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Framing Analysis on Online Media of News Coverage of Protests Against Indonesia's Omnibus Law on Job Creation Act

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Abstract— The ratification of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation Act in Indonesian House of Representatives plenary session sparked a three-day wave of protests across the country. Numerous cities witnessed massive demonstrations by workers, students, and civil society activists from various organizations. As the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Act is considered to have a negative impact on workers or laborers, this ratification was rejected by various segments of society. This phenomenon has been widely reported by news outlets, including heavy coverage in online media such as *Kumparan.com*. The purpose of the study was to determine *Kumparan.com*'s news frame in terms of media functions for covering protests against the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Act from October 3 to October 9, 2020. The news was analyzed using the Pan and Kosicki framing analysis. This study employs qualitative content analysis on the *Kumparan.com* article for the period of October 3 to October 9, 2020. In this study, the research method employing the Pan and Kosicki's Framing Analysis model operationalizes the four structural dimensions of the news text as a framing device: syntactic structure, structural scripts, thematic structures, and rhetorical structures. Using triangulation techniques and the hierarchy theory and social media construction theories, the existence of a phenomenon-formed public opinion is determined. This study found that the news reported by *Kumparan.Com* for the period of October 3 to October 9, 2020 regarding demonstrations against the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Act resulted in the formation of negative public opinion, which was indirectly written on the news and seemed to lead readers to conclude that the policy is solely for the government's benefit and not for the betterment of society.

Keywords— Framing; hierarchy theory; new media; social construction of mass media.

I. INTRODUCTION

The acceleration of the Indonesian government's plan to ratify the Job Creation Bill, combined with the completion of the first trial on October 5, 2020, sparked a three-day demonstration that resulted in mass action, riots, and clashes with police. These protests took place not only in Jakarta, the country's capital, but also in Medan, Yogyakarta, Malang, Kendari, and other cities. The emergence of protests is thought to have a negative impact on the workforce or laborers. There are fundamental issues with the content of articles related to the centralization of presidential power, anti-environment, agricultural liberalization, neglect of human rights, and neglect of the legislative procedure with the passage of the Job Creation Act. [1]

This study addresses the issue of journalists' and editors' reporting of events. Online media can report on a single event in dozens of articles. When editors from online media have limited time to check material prior to posting the news, the credibility of the news is weakened if it is demanded to be released immediately in a context where the internet can rapidly spread disinformation [2]. The hierarchy of influence theory [3] and the theory of social construction of mass media were used by the researchers [4]. This theory is used to examine how social reality shapes public opinion about a phenomenon as a result of internal and external influences.

The Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki model is employed to analyze the news, and the researcher uses a qualitative method to examine the framing of words, pictures, and 5W+1H completeness in detail, so that they understand

the news that the audience sees in terms of sentence structure and rhetoric that stands out as a way for journalists to construct reality. The Pan and Kosicki framing model has four structures (syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical) that are appropriate for reviewing news or events that have been reconstructed from news texts, words, and symbols by journalists and editors of *Kumparan.com*. *Kumparan* is a new media in Indonesia with the right format and content for all generations of the population [5]. As a result, news elements concerning protests against the Omnibus Law on Job Creation Act influence the meaning of reality. Furthermore, researchers can see the role of *Kumparan.com* media in providing community information.

Based on the above description, the researcher raises the issue of how *Kumparan.com* frames the news in reporting the protest against the omnibus law on the Draft Law on Job Creation in terms of media functions for the period 03-09 October 2020. The purpose of this study is to determine the news frame of *Kumparan.com* in reporting demonstrations against the Omnibus Law on Job Creation in terms of media functions from 03 to 09 October 2020 using framing analysis using the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki method.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Omnibus Law on Job Creation

The Omnibus Law on Job Creation intends to promote international and domestic investment and generate jobs by increasing the ease of doing business, particularly by reducing the cost of launching a corporation and minimizing red tape and bureaucratic details in investing. The goal of enacting this

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Job Creation Law was to improve the investment or business climate, beginning with MSMEs, Regional-owned Enterprises, State-owned Enterprises, and large-scale industries, so that they can grow and develop together in order to accommodate more jobs, improve workforce quality, and protect the labor force. The Omnibus Law also seeks to facilitate, support, and incentivise industry in Indonesia. The Job Creation Law focuses on 11 substances; 1) Simplification of licensing procedures; 2) Investment requirements; 3) Labor force; 4) Ease (in obtaining permits) for empowerment and protection of MSMEs; 5) Ease of doing business; 6) Research support and innovation; 7) Government administration; 8) Imposition of sanctions; 9) Land procurement; 10) Investment and government projects; and 11) Economic zones [6].

Amid the optimism against the ratification of Job Creation Law, there have been various criticisms against the Law. It is believed that the timing was not right to ratify the act so quickly, amidst the Covid-19 pandemic with the slowdown in investment. Labourers also reject the law as it is regarded to be counterproductive for them. It is also considered potentially harmful the environmental, social, and governance. The environmental issues are the most highlighted in which the Law provides easy shortcuts to the environmental licensing, so it is feared that the Law creates the worse business climate by not paying attention to environmental sustainability. [7].

B. New Media

The term information media (new media) refers to the advancement of digital technology, computers, and other technological and communication advances. New media is media that is created and shaped by people. Technology evolves. Media technology has the potential to transform as a result of these changes to alter an existing culture using new media [8].

McQuail [9] also discusses the key features that distinguish new and old (conventional) media from the user's perspective, namely: Interactivity: indicated by the response ratio or initiative Social presence: experienced by users, sense of personal contact with other people can be created through the use of a (new) media can bridge differences in terms of reference, reduce ambiguity, provide cues, be more sensitive, and personal. Autonomy: a user feels in control of the content and use it and is independent of the source. Playfulness: used for entertainment and enjoyment. Privacy: associated with the user of the medium and the selected content. Personalization: the degree to which media content and use are personal and unique. New media or digital media is used as a means of marketing communication because new media has speed in interaction, is more efficient, inexpensive, and very easy to get the latest or updated information.

Online journalism "has no deadlines" like the print media. The deadline for online journalism-in the sense of "latest publication" is "a few minutes or even seconds" after the incident took place. Online journalism is characterized by some journalistic practices that take into account various media formats (multimedia) to compose coverage content, allowing for interaction between journalists and their audience

and connecting various news elements with other online sources [2].

C. Social Construction of Mass Media

Regarding the meaning of mass media, McQuail [10] proposes the functions of mass media in everyday lives. The first is that media is an industry. Media continues to evolve along with technological developments and create jobs, goods and services. On the other hand, the media industry is regulated by society. Media acts as a source of power namely management control tools and innovation in society. Communicators make media as a substitute for strength, shield, or other resources, in real life. Next, media becomes a place of information that displays community life events, both domestically and internationally. Media also acts as a vehicle for the development of culture. Through the media a person can develop his knowledge of the old culture, as well as gaining an understanding of the new culture. Media presents normative values and judgments combined with news and entertainment shows. Media has become the dominant resource for individuals, groups and the general public.

From a broader viewpoint, news on the media is the result of an effort to describe an event, circumstance, or object, as an attempt to construct reality. The term social construction of reality was used by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann in their book *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* [11]. Humans create and interpret social reality. Berger and Luckmann's theory of the building of social reality was revised by Burhan Bungin in his work titled *Social Media Mass Construction: The Power of Influence of Mass Media, Television Advertising, and Consumer Decisions and Criticism of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann* [4]. The objective of "social media construction" is to repair flaws in substance and complete the "social construction of reality," wherein the rapid and widespread distribution of information leads to rapid and widespread social construction. Thus, created reality will ultimately shape public opinion. Based on these premises, the entire substance of mass media is a created reality that creates the mass construction of social media.

D. The Hierarchy of Influence Theory

The Hierarchy of Influence theory is a theory that explains the factors that influence news content in the mass media. Shoemaker and Reese [3] in the book *Mediating The Message: Theory Influences on Mass Media Content* see why the mass media have differences and similarities in their coverage. In this theory, how news is formed is not only influenced by journalists/internals, but also externally. Shoemaker and Reese divide into several levels the influence of media content that influences editorial policy in the news production process, namely:

1. Individual level, which is related to media professional background. This factor sees the personal of the media manager influencing the news that will be presented to the public, especially regarding the direction of the news and the elements that are reported. One of the factors that shape the individual level of this hierarchy of influence theory is the background factor and characteristics. For

1. example, gender, age, religion, education, or even a tendency to a particular political party.
2. Media routines, which are related to the mechanism in the process of determining news. Each media has its own standard criteria or procedures for the news to be published, such as what is included in the news and its characteristics. Media routines are habits of a media in packaging and a news.
3. Organizational level, which relates to media organizations that hypothetically influence reporting. Each component in the media organization such as editorial, marketing, and circulation certainly has its own interests so that they are not always in line. That way, they will be involved in a dialectical process to defend their respective interests. This will affect how journalists behave and how an event is presented in the news. The organizational level is more influential than the previous level because the largest policy is held by media owners through editors in a media. So the policy makers in a media in determining a news story are still held by the media owner.
4. Extramedia level, which is related to external media factors. The influence comes from outside the media organization, such as news sources, advertisers and audiences, government control, and so on.
5. Ideological level, which relates to the professional background of the media manager. This level relates to a person's conception or position in interpreting reality in a news story. This ideology is related to the political, economic, cultural aspects of the country where the mass media is located.

III. METHODOLOGY

The study employs the model of framing analysis developed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki which is characterized by the use of syntactic structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetorical structure [12]. By using Pan and Kosicki framing, the meaning of the Kumparan.com media regarding demonstrations against the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Act can be explored in detail. The data source of the analysis is news reports on demonstrations against Omnibus Law on Job Creation Act in Kumparan.Com online media for the period of 03 October to 09 October 2020, resulting in 7 news articles for analysis.

TABLE I. Pan and Kosicki's Framing Analysis Model Scheme

Structure	Framing Elements	Units Of Analysis
SYNTACTIC How the journalist arranges the facts	The News scheme	Headline, lead, background information, source quotes, statements, closing.
SCRIPT How the journalist expresses the facts	The completeness of news elements	5W+1H
SCRIPT How the journalist writes the facts	Detail Coherence Sentence structure Pronouns	Paragraphs, propositions, sentences, sentence conjunctions
RHETORIC How the journalist stresses the facts	Lexicons Graphics/visuals Metaphors	Words, idioms, pictures, graphics.

The analysis was done starting from using signs, the completeness of the news elements (5W+1H) to the way journalists tell and emphasize these facts. The model scheme of Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis as the basis of this research is presented in Table I.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the data collection, 7 news articles are processed further for analysis using Pan and Kosicki's method. These 7 news articles focus on protests and demonstrations held in cities across Java Island, which is where the country's capital Jakarta is located, and is the most populous island where 62% of the country's population live, despite only being 7% of Indonesia's total land mass [13]. From the analysis, it was found that amidst the pandemic, it seems that the government measures only support the authorities and have a negative effect on workers or laborers due to the influence of the news media, as detailed below.

A. News Analysis I

News Title: *Permanent Labor Rejects Job Creation Law, Will Sue to the Constitutional Court* [14].

The syntactic structure can be seen in this news, is that the labor union will sue the Job Creation Act, they are preparing a judicial review of the policy to the Constitutional Court. There is an assessment of the universal sweep policy which focuses more on business actors than workers of the Confederation of Indonesian Trade Unions (KSPI) and several other trade unions consistently rejecting the seven main points in the Job Creation Law. "From the start, we consistently refused, we thought it might be postponed. From the statement it appears that the interviewees only expressed disappointment in rejecting the Job Creation Act and would prepare a judicial review proposal to the Constitutional Court, but the researcher stated that the sweeping universe policy was more concerned with business actors than workers. Namely a statement related to "Currently there is no numbering of the law, yes, when it is there, we are ready to submit a judicial review to the Constitutional Court, we are preparing the legal basis for a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court," Andi said.

Script Structure analysis shows that as a news item, this article has fulfilled all the 5W+1H elements. Elements of 5W+1H have been answered in this article.

Thematic Structure is present from the beginning of the first, second, and third sentences, contains the opinion of the researcher regarding the rejection of the Job Creation Bill and the Constitutional Court's lawsuit by Andi Gani, a representative from KSPI. The third, fifth, and seventh sentences to the end are in the form of opinions from researchers regarding the 7 main points of the Job Creation Law that KSPI rejects. An excerpt from Andi Gani's direct statement contains the workers' disappointment with the ratification of the Job Creation Bill and the workers are preparing a lawsuit to the Constitutional Court. And this news closes with a paragraph of opinion from news researchers.

Rhetorical Structure seen in the use of the word "beleid sweep universe" at the beginning of the sentence is a draft of the Omnibus Law or the Job Creation Law, which states that

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the omnibus law prioritizes business actors rather than workers.

B. News Analysis 2

News Title: *Jokowi: The Job Creation Law is Passed due to Urgent Work Needs* [15].

The syntactic structure, it can be seen that this news is Jokowi's statement regarding the ratification of the Job Creation Law because the need for new jobs is very urgent: "So the Job Creation Law aims to provide as many job opportunities as possible for job seekers and unemployed people." That is a statement related to "So the need for new jobs is very urgent," said Jokowi during a virtual press conference. The source also provided opinions related to Jokowi's statement in making it easier for the community and MSME groups to open new businesses. Jokowi claims that the Job Creation Law will make it easier for the community, especially groups of MSME actors, to open new businesses. While the written title is " *Jokowi: The Job Creation Law is Passed due to Urgent Work Needs.*" The news lead filled with President Jokowi finally opened his voice after the increasing wave of protests, following the ratification of the Job Creation Law, which was passed by the DPR.

Script Structure, this article has fulfilled the 5W+1H elements as a news article. Elements of 5W + 1 H have been answered in this article.

Thematic structure can be seen from the sentences. The second sentence is a direct quote from President Jokowi regarding the pressure for new jobs. "So the need for new jobs is very urgent," said Jokowi. The fourth sentence is a direct quote from President Jokowi regarding the Job Creation Law which aims to provide job opportunities. The sixth sentence is directly quoted by President Jokowi regarding the regulation and licensing of MSMEs. The seventh sentence is the opinion of the researcher. President Jokowi indirectly related the decision to ratify the Job Creation Law because the need for new jobs was very urgent.

Rhetorical Structure seen in the image presented of photos of the union of labor alliances held a demonstration against the Job Creation Act or the Omnibus Law at the Bogor Regency Government Office, Cibinong, Bogor, West Java.

C. News Analysis 3

News Title: *I See that Protests on the Job Creation Law are Based on Hoaxes on Social Media.* [16].

The syntactic structure can be seen in this news. President Jokowi's statement regarding the job creation law demonstration was based on a hoax on social media. Explanation from sources regarding hoax news related to the abolition of the minimum wage, leave, and social security. That is a statement related to "I have seen demonstrations against the Job Creation Act which are basically motivated by information about the substance of this law and hoaxes on social media," said Jokowi.

Script Structure, as a news article, this piece has fulfilled the 5W+1H elements. Elements of 5W + 1 H have been answered in this article.

Thematic structure present at the beginning of the paragraph in the form of a researcher's opinion, President Jokowi also pays attention to the large-scale demonstration that ended in chaos against the Omnibus Law on Job Creation. The second paragraph is in the form of a direct quote from President Jokowi regarding the demonstration of the job creation law due to hoax information on social media. The fourth paragraph of President Jokowi's direct quote describes an example of information on minimum wages.

Rhetorical Structure is seen in the image of a crowd burns tires during an action to block the Bandung-Garut-Tasikmalaya national road towards the Cileunyi Toll Gate in Cileunyi, Bandung Regency, West Java.

D. News Analysis 4

News Title: *Rejecting the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Law, Brebes Workers Will Write to the Indonesian House of Representatives* [17].

The syntactic structure, present in the statement of Assistant Secretary of Regional II Tetty "Regarding the opinion of the labor union in Brebes Regency regarding the Omnibus Law Bill which is detrimental to the labor group, it is necessary to realize the local government so that the welfare of the workers in Brebes is in line with their expectations.". Namely a statement related to "In the place of activities involving many people (demonstrations), the labor union in Brebes Regency will send a letter from the DPR RI as a symbol of rejection". However, we are making efforts to persuade labor unions not to take mass actions in the midst of the COVID- 19 pandemic." As a substitute for the labor union demonstration in Brebes Regency, a letter from the DPR RI will be sent as a symbol of rejection. Although rejecting the union, he agreed not to take any action involving large numbers of people.

Script Structure analysis found that this article has fulfilled the 5W+1H elements.

Thematic Structure in the sentences can be seen firstly in the third paragraph contains the researcher's opinion regarding the actions of workers to replace demonstrations by installing banners and direct quotes from sources regarding the installation of banners in public facilities. Followed by a second audience with workers in the sixth and seventh paragraphs of the researcher's opinion regarding the labor audience. In the second paragraph, a direct quote from a source regarding the replacement of the demonstration with a letter from the DPR RI. Rhetorical Structure, seen in the words involving many people (demonstration). The demonstration is a form of action to convey the aspirations of workers. However, there is no demo action described here.

E. News Analysis 5

News Title: *Tegal Regent Signs Students Petition against Job Creation Law* [18].

The syntactic structure, as can be seen in this news, the Regent of Tegal signed a petition from students who rejected the Job Creation Act. In a direct quote statement that "It is clear that the Government and the DPR are not pro-people, especially workers. The DPR and the government during the

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Covid-19 pandemic have made regulations that hurt the workers and the people.

Script Structure analysis found that this article is complete. This is due as a news item, this article has fulfilled the 5W+1H elements.

Thematic structure can be found in the text namely sources' opinions regarding promises can lead to news information related to promises, in Umi's direct statement regarding "the government encourages students' efforts to express aspirations constitutionally by providing space for aspirations" and "For the DPRD there are currently activities outside the city. The third paragraph is a direct quote from a source related to the government's encouragement to express aspirations. The fifth paragraph is a direct quote from a source related to the DPRD who is outside the city.

Rhetorical Structure is seen in the image of the Regent of Tegal Umi Azizah meeting the demonstrators at the Tegal Regency Government office.

F. News Analysis 6

News Title: *Rejecting the Omnibus Law, Thousands of Workers in Cianjur Take to the Streets.* [19].

The syntactic structure analysis found that it is present in this news when rejecting the Omnibus Law, workers in Cianjur take action by taking to the streets. Workers and workers who took to the streets consisting of five unions carried out a long march to the Cianjur Regency DPRD Building. While the written title is "Reject the Omnibus Law, Thousands of Workers in Cianjur Take to the Street".

In terms of script Structure, as a news, this article has fulfilled the 5W+1H elements. Therefore it is complete as a news article.

Thematic structure, even though at the beginning of the paragraph the source has given a statement regarding the strike, but at the end of the paragraph the source gives a statement related to the long march. The third paragraph is the opinion of the researcher and a direct quote related to the reasons for the strike. The sixth paragraph is the opinion of the researcher and the quote is directly related to the hopes and disappointments of the workers towards the government. At the beginning of the paragraph, it begins with the opinion of the researcher regarding the mass strike. However, in the explanation below, the source expressed his opinion about the long march, not a strike. The seventh paragraph is the opinion of the researcher "Thousands of workers are still doing a long march to the Cianjur Regency DPRD Building.

Rhetorical Structure is present in the form of the image of thousands of workers in Cianjur demonstrating against the ratification of the Omnibus Law.

G. News Analysis 7

News Title: *Triggering Riots, 69 People Arrested During Action Against Omnibus Law in Sukabumi City.* [20].

The syntactic structure, can be seen that this news is a group of people in action dressed in all black trying to break through the police blockade, which eventually sparked a commotion. The news lead was filled with a group of protesters dressed in all black trying to break into the student

demonstration line during a demonstration against the Omnibus Law at the Sukabumi City DPRD Building.

Script Structure, as a news, this article does not meet the 5W+1H elements. The *who* element has not been answered in this article. *Who* in this news does not clearly explain the intruder dressed in black, the mass of action, or the 69 people who were arrested.

Thematic structure, in the statement at the beginning of the paragraph, the researcher wrote an opinion regarding "A riot was inevitable after a mob dressed in black tried to break through the police blockade." However, in the Sukabumi Police Chief's statement, there is no direct quote related to wearing all black. In the beginning of the paragraph, the researcher's opinion regarding the mass action intruder dressed all in black, is not yet known where it came from. Rhetorical structure, presented as the image of the tension between demonstrators dressed in all black and the police during the protest against the Omnibus Law on Jalan RE Martadinata, Sukabumi City, where A group of mass protestors dressed in black.

H. Discussion

Based on results presented above, in regards to media functions of news published in Kumparan.com online media for the period October 3 to October 9, 2020, there are a few points for discussion from the framing analysis using Pan and Kosicki method. The first is regarding the syntactic structure of the journalist's way of compiling news facts is in accordance with the existence of news sources, research titles are in accordance with the core of the news, news leads, background information, source quotes, statements, and closings. But here, there are still a lot of opinions from journalists or researchers mixed with the facts of the news so it seems that the researcher is leading the reader, which is the Omnibus Law of the Job Creation Act that has a bad impact on workers or laborers, Government policies only benefit the authorities, Kumparan provides more information about the riots that occurred during demonstrations, the damage caused by demonstrations and the predicted Covid-19 cases. Secondly, the structure of the script for how journalists tell facts, the elements of completeness of news 5W + 1 H in news 1 to 9 have been fulfilled, only in news 10 the element of *who* has not been answered in the article. Next, thematic structure provides how journalists write facts from paragraphs, propositions, sentences, relationships between sentences, here journalists in writing news facts from sources obtained are still mixed with opinions from journalists who seem that government policies only side with the authorities and have a bad impact on the workforce or workers in the midst of this pandemic. Lastly, the rhetorical way the journalists emphasized the facts was seen. Kumparan.com emphasized that from the words, idioms, pictures, and graphics the demonstrators did not get optimal service and explanation from the central and local government officials.

The results from the framing analysis found that Kumparan.com news provided information that leads its readers to believe that the government has not been optimal in its service to its publics. This is in line with previous research

1 which claimed that when reporting government communication, *Kumparan.com* tends to corner the government or frame it in a less positive way [21]. *Kumparan.com*'s frame is different from other online media, for example *Kompas.com* or *Detik.com*. When reporting about the Omnibus Law on Job Creation Act, particularly on how the Indonesian police handled the demonstrations, *detik.com* reported positively while *Kompas.com* negatively [22]. The differing constructed realities are due to the different media ideologies.

V. CONCLUSION

From the results of the framing analysis, it has been identified through the syntactic, script, thematic and rhetorical structures of news coverage of demonstrations against Indonesia's Omnibus Law on Job Creation Act in *Kumparan.Com* online media from 3 October to 9 October 2020. The news frame is that it seems that even though there are large-scale demonstrations everywhere, the Government in this case the President will still enact or ratify the new Job Creation Law. Readers may judge this law from the material content of the articles that it benefits the companies and government while disadvantaging workers and laborers.

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