be studied. Data analysis technique using Critical Discourse Analysis (Critical Discourse Analysis) Model Norman Fairclough.

### **Reading The Theories**

In this paper, the author use several theories as a foundation text analysis. These theories are used to build models or maps that describe the world (data) as it is. Through theory, can be described and explained how the phenomenon works. In addition, these theories also as a guide in providing a better understanding of issues relating to media relations and leadership succession in Yogyakarta. The theory used in this research is Critical Discourse Model Norman Fairclough (2010), Theory of Language and Power Fairclough (2001) and Theory of Discourse and Power Michel Foucault (1995, 2004). These theories are used as in tune with the issues to be analyzed in the study who used a scalpel this critical discourse analysis. Dalam penelitian ini, penulis menggunakan beberapa teori sebagai dasar pijakan analisa teks. Teori-teori ini berfungsi untuk membangun model atau peta yang menggambarkan dunia (data) seperti apa adanya. Melalui teori, dapat dijelaskan dan diterangkan bagaimana fenomena itu bekerja. Selain itu, teori-teori ini juga sebagai penuntun dalam memberikan pemahaman lebih baik terhadap permasalahan yang berkaitan dengan relasi media dan suksesi kepemimpinan di Yogyakarta. Teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah Wacana Kritis Model Norman Fairclough (2010), Teori Bahasa dan Kekuasaan Fairclough (2001) dan Teori Wacana dan Kekuasaan Michel Foucault (1995, 2004). Teori-teori ini digunakan karena selaras dengan permasalahan yang akan dianalisis dalam penelitian yang menggunakan pisau bedah analisis wacana kritis ini.

### **Government System in Yogyakarta**

Government System in Yogyakarta during the period of recent decades was led by Sultan Hamengkubuwono as governor and Puro Paku Alaman as Deputy Governor. It is regarded as one embodiment of the values of the features present in Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta special about things that are not coming away without the presence of something that happened in the past. Yogyakarta has a history that is

different from other regions when it will be integrated into the Republic of Indonesia. If we want to study the history, Yogyakarta integrated into the Republic of Indonesia is through the Edict of 5 September 1945.

Intimation that are very sacred has been positioned as the Yogyakarta Special Region which is within the frame of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. In the edict, it is clearly said that Yogyakarta is both the royal and privileged status. But in its development, implementation administration built not be royal. Keraton Yogyakarta itself has to change or reform itself in terms of implementing the system of government toward modernization, but did not leave the local cultural wisdom or the existing and evolving.

As we know together, practice Monarchy is government in which power is in one hand and no power sharing. If we refer to the conditions that exist in Yogyakarta today, power can not be on one hand. The powers that be in Yogyakarta nature is not within the control of the Sultan's own hands and it has been explained above where since the early days of independence Yogyakarta already had the legislature. Even has embraced the concept of separation of powers or trias politica which divides the power of the state into three (3) branches of power, namely the legislative, executive, and judiciary.

If the concept of trias politica drawn into the system prevailing in Yogyakarta never mind there is and has been run. Executive level authority vested in the Governor of Yogyakarta Special Region in this lane X. Sultan legally and convincingly been appointed and designated as governor in Yogyakarta based on Law No. 13 of 2012 on Privileges Yogyakarta.

In making regional regulations (Perda), Sultan always together with the DPRD Yogyakarta. It also can be seen on the local regulations in Yogyakarta, for example about the Regulation of Fishery Port Beach (PPP) in Yogyakarta province in it became clear that legislation be made by mutual consent Sultan as governor with the parliament.

It is also often performed Sultan as governor and is no different than other governors in Indonesia. Thus, it can be said that the Sultan always provide accountability report to the people that in this case represented by the parliament (DPRD) of DIY. In addition to their executive agencies that are running the

Government, in Yogyakarta also a legislative institution is the Regional Representatives Council DIY. The legislative body that are a representation of the people and elected by the people unruk escorting a government led by the Governor in this case the Sultan HB X. The duties and powers of the Parliament are: Establishing Provincial Regulation are discussed with the Governor for approval together, establish joint provincial budget Governor, undertaking reviews of the implementation of the Provincial Regulation, request Description Accountability Report (LKPJ) from the Governor.

### **Language, Discourse and Power**

The language in the critical perspective is not interpreted as something neutral that can transmit and present social reality as its original state, but the language is already loaded with power. A large gap between the micro and the text is very narrow with a broad community and large. Language can not be separated from its role as an instrument of social control and power tools. Between language and powers there is a distance or a gap to bring the forces in the text. Language can also be used as a tool to detect ideology in the text, because ideology is closely linked to power. And ideology is also close to the language, because language use is the most common form of social customs (Fairclough, 2001: 2).

The conception of language associated with power is a discourse, is determined by the social constitution in the form of a set of conventions that relate to social institutions (Fairclough, 2001: 14). The phenomenon occurs when people speak the language, listening, writing, or reading, where they were influenced by the community and will impact the community as well.

Power itself is essentially influence and domination. That is the process of influencing others to suit the purpose of the perpetrator (actor). If necessary efforts to influence it is done by force, in addition to the persuasive efforts. The stronger the person's position in the social structure, then the stronger the effect was to be played so that each party will be in power domination.

In the political life of the state, the power of a person or of those in power, spread not just through the means of politics and bureaucracy. Power and ideology in a more distant and effective spreads and actualized through language. Spoken

language often reflect the building and the dominant power. As stated by Habermas (1984), that language is of interest. The interests of anyone who wears it. And those who have the power also to master the language, the language that brings the interests of power.

Through language, the more power can be collected or increasingly influential in all directions. Perpetrators can be converted into objects and objects transformed into the subject. Something which the substance can be transformed into a constitutional unconstitutional and vice versa. All that can happen because of the power that has found a channel through language.

Power and politics are also often play with the level of claims or recognition. The name of development, in the name of equality, on behalf of the constitution and regulations, in the name of custom, on behalf of the State, and so forth. Claims on behalf emerge through language, the language that carries a charge interests of power. Through the language of a rule can create the image of the other parties as subversion, unconstitutional and so forth, which describes the resistance against the nation and the State. However, at the same time, language can also memeberikan noble and positive image of all-round for those who hold power.

### **Foucault Theory of Power and Discourse**

Foucault's notion of power, power relations and knowledge as well as the relation of discourse (discourse) and the history of Western thought and applied widely discussed until now. According to Foucault, the discourse has been producing knowledge, and knowledge has always been a weapon for power, in the discourse of power and knowledge are always present together (Foucault, 2009: 318). Power in Foucault's view is productive and is not visible because it is present in every social relation, is widely practiced, spread and infiltrate into every aspect of human life.

According to Foucault, the relationship between modern forms of power and modern science has created new forms of domination. Because, in addition to the exploitation and domination, there is one form is caused by a discourse, namely subjection (submission form someone at another person as an individual, such as a patient to a psychiatrist). Therefore, you need to learn is an attempt to revive the



local centers of power knowledge, transformation patterns, and attempts to get into the strategy and ultimately make knowledge capable of supporting power. There are no other possibilities outside power. In fact, resistance or resistance actually exists in the realm of power, so-Resistance localize it must be radical and uncompromising against the totality of power. This is due to the resistance is controlled via power and this makes work more effective power.

Foucault argued that each society has its own truth regime, in which each type of acceptable discourse and serves as the truth (2002: 131). One main goal of the rule is to find how humans govern themselves and others by producing truth. Power does not always work through the repressive ways and intimidation but instead works through the rules and normalization. Every rule and the law is not seen as a result of the provisions of the leader or institution but as a synthesis of the power of everyone born since the agreement. All the rules born of the consensus together have more strength in life together.

Foucault's critique of some social institutions (especially psychiatry, prisons, hospitals) and sexuality have great influence in the social sciences. Foucault theory related to social institutions one of them is the theory of the Panopticon (The panoptic Machine Theory). In this theory Foucault convey the idea of prison guards designed to be able to continuously monitor the prisoners. This prison was designed with the control tower in the middle which allows a supervisor to see and supervise the prisoners in all the cells of prisoners without the prisoners know if supervisors really are inside the control tower (Storey, 2009: 131).

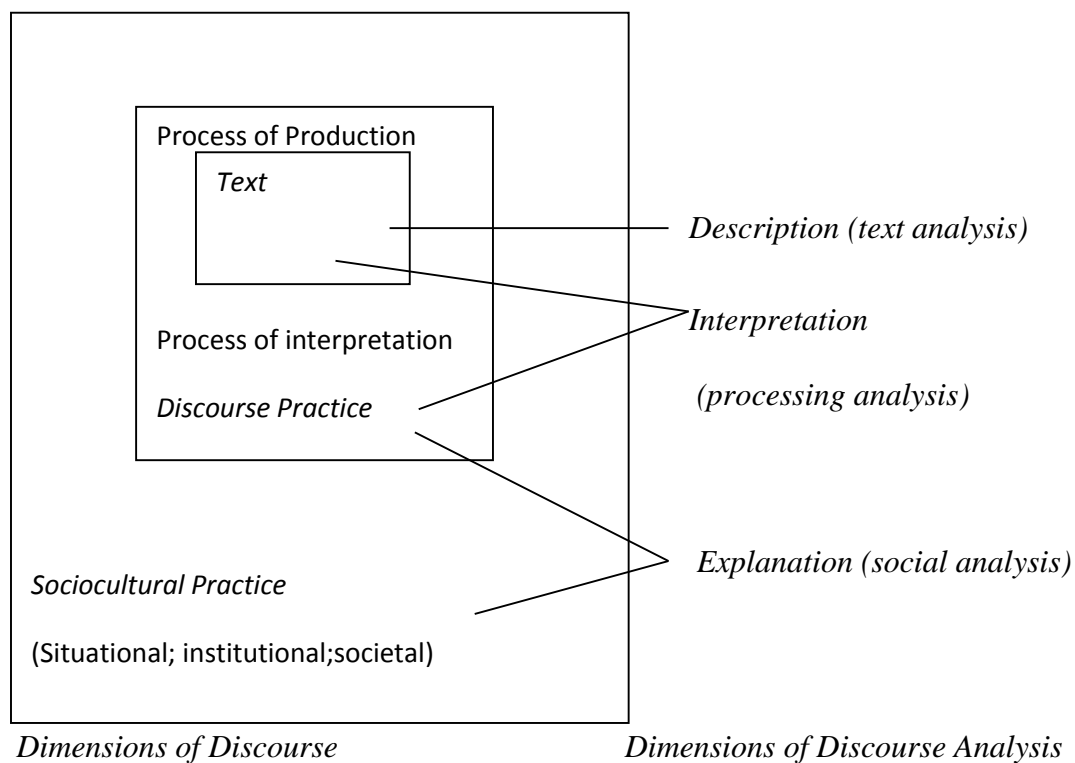
Because the prisoners who felt constantly monitored, surveillance (surveillance) turned into a 'self-policing' (self-surveillance) or 'self-discipline' (self-discipline). Penetrated into various institutions and since the 19th century put the individual in the power of discipline through 'self-policing' that constantly, translucent powerless and anonymous. Practice discipline expected delivery bodies obedient. This is not only happening in prisons, but also in education, the workplace, the military, and so on further developing Community according to military discipline. Foucault thought that in the era of monarkial each process new criminal punishment to be taken seriously when it involves the element of torture the body in its implementation.

Panopticon is revealed in a prison tower as the center is the physical form of the instrument. Given this Panopticon power warden to be very large because the prisoners tried to restrain themselves. They fear monitored. The presence of the structure itself already is a mechanism of power and discipline are outstanding (Storey, 2009: 132-133).

### **Critical Discourse Analysis Model Norman Fairclough**

Critical Discourse Analysis is an analysis based on the data in the form of language. Critical Discourse Analysis seeks to describe and give an explanation of a text associated with the existing social reality. Text and language have a tendency to become a tool of knowledge and power to achieve the desired objectives. This means that in a text or a particular language, there is always the context that can not be separated from their interests.

Theoretical framework used in this study is a discourse analysis approach to Norman Fairclough, known as the three-dimensional discourse analysis. What is meant by this three-dimensional discourse analysis is the analysis that involved three levels of analysis: (1) analysis of texts or textual (micro), the description of the text; (2) the analysis of discourse or discourse practice (meso), that interpretation (interpretation) the relationship between the production process of discourse and text; (3) analysis of the socio-cultural or sociocultural practice (macro), which is an explanation (explanation) the relationship between the discourse of the social processes (Fairclough, 2001: 21; 2010: 132). More clearly, Fairclough conveyed his ideas about critical discourse in the following diagram :



### **Norman Fairclough Discourse Analysis Diagram**

Source : Fairclough (2010: 133)

The first dimension is the dimension of micro within the framework of critical discourse analysis Fairclough is the dimension text analysis. Text-dimensional analysis includes traditional forms of linguistic analysis, and semantic analysis of vocabulary, grammar and sentence smaller units, and system sounds (phonology) and the writing system. Fairclough mark on all of them as 'linguistic analysis', although it uses the term in view of the expanded (Fairclough, 2010: 134).

The second dimension is within the framework of critical discourse analysis is Norman Fairclough kewacanaan dimension (discourse practice). In this dimension of analysis, interpretation done to the processing of discourse that includes aspects of income, deployment, and use of text. Some of the aspects that have a more institutional character, while others such as the processes of use and deployment of the discourse. With regard to the processes of institutional,

Fairclough refers to routine procedures such institutions are involved in income editors of media texts (Fairclough, 2010: 135).

The third dimension is the analysis of the socio-cultural practices in the media critical discourse analysis Norman Fairclough is a macro-level analysis is based on the idea that the social context that exists outside the media se, verily affect how the existing discourse in the media. Editorial or journalist is not a field or a sterile empty space, but is also determined by factors outside the media itself (Fairclough, 2010: 136). Fairclough states that social practices have various orientations, such as economic, political, social, cultural, ideological, and so forth, and discourse is a picture of all these problems.

The use of aspects of language in this study refers to the analysis of texts or defined as a form of utilization of aspects of language, from the aspect of morphological, syntactic, and in the context of dialogue and speech about leadership succession in Yogyakarta. In other words, linguistic expressions can also be defined as an effort to utilize the tools expressed or language used in reporting cases above.

While the terms of representation in this study refers to how an individual, group, idea, or any opinions featured in the media. The representation is a linguistic event. How does one shown, can occur in the first place by using language. Through language acts of this representation is shown by the media and presented in the news.

## **Analysis and Discussion**

### **Transliteration Results Subtitles “Indonesia Satu” Sultan Hamengkubuwono X Episode**

From recording the dialogue that occurs in the event program in Net.tv episode Indonesian One lane X, do transliteration conversations pertaining to issues

surrounding succession in Yogyakarta to get the subtitles that can be analyzed. The results of transliteration are as follows :

1. How to address the matter of surrogate family Sultan later?
2. GKR Hemas "For me it is the prerogative of appointing him as Sultan anyone who would later replace him".
3. GKR Pembayun "It's a lot asked me and then build their own discourse. But we in the family has never been no such discussions. "
4. Sultan HB X "The education system is built palace has its drawbacks, because men are much more independent than girls. So the girls better to study overseas "
5. Sultan has 5 daughters, then later by Sultan who?
6. Sultan HB X "If people want men maybe it could happen. But if people now appreciate the role of women in society as the power to proceed, please. I have not been able to determine ".
7. If a man mean who gets?
8. Sultan HB X "I would never say. Certain factors are also taken into consideration. Community factors have a view can be a role model or not, in the vision and thought he was normal or not. There is no resistance. However times have changed "
9. So all that will be thrown to the public?
10. Sultan HB X "used to essentially the royal palace of Yogyakarta. Now the existence of Keraton Yogya is part of the Republic of Indonesia. If the existence of the palace would exist, must feel close, feel to be one part with their peoples ".
11. Yogya People have such close contact with the Sultan, so when asked to come gini come so that by.
12. Is Indonesia must have good people who respected and admired as Sultan now?
13. Sultan HB X "the public needs a leader who needs to be believed, but in the party leaders also how he could be trusted to act for the people".

14. I also was curious about the successor to this court, because I've heard that the Sultan to talk if indeed she needed yes does nothing, it is what is the difference between women and men.
15. But there is a saying that the Sultan should be a priest.
16. Sultan HB X "position of the palace is now not like before, first form of government, there is a wide authority, including his own subjects. Now the palace is only a preserver of culture, not to talk politics again, not to speak of power again".
17. Sultan HB X "Sultan Sultan any title or Sunan only heads of families in a context of a particular clan. Keraton it just an artifact, whose role it is inside the palace, because there is no life that is human".
18. If the Sultan could not emulate, is also beneficial to the community? Even if he could be a priest, ya do not.
19. If allowed to rate Jeng Sari who seems to have a very exist in the community, very close to the community.
20. Sultan HB X "Well it is a process, so be it. It was one of dedication my children have served all in the community.
21. The process was something very decisive, not only see the results but never viewed the process. Because the process of finalizing it that someone with all the love, sorrow, failure and success.

### **Micro Analysis of Leadership Succession in Yogyakarta**

From a variety of linguistic tools used in the event program Net.tv dialogue "One Indonesia" episode of Sultan HB X, there are three tools that marks the representation of leaders involved in the event at the top. First, cohesion and coherence, which is intended to show how the clause shaped up to be a sentence, and the way the sentence is formed to form a larger unit. Interwoven in this analysis can be seen through the use of lexical repetition (repetition), synonyms, antonyms, pronouns, conjunctions, and others. Below is an analysis of the linguistic aspects.

Dari berbagai alat kebahasaan yang digunakan Net.tv dalam program acara dialog “Satu Indonesia” episode Sultan Hamengku Buwono X, terdapat tiga alat yang menandai representasi tokoh yang terlibat dalam acara tersebut di atas. *Pertama*, kohesi dan koherensi, yang ditujukan untuk menunjukkan cara klausa dibentuk hingga menjadi kalimat, dan cara kalimat dibentuk hingga membentuk satuan yang lebih besar. Jalinan dalam analisis ini dapat dilihat melalui penggunaan leksikal, pengulangan kata (repetisi), sinonim, antonim, kata ganti, kata hubung, dan lain-lain. Di bawah ini adalah analisis dari aspek kebahasaan tersebut.

The use of diction "replacement Emperor", "who gets" and "successor palace" have Net.tv to submit the question of leadership succession in the Yogyakarta Palace clearly and conspicuously. This shows how Net.tv as the media trying to dig up information about leadership succession in Yogyakarta and present them directly to the audience so that the information can be easily accepted by society. In addition, in the event was also shown to the audience a few words that contain the denotation meaning (metaphor) or words which have equivalents in other words, like “prerogative”, “build their own discourse”, and "resistance ". The words are used to build the public opinion on the issue of leadership succession in Yogyakarta. The words and idioms above can be seen in a few sentences below :

1. How to address the matter of **surrogate family Sultan** later?
2. If male mean **who's going to get**?
3. I also was curious about the **successor to this court**?
4. "For me it is the **prerogative of appointing** him as Sultan anyone who would later replace him".
5. "Indeed, many who ask me and then **build their own discourse**. But we in the family has never been no such discussions. "
6. "I would never say. Certain factors are also taken into consideration. Community factors have a view can be a role model or not, in the vision and thought he was normal or not. There is no **resistance**. However times have changed "

From the grammatical analysis in critical analysis is more emphasis on the corner of clauses contained in the discourse. This clause is analyzed from the point of transitivity, themes, and modalitasnya. Transitivity analyzed to determine the use of the verb construct clause if the clause is active or passive clauses, and how its significance if using nominalizations. The use clause active, passive, or

nominalizations impact on perpetrators, the assertion causes, or reasons of accountability and more. Examples of the use of active clause always puts the main actors, in this case the Sultan HB X, GKR Hemas, and Host (Host) as a theme at the beginning of the clause. Some sentences that use active clause to highlight the role of the main actors in this dialogue is as follows :

1. GKR Hemas "**For me** it is the prerogative of appointing him as Sultan anyone who would later replace him"
2. Sultan HB X "**I** have not been able to determine"
3. Sultan HB X "**I** would never say. Certain factors are also taken into consideration"
4. HOST "**I'm** still curious about the successor of this court"

While the elements of the theme is the analysis of the theme that aims to see struktur thematic text. In this analysis analyzed emerging themes and background appearance. These representations relate to what part of the sentence that is more prominent than the other part. In this theme elements of the theme of leadership succession in Yogyakarta most dominating in the dialogue.

While the modalities are used to indicate the level of knowledge or authorization of an utterance. Fairclough saw modalities as forming social relationships are able to interpret the attitude and power. Example: use of the modality in the discourse on leadership in general will be found the majority of modalities that have meaning orders and requests as the modalities have to, have to, have to, let, and others. Analysis of this theme can be seen in a few sentences below:

1. How to address **the matter of surrogate family Sultan later?**
2. GKR Hemas "**For me it is the prerogative of appointing him as Sultan anyone who would later replace him**".
3. GKR Pembayun "It's a lot asked me and then build their own discourse. **But we in the family has never been no such discussions** (on a successor to the Sultan) ".
4. Sultan has 5 daughters, then later **by the Sultan who (which will be the successor Sultan)?**
5. Sultan HB X "**If people want men maybe it could happen. But if people now appreciate the role of women in society as the power to proceed, please. I have not been able to determine** ".



6. If a man **mean who gets (throne palace)?**
7. Sultan HB X "I would never say. **Certain factors are also taken into consideration. Community factors have a view can be a role model or not, in the vision and thought he was normal or not. There is no resistance.** However times have changed "
8. So **all of that (succession) will be thrown into the community?**
9. Sultan HB X "**the public needs a leader who needs to be believed, but in the party leaders also how he could be trusted to act for the people**".
10. **I also was curious about the successor to this court**, because I've heard that the Sultan to talk if indeed she needed yes does nothing, it is what is the difference between women and men.
11. But there is a saying that **the Sultan should be a priest.**
12. Sultan HB X "**position of the palace is now not like before, first form of government, there is a wide authority, including his own subjects. Now the palace is only a preserver of culture, not to talk politics again, not to speak of power again** ".
13. **If the Sultan could not emulate, is also beneficial to the community?**  
Even if he could be a priest, ya do not.

### **Meso Analysis of Leadership Succession in Yogyakarta**

Net.tv television station is one of the free to air television is still new in the arena of Indonesian television. Net.tv which stands News and Entertainment Television officially introduced to the public on March 26, 2013. The market share of the targeted net.tv are families and young audiences. Net.tv owned terrestrial network is the result of acquisition of shares of ownership of PT. Children's Television Spacatoon by PT. Net Mediatama and Indika Group in March 2013. Under the banner of PT. Net Mediatama, Net.tv overhauled impressions Spacatoon program into several programs that directly get the attention of television viewers in Indonesia.

Some programs in Net.tv consist of News and Talk Show program like Indonesia Morning Show, Net 5, Net 24, Indonesia Morning Show, It's Talkshow, and one Indonesian. There is also a program of entertainment events such as The Comment, Celebrity Lipsync, Berpacu Dalam Melodi and Bukan Sekedar Wayang. For the music program, Net.tv rely Breakout, Music Everywhere and Gebyar BCA.

There was also a program like 86 reality show, Just Duet, Melamar, and Custom Protection.

Diversity and creativity programs Net.tv crew to show events that are "different" with other television stations make Net.tv as one of the most attractive television station in Indonesia. Under the leadership of Managing Director Wishnutama Kusubandio ever joined Trans Group, and Agus Lasmono as a Commissioner who also served as Independent Commissioner of SCTV, today Net.tv has grown rapidly. With a mission to be the medium of television is more advanced and modern, Net.tv has become the "economic engine" for the owners of capital.

### **Macro Analysis of Leadership Succession in Yogyakarta**

Social and political situation that occurs when the program aired Indonesia Satu Episode Sultan HB X in November 2014 can not be separated contexts build the event program. As we all know that lasted throughout 2014 legislative elections and presidential elections, which ultimately resulted in the representatives of the people and the new leaders in Indonesia. The whole event received extensive coverage from various media in Indonesia including Net.tv.

In addition to the above, the political situation in relation to the above news is that when viewing the event, the political situation in Indonesia is being warmed up before the Regional Head Election (Pilkada) simultaneously in 2015. In the context of Yogyakarta, which does not recognize the election regional head (governor) directly into appealing to the public. In accordance with the provisions of Law No. 13 Year 2012 on Privileges Yogyakarta, stated that the Governor and Deputy Governor of DIY is a person who serves as Sultan in Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Duke of Paku Alam in Pakualaman.

The specialty of Yogyakarta becomes interesting discussed when Sultan HB X does not have a son as heir to the throne of the palace of Yogyakarta, as well as political power successor as governor in DIY. This raises the question and provoke the public opinion of who will replace the position of Sultan HB X if one day he

died. Opinion of the nobles and the people of Yogyakarta Keraton being split into two camps. The first party is not concerned if the heir is the eldest daughter of Yogyakarta Sultanate Sultan HB X, namely GKR Pembayun. But the other parties oppose this opinion, because according to the customs and habits from generation to generation in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, the king of Yogyakarta Sultanate was once a priest religion of Islam to the people of Yogyakarta, which means to be a man.

Problems change of leadership in Yogyakarta has become tricky because people who become surrogate Sultan HB X will hold two powers at once. As the king of Yogyakarta Sultanate, Sultan was the ruler of cultural, as well as the Governor of Yogyakarta who hold political power. In this case, as time goes by Sultan HB X on several occasions stated that the Sultanate of Yogyakarta should be able to follow the development of the era, in which the Sultanate of Yogyakarta as part of the Republic of Indonesia should be subject to the provisions of the current constitution. Sultan HB X also ask the people of Yogyakarta should be receptive to democracy and gender equality, where women have the right to be the leader.

Although not directly related, but we could conclude on this show program aired in Net.tv, closely related to the presence of Net.tv as the national media who have economic interests. Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta is one of the potential areas for impressions Net.tv event, because in Yogyakarta gathered thousands of students from all provinces in Indonesia. Yogya is a miniature of Indonesia of economically and politically is very high. By mastering the market Yogyakarta, Net.tv will be increasingly recognized and growing. This is why in impressions Indonesia Episode One Sultan HB X, Net.tv trying to show the Sultan in the best position as Governor of Yogyakarta and the King of Yogyakarta Sultanate.

National television is a "stage" for everyone to perform and views of society. By appearing at the event, Sultan HB X given the stage to give his opinion on the opinions and leadership succession in Yogyakarta. With a semi-documentary format, Indonesia One can freely provide space for Sultan HB X to reveal the

justifications for the leadership of women under the pretext of modernization, feminism, and democracy.

## **Discussion**

From the critical discourse analysis of the program shows “Indonesia Satu” Episode of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X above discussion can be done by using the theoretical basis that has been submitted previously. From the standpoint of the theory of language, discourse and power. Through language, the more power can be collected or increasingly influential in all directions. Perpetrators can be converted into objects and objects transformed into the subject. Something which the substance can be transformed into a constitutional unconstitutional and vice versa. All that can happen because of the power that has found a channel through language.

In the case of this study, we can see how a Sultan use language that is contrary to the truth. As the interview excerpts show episode One Indonesian Sultan HB X in which he said that *"The position of the palace is now not like before, first form of government, there is a wide authority, including his own subjects. Now the palace is only a preserver of culture, not to talk politics again, not to speak of power again "*. From excerpts of the interview, it can be seen that the palace of Yogyakarta Sultan expressed a position that does not have political authority. Though the position of the Sultan as the king of Yogyakarta Sultanate according to the provisions of Law No. 13 of 2012 on Privileges Yogyakarta, Sultan was once Governor of Yogyakarta, where the post of governor in the province the same as in other areas in Indonesia, namely as the holder of political power in the province.

Power and politics are also often play with the level of claims or recognition. In the issue of leadership succession in Yogyakarta came the claim language, the language that carries a charge interests of power. Claims on behalf of society and the equal rights of men and women can be found in the dialogue that occurs in this event, that *"If people want men maybe it could happen. But if people now appreciate*

*the role of women in society as the power to proceed, please".* From the use of language in the sentence, as if Sultan justify the name of the people and the participation of women in public life, including to become a leader.

## **Conclusion**

The results showed that the aspects of language diction, use of the phrase, and the selection of the grammar used Net.tv has put the theme of leadership succession in Yogyakarta as something not to worry about the entire community. Besides aspects of language have also been put figures and institutions Sultan palace and the governor in a positive representation. It is closely related to the use of language and mastery of discourse becomes a tool for the authorities to perpetuate its hegemony. The media, in this case the television as profit agency that has economic interests will never escape from the matter of profit and loss. By providing a platform for leaders like Sultan HB X, Net.tv expect the economic interest in DIY can be maintained and controlled with good relations with local authorities.

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