

# Television Coverage: Between Social Movement and Violence

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## ABSTRACT

The ratification of the omnibus law on job creation sparked debate among various groups, resulting in protests across Indonesia. The purpose of this research is to explain how TV One and Metro TV framed news about protests against the omnibus law. The framing model used in this research is Robert N. Entman's model, which focuses on the selection of issues and the emphasis on specific aspects of a news story. This research employed a qualitative method, using three TV One news and three Metro TV news segments from October 7 to October 28, 2020, as research samples, which were analyzed by examining the text, duration, and scene. This research utilized four framing elements as an analytical tool: defining problems, diagnosing the cause, making a moral judgment, and treatment recommendation. The findings of this research show, first, there was a negative association in reporting, and both media had similarities in reporting by only displaying riots without mentioning the protest participants' objectives and arguments. Second, there was a dominance of source persons presented by TV One and Metro TV, and both media tended to use the government apparatus's perspective. This was evident in the treatment recommendations of the six samples of TV One and Metro TV news coverage, which inclined to favor the government, resulting in an imbalance of information reaching the public.

**Keywords:** Social Movement, News, Framing, Omnibus Law, Television

## 1. INTRODUCTION

On October 5, 2020, the omnibus law on the Job Creation Law was officially ratified by the Indonesian People's Representative Council (DPR RI) through a plenary meeting. Even though it was colored by arguments that led to the walk out of the Democratic Party faction, the meeting continued with the presentation of the government's views and concluded by the chairman of the meeting, Azis Syamsuddin, who dropped the hammer as a sign of approval [1].

The ratification of the Job Creation Law appeared to slip because it was not included in the invitation letter to the first circular plenary meeting received by the board members. The ratification agenda that was brought forward also prompted questions from council members. According to Amin AK from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) faction, the final draft of the bill was not distributed to members present [2].

The omnibus law arose as a result of the complexities that investors face in Indonesia, such as

taxation, licensing, land acquisition, and other investment-related issues. The omnibus law's goal is to make good services available to the community while also attracting foreign investors to invest in Indonesia [3].

Following the ratification of the omnibus law on the Job Creation Law, a number of pros and cons emerged. Many people believed that the impact of the ratification would solve the world's business problems. On the other hand, many people were worried and even opposed the ratification. A good response came from entrepreneurs who considered that the omnibus law of the Job Creation Law could solve problems in the business world, primarily those related to overlapping existing licensing regulations.

Putera Satria Sambijantoro, an economist for Bahana Sekuritas, stated that the omnibus law on the Job Creation Law would simplify the rules between the regional government and the central government, which were layered and contradictory because economic decisions would be more centralized under the law. On

the other hand, Amnesty International Indonesia opposed the ratification because it was deemed to be very non-progressive. Many of its provisions impede the realization of people's rights [4].

According to Constitutional Law, omnibus law has a broad cluster coverage, allowing for hidden things that are important and have the potential for inaccuracy in their preparation. This was exacerbated by the discourse from President Joko Widodo regarding the 100-day completion target which would eliminate the improvement goals carried out by the omnibus law itself [5].

Protests erupted in a number of cities following the ratification of the omnibus law on the Job Creation Law, including Semarang, Bandung, Surabaya, Makassar, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and others. Several protests were marked by the burning of tires, the vandalization of police cars, and the breaking down of government office gates, resulting in chaos. As a result of the riots, a large number of people and officers were injured [6].

Mass media serves as a bridge for a group in terms of delivering messages to the public, and it plays an important role as a public forum in accommodating important issues [7]. However, it is unfortunate that many media failed to cover the issue of rejection against the omnibus law on Job Creation Law. According to research conducted on five Indonesian online media, up to 52% of protests against the omnibus law were reported positively. One of the five online media provided 22.9 % of the space for criticism. Meanwhile, the other four only provided 17.5% [8].

From the results of research conducted by Remotivi on the news of the rejection of the omnibus law presented by online media, the researchers want to provide another point of view displayed by the television media. Furthermore, no prior research has been conducted on the news of protests against the omnibus law on TV One and Metro TV stations.

Wasserman, Chuma, and Bosch previously conducted a study entitled "Print Media Coverage of Service Delivery Protests in South Africa: a Content Analysis". The research showed that protests were a manifestation of citizens' distrust of the government. This research contributes to the study of protest action from the perspective of the mass media [9].

Another study conducted by Nastatih and Rachmaria on the online media Tribunnews.com titled "Framework of Reporting on Student Demonstrations in the House of Representatives Building" stated that the media had brought the issue of student protests into the political realm. The framing of the news presented by Tribunnews.com was based on the findings of a study that found college students to be the root of anarchic and provocative protests. Protest activities were deemed

irrelevant because they only created chaos that could be exploited by provocateurs [10].

This present research is conducted to describe the point of view displayed by the television media in framing the news of the protest against the omnibus law.

The formulation of this research is how TV One and Metro TV framed the news of the protest against the omnibus law.

## ***1.1. Protests and Social Movements in the Media's Perspectives***

### ***1.1.1. Protest as a Social Movement***

Protests arise from the community in response to an economic or political crisis that has the potential to turn violent. They come from a widespread belief that taking part in collective action is worthwhile. Thus, protest can be defined as a set of action-oriented meanings and beliefs that inspire and legitimize social movements [11].

Social movements that fight on will be able to strengthen a country's democratization. Solidarity in the fight for the right to public space, as demonstrated by the Gezi Park movement in Turkey, can protect democracy for civil society [12].

During protests, vandalism and violence are committed to achieving specific goals. The goal is their aspirations for the government to be heard [13]. Vandalism and the destruction of public facilities are both common during protests but cannot be justified.

The Three People's Demands (*Tritura*) presented by the student movement in 1966, with the full support of the military, succeeded in changing the system of government structure to become more democratic with the resignation of Ir. Soekarno's presidency and was replaced by Suharto, who served as the president's executor in 1966. According to Nan Lin, the student movement is part of a social movement which is a collective effort to promote or oppose the change in a group or society [14].

The achievement of goals and the presence or absence of factions within the organization that underpins the existing social movements is an indicator of the success of social movements. One of the social movements led by fishermen groups in West Sumatra failed because the movement's objectives were not met. The movement was deemed to have failed to demonstrate a significant goal, which was related to the policy that harmed fishermen, which had not been revised or revoked. This exemplifies that, on the one hand, fishermen's position was very weak in comparison to the government's stronger position [15].

Although it was condemned by the protests carried out by workers and students in various regions in

Indonesia, the movement against the omnibus law on the Job Creation Law did not lead to the desired results. On November 2, 2020, President Joko Widodo and Minister of Law and Human Rights Yasona H Laoly officially signed and ratified the law into Law Number 11 of 2020 concerning Job Creation [16].

The concept of political communication is known as political marketing, which in its evolution involves the way a candidate, political party, government, or certain group uses communication techniques from the private sector with the goal of getting the public's voice, forming a community opinion, and even achieving certain legislative influences [17].

A social movement, according to Peter Burke, is an attempt by a group to change the social order or the attitude of a group of people toward change. Social movements are defined from two perspectives. First, social movements are broadly defined as the collective actions and behavior of a group of people, carried out with or without violence, spontaneously or planned. Second, social movements are narrowly defined as the continuous actions and behavior of a group of people with the same goal against the elite, rulers, or other groups [18].

### *1.1.2. News Framing Analysis*

Framing is a method used by the media in presenting an event. There is a point of view that tries to be highlighted based on an aspect and focuses a certain point of view on reality when portraying news. An event that is successfully framed by the media produces meaning that is easily stored in the audience's memory. Through framing, it can be seen what kind of the point of view journalists have in writing and selecting news [19].

The media apply the concept of framing to describe the selection process on certain aspects of the existing reality. In framing, information is presented in a different context so that the issues within it receive a greater allocation than other issues.

The media's ownership of certain interests influences the reality that is presented. The selection of reality is determined by the interests that support the media. The role of the media in presenting the construction of reality is formed not only by journalists' perspectives on reality but also by political conditions that influence media practice. The role of the media in the construction of reality is also influenced by a country's political system [20].

The model of Robert N. Entman is used to conduct media text analysis through framing analysis. The reality in the field can be seen and interpreted in content using this model. According to Entman, framing is divided into large dimensions, which are the selection of issues and the emphasis on specific aspects [21].

According to Entman, the concept of framing consists of four components. The first is to define problems, which is the first stage of emphasizing a problem seen by journalists. The second component is to diagnose the cause, which is the framing stage in framing actors from an event. In this stage, the cause of the problem can be seen from what and who and is not directly understood but rather from the problem from each person's perspective [21].

The third component is to make a moral judgment. This is the framing stage in providing justification or opinion on the estimated problem that has been defined in accordance with certain causes, which is then accompanied by a strong opinion to back up the opinion. The final component is the treatment recommendation, which is a framing element aimed at assessing journalist wishes and determining what methods are used to solve problems. The stage of problem resolution is determined by one's perception of reality regarding the who and how of a problem [21].

In this research, Robert N. Entman's framing analysis model was used to understand and describe the process of constructing, selecting, and emphasizing specific aspects of issues in the news. The facts were disclosed in this analysis through a framing analysis of the news related to the omnibus law protest on TV One and Metro TV.

## **2. METHODS**

This is qualitative research that employed descriptive analysis methods to examine media coverage of protests against omnibus law.

The research subjects were TV One and Metro TV. This research used news broadcasts of protests against omnibus law on the YouTube channel of TV One covering Morning News and Evening News, and Metro TV with Metro Today and Prime Talk. The primary data source was documentation found on the TV One and Metro TV YouTube channels. Secondary data originated from books, journals, and various literature related to this research.

In this research, framing analysis was used to analyze news broadcasts related to the omnibus law protests on TV One and Metro TV, which were classified into four elements according to Robert N. Entman, including defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and making treatment recommendations.

Purposive sampling was used to collect the data. The news from 7 October 2020 to 28 October 2020 was divided into two categories: news about protests against the omnibus law after the first wave was passed, and news about protests against the omnibus law after the second wave was passed. There were six news items in

this category, ranging in length from one to twenty minutes.

The data in this research were validated using source triangulation. In this case, comparisons were made with various points of view based on the findings of other relevant studies.

### **3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **3.1. Results**

##### *3.1.1. TV One News Analysis from the 7th to the 10th of October, 2020*

In the first report entitled "Omnibus Law Protest, Students from 5 West Jakarta Campuses Threaten to Ram the State Palace & DPR RI". Defining problem element found in this news was hundreds of students who blocked the road at the Grogol intersection. Then, diagnosing causes element was the protest action carried out by students as a form of rejection of the ratification of the omnibus law.

The making moral judgment element was shown by the action of protest participants burning used tires in the middle of the road, causing traffic jams. The image depicted the presence of the police, who started securing the situation and breaking up the traffic jam by leading the protesters to the side of the road.

In terms of making treatment recommendations element, students who were ejected by police threatened to return to the DPR RI Building and the State Palace to protest. The report concluded that students were dissatisfied with the protests they staged in response to the evictions carried out by the police.

In the second report entitled "'Anarcho' Behind the Actions of Labor, Police: They were Invited for Riots at the Palace & DPR", TV One made Police Commissioner Yusri Yunus the sole resource person in the investigation process related to the protest riot case. The defining problem element in the news was the discovery of mass groups in protests that sparked riots.

The diagnosing cause element in this news was that the anarchists were vocational high school students who came from various buffer areas to riot. In his explanation for 1 minute 17 seconds, Yusri Yunus emphasized that the rioters took their action after the protest against the omnibus law carried out by workers and college students had ended.

In the making moral judgment element, it was stated that the anarchists received invitations to riot through social media in exchange for transportation, meals, and money that had been prepared. They were then directed to the State Palace and the DPR building to receive tasks and weapons in order to carry out riots.

In terms of treatment recommendations, TV One attempted to identify the actors behind the anarchists who carried out the riots. However, in his 29-second explanation, Yusri Yunus stated that the police were still investigating who was behind the anarchist action. The report concludes that no actor who moved the rioters during the protest against the omnibus law at the State Palace and the DPR had been identified.

The third report, "A total of 18 Police Posts and 46 Transjakarta Bus Stops Damaged Due to Riots on the Job Creation Law," provided a summary of coverage from various points of public facilities affected by the omnibus law protest. The anarchic action taken by participants during a protest against the Job Creation Law was identified as the defining problem element in this report. For 26 seconds, the narration was accompanied by a visual of police officers inspecting the destroyed police posts.

The diagnostic cause element in this report included as many as 18 police posts, 46 Transjakarta bus stops, as well as several severely damaged public facilities. There were resource persons who conveyed the narration when directly observing the location of the incident. In the making moral judgment element, it was stated that the damage to the police posts and the Transjakarta bus stops resulted in losses of up to tens of billions of rupiah.

The treatment recommendation presented was the construction of temporary police posts and the parallel repair of the Transjakarta bus stops. The report concluded that the impact of the protest participants' anarchic attitude resulted in the destruction of public facilities and caused state losses of up to tens of billions of rupiah.

##### *3.1.2. Metro TV News Analysis from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> October 2020*

The defining problem discovered in the fourth report, titled "1,500 Joint Personnel Prepared to Secure Demonstration," was that as many as 1500 joint personnel from the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and the Indonesian National Police were deployed. The narrative was accompanied by a visual depiction of police preparations for securing the protest action. In diagnosing the cause element, it was stated that security for student and labor protests against the omnibus law was at a vital point, namely the State Palace and the DPR Building.

The narrative was repeated in defining problems and diagnosing the cause elements, with a visual reading of the narrative by the news anchor and a visual of the police preparations. The making moral judgment element found was the prohibition of protest actions because the capital city was still in the stage of strict Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB). The appeal was

delivered by Heru Novianto, the Head of the Central Jakarta Metro Police, along with a video of the police preparing for security operations.

The treatment recommendation stated that the Police would disperse the crowd, especially if they acted anarchically. A visual representation of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) personnel's security preparations was shown. This report concluded that Metro TV was attempting to emphasize that protest activities would be secured by thousands of joint personnel from the Police and the TNI.

The defining problem element discovered in the fifth report, titled "Provocation of Invitation to Demonstration Targeting Children," was the securing of dozens of students in Depok and Bandung who would participate in protest activities against the omnibus law. Diagnosing the cause element emerged when one of the students participating in the protest who was interviewed by Metro TV said that the invitation to take part in the protest came from social media.

On the aspect of making moral judgments, a social observer from the Universitas Indonesia, Devi Rahmawati, explained that several factors contributed to the involvement of students under 18 years old in protest actions, including the flexibility of time that students had due to distance learning, a lack of parental supervision, and the creation of momentum to show courage.

In the treatment recommendation, it was emphasized that parents played a significant role in preventing students from engaging in protests, particularly during the Covid-19 pandemic, which required people not to leave the house. The conclusion of this news was that parents must exercise strict supervision to ensure that their children did not participate in protests.

The sixth report entitled "Revealing the 'Actor' in the Riot of the Job Creation Bill Demo", Metro TV featured intelligence observer Susaningtyas Kertapati and political observer Hermawan Sulistyو to answer questions from their personal point of view. The defining problem found was that out of a total of 5918 rioting mobs, 167 of them underwent investigation and found 9 people who were detained with threats of sentences of more than 5 years, 71 others were being processed, and there were 6 suspects of sedition in Jakarta and Medan.

The report was submitted by the Head of the Public Relations Division of the National Police Inspector General Pol Argo Yuwono at a press conference accompanied by the Head of the Metro Jaya Police and the Head of the Public Relations of Metro Jaya by showing 4 suspects wearing in prison garbs. The diagnosing cause element in the news was as explained by intelligence observer Susaningtyas Kertapati that there were factors in the occurrence of riots in the

protest against the omnibus law, namely the possibility of interference from other countries, there were residues from the results of the last election and the widespread circulation of hoaxes on social media.

In terms of making moral judgments, political observer Hermawan Sulistyو stated that the authorities behind the riots would not reveal much to the public. He explained for 2 minutes and 32 seconds that with the current sophistication of communication tools, it would be easier for authorities to figure out who the actors behind all of this were. However, the actor's identity would not be made widely known to the public because it could lead to open conflict.

The treatment recommendation was explained by an intelligence observer as being necessary for the government to improve the socialization system to the public and stakeholders when implementing the new law in the future. The news led to the conclusion that Metro TV wanted the public to know that the actual actor was already known to authorities and had not been widely publicized to avoid unexpected things.

### **3.2. Discussion**

The framing analysis developed by Robert N. Entman was used as an analytical tool in this research. Through analysis using four elements; defining problem, diagnosing the cause, making a moral judgment, and treatment recommendation, this research found two interesting findings, namely the negative association in reporting on protests, and the dominance of resource persons in news reporting.

#### **3.2.1. Negative Association in Reporting on Protests**

The protest action in an effort to oppose the Omnibus Law Job Creation which took place for three days in 18 provinces in Indonesia became a news topic. The findings of this research show that the narrative of the riots was identical in reporting on protests.

TV One and Metro TV tended to associate protests with negative things. This was evident in TV One's first news coverage entitled "Omnibus Law Protest, Students from 5 West Jakarta Campuses Threaten to Ram State Palace & DPR RI". In the treatment recommendation, the news was displayed visually for 36 seconds in the form of a crowd of students giving speeches until they were dispersed by the police who were attempting to regulate traffic. TV One used the term "ram" to describe student protests. In a previous study conducted by Widodo, the term ram refers to the coercion of the will in a rough and abusive manner that has a negative connotation [22].

TV One used the term "anarcho" in the second report, which refers to anarchy or anarchism. According to Martin Suryajaya, anarchism has a large variant

known as social anarchism or left-libertarianism. This group opposed capitalism and wage labor relations, both of which are associated with Marxist thought. There is also a sub-variant of social anarchism known as anarcho-syndicalism [23].

TV One used the term "anarcho" to describe rioters in protest actions, the majority of whom were vocational high school students. In the third report, titled "A total of 18 Police Posts and 46 Transjakarta Bus Stops Damaged Due to Riots on the Job Creation Law," TV One accused protesters of engaging in anarchic behavior during protests, causing damage to public facilities and costing the state tens of billions of rupiah. The visual of the defining problem element was displayed for 26 seconds in the form of police officers inspecting the destroyed police posts.

In a similar vein, Metro TV used the term "riot actor" in its report titled "Revealing the 'Actor' in the Riot to Demonstration against the Job Creation Bill," which was intended for rioters in protests against the omnibus law. Metro TV used the term "provocation" in another report titled "Provocation of Invitation to Demonstration Targeting Children." According to the Great Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), provocation is defined as an act of inciting to cause anger [24].

There were similarities in how TV One and Metro TV presented news about the protest against the omnibus law. However, TV One had a tendency to present news in a more direct and sarcastic way. This was evidenced by the use of terms in the title and treatment recommendations displayed in the news.

Riots and protests are commonplace. According to Jubba, protests, particularly those led by students, have the same tendency and pattern of rioting [25]. The involvement of the police, which appeared to suppress the protest, led to students feeling compelled to clash with the police officers. Human rioting is caused by a mismatch between expectations and value capabilities. Riots during protests are a deliberate social phenomenon that will continue to occur.

Riots in protests, on the other hand, became a boomerang in this research. Both TV One and Metro TV only broadcast footage of riots. The results of the analysis on the research sample showed that the goals and arguments of the protest action were not displayed by the mass media. This is possible because the mass media has content constraints. According to Turow's book, every mass media has technology for disseminating information, but each technology has advantages and disadvantages [26].

In the context of this research, television as an audio-visual medium emphasized attractive images. According to McLeod and Hertog, journalists have a protest paradigm that serves as a template or narrative that guides them in producing the characteristics of

protest reporting [27]. The protest paradigm emphasizes the noise and specificity of an event while ignoring the reasons or issues that prompt the protest action. This demonstrates that riots or violence continue to garner attention in the audio-visual media.

However, TV One and Metro TV did not always report protests negatively. In the news in 2016 regarding the Peaceful Action 411 related to the alleged blasphemy of religion by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, TV One highlighted the demands of the masses urging the police to complete the investigation. In the report entitled "TNI Commander: The One Who Caused the Riots on November 4, Not the Demonstrators", General Gatot Nurmantyo was present as one of the speakers and stated that according to his testimony the riots did not originate from the demonstrators but the provocateurs [28].

Protests are interpreted as a means for the community to communicate with the government. Purnamasari & Muta'ali argued protest action is a means of expressing opinions in public which is one form of embodiment of democracy in Indonesia [29]. The public has the right to express their aspirations and criticize the government's performance. The results of the research related to the riots in the protests carried out by Jubba showed that the riots carried out by the protesters were not without reason. Through the riots that have been created, it is hoped that the government will soon hear their demands. On the other hand, riots can draw the attention of the media, allowing the action to be witnessed by a large number of people [25].

The Arab Spring protests in 2010 are one example. The protest began with the self-immolation of a Tunisian, Mohamed Bouazizi, in order to demand health insurance and to condemn police corruption. The success of the Tunisian protest made the protests spread to Egypt, Yemen, Algeria, and other countries. The protests resulted in the presidents of Tunisia and the presidents of Egypt resigning and ending their 30-year terms [30].

With the other three pillars, the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary, the mass media serves as a buffer for the state order. When the functions of the three pillars deteriorate or deviate from the public's expectations, the mass media becomes the final pillar in defending the government system and state power.

The mass media are governed by Press Law No. 40 of 1999 in carrying out their responsibilities [31]. The results of research conducted by Yusuf said political actors frequently use mass media as a communication tool that can work massively to achieve their objectives [32]. Therefore, in political communication, the media must adhere to their own professionalism and idealism.

### 3.2.2. *The Dominance of Resource Persons in News Reporting*

From the research results, TV One and Metro TV tended to show less protest against the omnibus law from the perspective of protest participants, who included workers, students, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and certain community groups. This was reflected in the choice of news sources, which were dominated by government officials.

In the report entitled "'Anarcho' Behind the Actions of Workers, Police: They were Invited for Riots at the Palace & DPR", TV One presented Yusri Yunus as the sole resource person. The report included a visual interview with the resource person that lasted 2 minutes and 25 seconds. The second report titled "A total of 18 Police Posts and 46 Transjakarta Bus Stops Damaged Due to Riots on the Job Creation Law", featured a visual interview with Sambodo Purnomo Yogo for 47 seconds, an interview with the Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta Ahmad Riza Patria for 48 seconds, and an interview with the Director of Transjakarta, Sardjono Jhony Tjitrokusumo, for 1 minute 51 seconds. In these two reports, TV One did not include sources from the protest participants.

Similarly, in the report entitled "Provocation of Invitation for Demonstration Targeting Children", Metro TV presented a social observer from Universitas Indonesia, Devi Rahmawati, with a visual interview for 3 minutes 23 seconds. Another resource person was Arifin who was a student taking part in the protest. The visual interview was displayed for 24 seconds. The second report titled "Revealing the 'Actor' in the Riot of the Draft Job Creation Bill", included a visual interview with intelligence observer Susaningtyas Kertapati lasting 3 minutes 42 seconds and political observer Hermawan Sulisty for 2 minutes 32 seconds.

Both media tended to present problems that arose as a result of protests rather than the omnibus law. In defining problems of the first and third news samples, TV One framed protest participants as anarchists. Regarding treatment recommendations for the six news samples, TV One and Metro TV used sources from government officials, social observers, political observers, and intelligence observers. From the six reports, no treatment recommendation showed that the omnibus law on the job creation law needed to be addressed.

This demonstrates that the news presented by TV One and Metro TV only reflected the viewpoint of the government apparatus, rather than the viewpoint of protest participants who had an interest in it. Frauenrath & Nur pinpointed one of the points in the journalistic code of ethics that should serve as a guide for journalists is to cover both sides, with the goal of providing the public with accurate information [33]. Social

movements, in general, require mass media publication as a means of persuasion to build public opinion.[34]

In journalistic terminology, covering both sides means to be balanced, which means that the media should not take sides with the interests of a particular group [35]. The effect of not covering both sides on the news presented by TV One and Metro TV was that protest participants did not have the space to express their voices.

This research found that the dominance of sources in TV One and Metro TV news had an impact on the purpose of the demonstration that was not conveyed. Research by Valerisha also showed the dominance of sources that are solely biased toward the government will result in an imbalance of information reaching the public [36].

Collaboration between private media and the state government has a hidden meaning that results in new forms of audience manipulation. Private media adopt the role of public and government agencies by committing to deliver strategic messages to the public and advocate for behavior change. The media, on the other hand, is subject to the government. This situation is not consistent with the expected exchange of roles, but rather with the media and the government collaborating to carry out the government's mission. As a result, the media's role as a public space deteriorates [37].

According to Liu, the mass media have a significant impact on influencing public opinion to unite national power [38]. Therefore, the mass media has a duty to echo the muffled voices. In this case, the aspirations of the protesters should be considered when framing a news story.

In Kovach & Rosentiel's book, there are nine elements of journalism that serve as guidelines for media workers. One of its components is that journalism has an obligation to be completely loyal to citizens or the general public [39].

The fall of Suharto's leadership in the new order was a reminder that the media played a role in voicing demands at the time. The 1998 protests were echoed not only by the public and students who marched to the HI Roundabout and the vicinity of the MPR Building but also by online and offline media. According to Qibthia's research, mass mobilization and information about Suharto and his cronies reported by media journalists can be disseminated throughout the country in order to rally the masses in support of the democratic movement [40].

## 4. CONCLUSION

The following are the media-created protests based on the research findings. First, there was a negative

association in the news that the two media showed similarities in reporting related to protests, both TV One and Metro TV, which only showed riots without mentioning the protest participants' objectives and arguments.

TV One, on the other hand, had a tendency to present news more directly and sarcastically, as evidenced by the use of terms in the title and treatment recommendations in the news. Second, there was a dominance of sources presented by TV One and Metro TV; both media tended to use the perspective of government officials, rather than that of protest participants who had an interest in it.

This can be seen in the treatment recommendations of the six samples of TV One and Metro TV news coverage from government officials, social observers, political observers, and intelligence observers. This domination resulted in the non-deliberation of the purpose of the protest action. The dominance of resource persons who tended to be heavy on the government side would also lead to an imbalance of information reaching the public.

The limitation of this research is that it only involved one element of communication, namely the message. Future research can focus on analysis from the perspective of the government and the protest actors to understand the phenomenon of protest action more comprehensively.

## AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors contributed equally upon the completion of this research

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