

Conference

Comparative Framing: Media Strategy in Public Communication Policy

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Abstract. Framing is one of the most misunderstood concepts in political communication studies. It roots from epistemological problems, framing appropriately as a "method" to framing's concept itself. Framing is the process of construction and negotiation of public policy issues influenced by discourse contestation, where one view on a particular issue will be offered, negotiated, and then accepted or rejected as a dominant discourse that becomes the background of a policy. This study employed comparative framing to investigate the dimension of media framing as a media strategy. We examined how media strategies are applied to frame the same issue. This research concluded that at the level of event-driven news, the media has a similar frame strategy. Furthermore, contrast frames occur in micro-issues due to the influence of media characteristics, historical-ideological factors, and media organizational structures.

Keywords: framing, governance, political communication, policy

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1. Introduction

Framing examines the relationship between political actors, policies, and the media. Since framing developed as a method of discourse analysis; it is always associated with public policy (1,2). The framing method has become popular in political communication studies, especially related to the use and strategy of language in daily political action.

Framing as an integrative concept in discourse analysis is considered a form of maturity in political communication studies with interdisciplinary traits.(3,4).The framing approach is currently considered the most adequate to examine three levels of political communication studies starting from level 1) communicators (political actors and their political agendas), 2) process and content of communication (journalists and news) 3) effects on audiences(5).

These three levels can be seen as a single subject or interrelated with one another. Framing uses the assumption that political actors, journalists, and audiences do not only reflect their socio-political views but also explore, interpret and exploit political events/facts that occur. Each level of political communication has a different framing,

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where each selects views on particular issues is used to construct reality in a certain way.

Recently, framing analysis was not solely concerned with the three levels of political communication actors but also found the other agents such as translators in an international news report(6)(7), framing on non-mainstream media(3), and retrospective framing (8) modified the media frame.

Furthermore, there is a prominent approach for communication research called comparative framing. Comparative framing is not comparing news content from two media that are considered different but also derived from fundamental reasons as nature of framing, namely discourse contestation between communication actors.

Theoretically, discourse contestation influenced the framing by construction and negotiation of public policy issues, then accepted or rejected as a dominant discourse that becomes the background of a policy. Framing theory emphasizes the role of three political communication actors (politicians, media and journalists, and audiences) to frame the realities according to their views, emphasizing one interpretation and eliminating the other to become the accepted dominant view(9).

This theory points out that political communication actors always compete to dominate a view. This competition (contestation) reflects the ideology of a dialectical media organization, from journalists to a media culture, from media individual norms to national cultural identity.

Several studies that use a comparative framing approach conducted by Jim A. Kuypers & Stephen D. Cooper (10) where researchers compare the news written between journalists/editors who cover the Iraq war directly and journalists/editors who write remotely.

The findings of this study indicate that the difference in experience between journalists who cover directly on the battlefield and journalists who write news at the reporter's desk affects the way each journalist describes the victory of the Allied forces against Saddam Hussein. Journalists on the battlefield are perceived to be more freedom to compose stories than remote journalists; who are tied to editorial policies, the influence of third-party sources, and lack of physical experience of the ongoing Iraq war.

Comparative framing study also used to compare journalistic practices between different countries, which are related to transnational or global issues such as humanitarian issues(11,12) and terrorism(9)

Mojca Pajnik (11) researched trafficking coverage in the Slovenian media and found a pattern that framing employed to reinforce dominant views that are gender-biased.

Meanwhile, Sulaiman et al (12) conducted a longitudinal comparative study, in which he compared the coverage of refugee images in newspapers in Australia and New Zealand in the period 1998 and 2008. The study assumes that there are differences in media frames due to changes in the prevailing social and political situation. The study concluded that although there is a more cynical and political view of the existence of refugees, especially after the WTC attack, the media in New Zealand perceived more objective in reporting refugees than the media in Australia.

Cheryl Llewellyn et.al (13) also studied the refugee issues in the US local media. The research findings strengthen previous studies where differences in government policies lead to a different framing of the refugee issue.

Meanwhile, Zizi Papacharissi and Maria de Fatima Oliveira (9) use the comparative framing in terrorism news coverage in American and British media.

They employed a computer-assisted network-based text analysis in the quantitative phase and thematic and episodic structures in their qualitative phase. This study found the national government policy plays a major contribution in discourse contestation between all media.

United States newspapers tend to choose a coverage that emphasizes the chronological aspects of events, hard news, and dramatics. Meanwhile, newspapers in England tend to focus on the context of the problem, not being detailed but more analytical. This episodic and thematic framing strategy served the country's formal policy on particular issues in the media. They also emphasize different effects on audience perceptions(14,15).

We highlighted from these previous research that: 1) comparative framing is mainly a strategy used to compare issues, media contexts, and relationships related to a country's political policy. 2) comparative framing also examines how discourse contestation is built between media to articulate the dominant discourse. 3) comparative framing points to socio-cultural values shifting as reflected in media coverage.

This study examined aspects of media framing strategies related to a country's political policies related to particular issues. We set the Omnibus Law discourse as an example to find similarities and differences in framing between online media related to omnibus law.

RQ: What similarities and differences can be found regarding the news valence dan frame types used in Indonesian online news providers related to the public policy of Omnibus Law on Job Creation?

1.1. Omnibus Law: An Exemplar for Comparative Framing

The relation between the government, employers, and workers' groups in Indonesia experienced a critical period in 2019 when the government and the Senate of the People's Representative Council drafted and passed the Omnibus Law.

The Omnibus Law discourse departed from the inauguration speech of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) as the 7th President of the Republic of Indonesia at the MPR/DPR House. Joko Widodo stated that he was committed to simplifying government regulations and bureaucracy. It is legal regulation called the Omnibus Law. This simplification of laws/regulations is intended for bureaucratic reform, facilitating investment and opening up more job opportunities, and empowering MSMEs.

The government took this policy to create a better climate for the world of work and investment so that Indonesia can escape from the "middle trap income" which is to be achieved by 2045.

The government planned to simplify dozens of overlapping laws and compile them into one more general group of laws called the Omnibus Law. These laws include the Job Creation Bill, the Bill on the State Capital, the Bill on Pharmaceuticals, and the Bill on Tax Provisions and Facilities for Economic Strengthening.

The draft of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation became a national discourse and leading to protests. Since being submitted to the DPR on February 12, 2020, this draft has caused controversy among labor workers, human rights activists, environmental organizations, student movements, and social media activists.

There are two main issues in the job creation bill; man powers (16) and the environment (17). Both become dominant public discourse because the impact on the workforce is a short-term impact that is immediately felt by the workers negatively. For environmental activists, the ease of investment permits and land use will affect massive deforestation in Indonesian territory.

The opponents of the Employment Creation Bill from labor organizations have questioned their lack of involvement in the hearing forum, thus assuming that the government ignores the aspirations and rights of workers. The government is considered to be more concerned with the interests of investors than workers, especially minimum wages, leave entitlements and employment contract schemes. Meanwhile, the environmental activists looked that the missing AMDAL requirement in the bill leads to a decrease in environmental impact monitoring and eliminates the company's commitment to meet international standards related to an environmental issue (18).

The Draft Law ratified by the DPR and signed by President Joko Widodo by November 2, 2020, called Law Number 11 of 2020 concerning Job Creation. This study examined the policies of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation in online media framing in Indonesia. This study is interested in how the media frame the same issue. We deployed the comparative framing approach to find the similarities and differences in news framing.

2. Methods

This research has used quantitative comparative framing to analyze the coverage of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation in two online media; cnnindonesia.com and kompas.com. Kompas.com is a subsidiary of the national media press Kompas; which has social and political historical dynamics in Indonesia, while CNN Indonesia is one of the international networked media published in Indonesia.

Three data collectors who formerly had training for data collection and extraction manually extracted the news from their data sources. The first stage of data collection is to identify articles from cnnindonesia.com and kompas.com and justify these articles that have strong relevance to the Omnibus Law on Job Creation. Based on pre-test simulation, we compiled a manual book used by data collectors to find and collect news starting from October 2019. Up to five months of data collection stage, there is about 366 news from cnnindonesia.com and 363 from kompas.com.

In the second stage, the obtained articles are read carefully with two approaches; inductive (identification of media frames based on text analysis) and deductive (categorization based on the arrangement of frames as pre-determined in the manual book).

In political policy and political communication, the media frames emerge in three frames: 1) policy, 2) economic and, 3) socio-cultural frames (3). We also add 4) the environment and security frame to gain a broader perspective on Omnibus Law. The data obtained is used to see the strategy of each media in raising the issue of the omnibus law of copyright work by placing each of these news frames in the categorization of dominant and sub-dominant frames.

At the inductive level, the researcher selected several articles that represented each media and analyzed in more depth related to the framing strategy used by the media in covering the omnibus news on copyright law.

The highest percentage is the sub-frame of the political process; Episodic coverage of frames on parliamentary sessions and various matters related to the political process that occurred during the decision-making of the Omnibus Law.

TABLE 1: Framing Distribution of Omnibus Laws Coverage

Frame	Sub Frame	Exemplar	%	
			cnnindonesia.com	kompas.com
Economic	Impact on Workers	Omnibus Law Diklaim Bantu RI Keluar dari Middle Income Trap	7,65%	14,05%
	Impact on the National Economy	Omnibus Law Akan Jadi Pertimbangan Target Pajak 2021	5,19%	9,92%
	Student and Workers Protest	Buruh Demo di Bandung: Omnibus Law Lebih Bahaya dari Corona	25,96%	21,76%
Policy	Political Proseses	DPR Jadwalkan 10 Kali Rapat UU Ciptaker Hingga Paripurna	34,43%	28,65%
	Company Owner and Industries	Jokowi Klaim UU Cipta Kerja Berhasil Tarik Minat Investor	5,19%	6,89%
	MSME and Workers	Kepala BKPM: Lewat Omnibus Law, Izin UMKM Selembar Saja Selesai	3,28%	1,93%
Enviornment and Security	Impact on land use and the Environment	Omnibus Law 'Cilaka' Bakal Permudah Pengadaan Lahan di KEK	2,19%	3,03%
	Impact on Security	Omnibus Law Keamanan Laut Masuk Prolegnas 2020	0,27%	1,38%
Socio-cultural frames	Impact on government's system and society	Omnibus Law Ciptaker Sudutkan Masyarakat Adat	0,00%	0,00%
	Communication	Penerapan TV Digital RI	7,38%	7,16%
	Education	RUU Ciptaker Bisa Picu Pasar Bebas Pendidikan	0,82%	0,28%
	NGO and Omnibus Law	Potensi Gaduh, Muhammadiyah Desak DPR Tunda RUU Ciptaker	1,64%	1,38%
	Foreign workers	Omnibus Law Bakal Permudah Impor Buruh Asing	4,92%	3,31%
			100%	100%

Source: obtained from primary

TABLE 2: Economic Framing and News Valence

Frame	Sub Frame	cnnindonesia.com		kompas.com	
		Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Economic	Impact on Workers	1,09%	6,56%	4,41%	9,64%
	Impact on the National Economy	3,83%	1,37%	7,44%	2,48%
	Student and Workers Protest	0,55%	25,41%	2,20%	19,56%

Source: obtained from primary

This tendency shows that the omnibus law of job creation is event-driven news; news covers an event. Even driven news is an episodic media journalistic strategy; news should be dramatically to give an impression. The episodic frame occurs in the sub-issues in both media, where the Political Process equally dominates the coverage compared to the other sub-frames. The Political Process is the coverage of events related to the omnibus bill on job creation, which is obviously in parliamentary settings. The student and workers protest sub-frame on the second rank, where the two news stories equally contain coverage of protests from various cities in Indonesia.

3. Results and Discussion

We present empirical findings of each media frame and attribute these findings with a qualitative judgment to determining media valence frames. There are three subframes of economic; 1) impact for workers, 2) impact on the national economy, 3) student and worker protest.

Cnnindonesia.com frames the student and worker protest as more dominant (25.41%) than others frame, followed by news that presented the negative impact of the job creation omnibus for workers (6.56%). Kompas.com coverage about 19.56% of the news protest against the Omnibus Job Creation and 9.64% on negative impacts on workers.

The two media are equally dominant in using event-driven news in the protest sub-frame of workers and students. This tendency places the frame of the omnibus issue of job creation in episodic framing.

The number of news on CNN as a percentage is twice that of kompas.com. It shows that Kompas.com is still using Jacob Oetama's crab journalistic principles in journalistic practice during the New Order era. Crab journalism is the media's way of conveying criticism of the government in a moderate; not being too harsh in criticizing and dealing with authorities. Meanwhile, CNN Indonesia, the post-New Order press, has

TABLE 3: Policy Framing and News Valence

Frame	Sub Frame	cnnindonesia.com		kompas.com	
		Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Policy	Political Proseses	19,13%	15,30%	15,98%	12,67%
	Company Owner and Industries	4,37%	0,82%	5,51%	1,38%
	MSME and Workers	1,09%	2,19%	1,38%	0,55%

Source: obtained from primary

TABLE 4: Environment and Security and News Valence

Frame	Sub Frame	cnnindonesia.com		kompas.com	
		Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Environment and Security	Impact on land use and the Environment	0,27%	1,91%	0,28%	2,75%
	Impact on land use and the Environment	0,27%	0,00%	0,83%	0,55%

Source: obtained from primary

more freedom to cover the protests of workers and students. This freedom is not only due to historical reference but also from media institutions that are culturally embedded.

Kompas.com and cnnindonesia.com both placed the political process in parliament positively and supported the ratification of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation. This political process starts from legislation in parliament, drafting of bills, and efforts to obtain aspirations. However, this positive trend is not dominant because the negative frame of the process that occurred in the preparation and ratification of the Job Creation Law is also quite large (above 10%).

These negative frames range from errors in writing the draft, the government's unaccommodating attitude in the discussions in the DPR to the hide-and-seek style in the ratification of the Omnibus Job Creation Bill.

In this context, the two media also have similarities in placing the political process in the ratification of the Omnibus Job Creation Bill as an event of political dynamics that does not run smoothly. Even though the policy is framed as controversial, the media equally cover positive voices supporting the ratification of the Job Creation Law.

Kompas.com and cnnindonesia.com framed highlighting negative impacts on the environment and agrarian at 1.91% and 2.75%, respectively. We concluded that kompas.com tends to frame the agrarian problem more dominantly than CNN Indonesia. Furthermore, CNN Indonesia and Kompas on security issues highlight the positive side of the existence of this Job Creation Law compared to the negative frame. It means both media have a balanced framing on the security impact.

TABLE 5: Socio-cultural frames and News Valence

Frame	Sub Frame	cnnindonesia.com		kompas.com	
		Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Socio-cultural frames	Impact on government's system and society	0,82%	6,56%	1,38%	5,79%
	Communication	0,55%	0,27%	0,00%	0,28%
	Education	0,00%	1,64%	0,28%	1,10%
	NGO and Omnibus Law	2,19%	2,73%	1,38%	1,93%
	Foreign workers	0,55%	0,55%	0,00%	0,28%

Source: obtained from primary

In the Socio-Cultural frame, the Omnibus Law on Job Creation is predominantly in a negative frame related to the impact of changes in the government and social systems. It occurs from the discourse on the relationship between the central government and local governments in the context of regional autonomy, indigenous peoples, and changes in community behavior. Covering the relationship between NGOs and Omnibus Law, the proportion of CNN Indonesia coverage is more dominant than that of Kompas, even though the two media place the position of NGOs with Omnibus Law in two opposite positions at once in almost the same way.

CNN Indonesia places the issue of Foreign Workers in its coverage portion even though it has a position that tends to be neutral coverage. Meanwhile, Kompas.com tends to view the issue of Foreign Workers in a negative frame in the context of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation. It leads to the editorial policy, where CNN Indonesia as an international network news provider, has no significant interest in foreign workers in Indonesia.

3.1. Thematic and Episodic Structures; Storytelling as a Media Strategy

Media framing depends on media culture and ideology formed from a long-standing journalistic tradition. There are two structures in the media frame; thematic and episodic. Episodic frames are hard-news structures, where the focus of coverage is on events. Hence facts are objective (19). Following conventional journalistic rules, the news is an objective fact reported chronologically framing with a dramatic, visual and contextual orientation. On the other hand, the thematic framework focuses on news analysis. Therefore, the news is embedded with a simple explanation to get the context of the event. The two strategies have different emphases and goals, where the episodic

framework is more personal responsibility while the thematic framework is more about social responsibility (20).

In the comparative sample of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation, different strategies using episodic and thematic structures appear in each frame. Although the media do not exclusively use episodic or thematic solely, there is a marked trend in coverage that tendency one strategy over another.

In the economic frame, the dominant student and labor protest movements at *cnnindonesia.com* and *kompas.com* inclined episodic frames, where protest events are structured contextually, visually, and dramatically.

Cnn.indonesia.com uses a lexicon ranging from “tak berdaya” (helpless); “tokoh intelektual penggerak demo” (intellectual figure behind the protest); and “penutupan situasional” (situational closure). Meanwhile, *kompas.com* uses the terms “judicial review”, “aksi jalanan”(street -protest), “parlemen jalanan” (street parliamentary movement). They use the phrase to give a dramatic element, where protests from students and workers are described as an act of political power. In this strategy, *kompas.com* consistently places student and labor protests as a form of extra-parliamentary movement vis-a-vis the legal-constitutional process. In event-driven news, both media use the same dramatic episodic frame strategy; they emphasize the details of the events around the student and workers’ protest movement.

Kompas.com and *cnnindonesia.com* use different strategies in covering the positive frame of the impact of Omnibus Law on workers and the economy. *Kompas.com* employs a thematic structure with terms such as “redam gejolak ekonomi global”(absorb global economic turmoil), “jebakan kelas menengah” (middle-class trap), “asuransi pengangguran” (unemployment insurance). Furthermore, *cnnindonesia.com* also picks the terms :”harmonisasi” (harmonization), “kompensasi”(compensation) and “pajak potensial”(tax potential) in thematic structure.

In the policy frame, *kompas.com* placed a positive and a negative valence for news related to the political process of the Omnibus Law in the thematic strategy. Thematic strategies lead to social responsibility, are authoritative, and legal.

Kompas.com used the phrases “rumusan baru pemerintah” (new government formulation), “stimulus positif”(positive stimulus), “konsensus”(consensus) side by side with negative tones against omnibus law such as “otoritarian” (authoritarian), “cacat prosedural”(procedural flawed), and “ego sektoral” (sectoral ego).

The difference between episodic and thematic strategies is also evident in the security and environmental frames. *Kompas.com* tends to use thematic strategies in environmental and security issues, while *CNN Indonesia* opts for episodic strategies.

Kompas.com uses the "bank tanah" (land bank), "indek persepsi korupsi" (corruption perception index) and "risk-based model", CNN's episodic frame in term "teror nyata bagi rakyat dan lingkungan" (real terror for the people and the environment), "tidak ada bos di Natuna" (no boss in Natuna) and so on.

In the socio-cultural frame, they both use episodic frames. Kompas.com uses the lexicon of the words "kembalinya Orde Baru" (return to the new order), "ekonomi kapitalisme" (economic capitalism), and "kemunduran besar" (major decline) to frame the impact on the state system and government. The same frame is also carried out by cnnindonesia.com as in "berpotensi mencipatakan kroni-kroni" (potential to cronies), "harmonisasi hukum adat" (harmonized common law), and "investasi" (investment).

The important point about this data is there are two framing strategies employed by b, 1) news valence and 2) news storytelling structure. Both media used an episodic structure, especially for negative valence, and the thematic structure to frame the political process related to legislation in the people's representative institutions and the government.

This difference strategy is called frame building when the communication actor affects journalists in presenting the narrative of an event (21). Actors (politicians, government, and public figures) have a dominant influence on journalists in building the structure and valence of news.

However, journalists also act as communication actors who frame facts based on personal experience, journalistic work routines, and the prevailing socio-political system (22). Usage of frame types was significantly different between the two media. Kompas.com used more legal consequences, morality, and social responsibility frame than cnnindonesia.com. On the other hand, both media are equally dominant to cover event-driven news in the protest of workers and students in an episodic frame.

This study shows different results from those conducted by researchers regarding the image of Rohingya refugees (14). Irom et.al concluded the media were more familiar with thematic frame strategy to place the image of refugees in crisis and emergency imaginary conditions. Therefore, both the use of episodic and thematic strategies ultimately leads to how the media represents a fact, which leads to different final accountability.

Nevertheless, framing in the study of political communication is challenged to be a more appropriate formulation to answer the conceptual of political communication (5). In the end, media framing still cannot be separated from the prevailing media system in a country. The media systems lead to particular media framing strategies for a similar issue (23).

4. Conclusion

The framing strategy greatly influences the audience and carries significant political implications. As a policy analysis, comparative framing provides in-depth insight into policy in media news.

This approach can be applied by comparing data in different levels of context (across media, across cultures, and between countries) and assessing levels of media diversity. This diversity provides an overview of the discourse of a policy that can be formulated and refined by stakeholders based on a multi-perspective view.

There are several limitations to this study. Firstly, the analysis of media texts is limited in news articles, where hard-news framing strategies are more dominant. The researcher does not include editorials, free articles, and opinions in the unit of analysis for this research. Secondly, the researcher chooses news valence as a binary opposition. We realize that while this approach is more effective for positioning the media, we are missing detailed news descriptions in thematic formats in neutral valence.

However, the valence and framing strategy provide a modest analysis of the comparative framing for government policies in public discourse. We concluded that in the context of event-driven news, such as demonstrations against the omnibus law on job creation, the media does not have a high disparity in reporting. However, in a more micro-media issue strategy, the framing strategy is different. It is due to media traits, both historical-ideological and the organizational structure of the media. Further research can explore comparative framing in political policy and communication studies for more complex and comprehensive models.

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