

Social Movement in Framing Perspective: Omnibus Law Protest in Indonesia

Gerakan Sosial dalam Perspektif Framing: Protes Terhadap Omnibus Law di Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to provide a framing perspective on the study of development communication. This study explains the causes of the emergence of social movements in Indonesia in rejecting the Omnibus Law. The protests against the Omnibus Law that occurred in various cities in Indonesia as a form of resistance to government policies were examined from the perspective of framing theory. The method used is text analysis with Robert N Entman's framing framework. The unit of analysis is the Omnibus Law protest news published in Tempo Magazine in October 2020. The results of this study indicate that social movements to reject the Omnibus Law were carried out by various elements of society, ranging from workers, students, and other elements of society. Even though the Omnibus Law was finally signed by President Joko Widodo on October 5, 2020, the protest effort remained an important note that this law has many loopholes that are considered to be detrimental to elements of society, potentially damaging the environment, and weakening government authority area.

Keywords : Framing, omnibus law, protest, government and social movements

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memberikan perspektif framing pada kajian komunikasi pembangunan. Studi ini menjelaskan penyebab lahirnya gerakan sosial terkait penolakan Omnibus Law di Indonesia. Gerakan protes terjadi di beberapa kota di Indonesia sebagai bentuk penolakan kebijakan pemerintah dalam mengatur berbagai ketentuan yang tergabung dalam Omnibus Law. Penelitian ini mengambil perspektif framing dalam mengkaji penyebab munculnya gerakan sosial. Metode yang digunakan analisis teks Robert N Entman dalam kerangka framing. Unit analisis yang diteliti dalam gerakan protes Omnibus Law adalah berita di majalah Tempo selama bulan Oktober 2020. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan penolakan terhadap Omnibus Law terjadi secara meluas meliputi berbagai komponen masyarakat seperti buruh, mahasiswa dan berbagai elemen masyarakat lainnya. Meskipun Omnibus Law akhirnya ditandatangani oleh Presiden Joko Widodo pada tanggal 5 Oktober 2020, gerakan protes terhadap Omnibus Law tetap harus menjadi catatan penting bagi pemerintah dalam menerima masukan elemen-elemen masyarakat yang terkait dengan kebijakan ini.

Kata kunci: Framing, omnibus law, protes, pemerintah dan pergerakan sosial.



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INTRODUCTION

This research is important to carry out considering two things. Firstly, in the study of development communication, this research is useful for the government in implementing development that is oriented towards community progress and encouraging community involvement in the development process. Second, in communication studies, this study will enrich the body of perspective framing which raises the issue of protest against a government policy that concerns the lives of the wider community. This movement is interesting even though in October 2020 the protest movement spread in large cities in Indonesia, demonstrations against the Omnibus Law occurred again in August 2023 in the Monas area of Jakarta, and thousands of workers demanded an increase in wages.

The Omnibus Law (Law on Job Creation) as a legal product resulting from a breakthrough during President Joko Widodo's second term has experienced many rejections since the beginning (Widiyaningrum & Isnaini, 2021). The Omnibus Law, which accommodates approximately 76 laws and 1,200 articles, aims to unify various kinds of laws into one so that there are no overlapping rules. The law also aims to facilitate investment in Indonesia so that it is not convoluted. However, this recently introduced legal product is considered very hasty by civil society groups, especially workers, and does not involve various stakeholders who are directly related to Omnibus Law products, such as trade unions, environmental activists, activists, human rights groups, and other civil societies (Novita, Nur, & Rose, 2021).

The original purpose of the Omnibus Law was to create a better working environment (Prakasa, 2021). However, the Omnibus Law was decided hastily. Authority in the industrial sector is considered to be handed over to employers, as a result, job security for workers is very risky (Amin, 2020). In the government's view, the Omnibus Law aims to attract investment and shorten the bureaucratic chain. On the contrary, according to contra groups, there are several negative implications of the Omnibus Law formation, including harming workers, harming agriculture, land monopoly, cutting and changing administrative concepts, education market-oriented, and lack of transparency (Novita et al., 2021).

In this context, the researchers use the concept of framing which is defined as a persistent pattern of cognition, interpretation and presentation, selection, emphasis, and exclusion, with which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse. Entman (2010) defines framing as selecting some aspects of perceived reality and making it more prominent in communication texts, in such a way as to promote specific problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendations. Meanwhile, Morley (2003) defines framing as the basic conceptual, and ideological framework through which events are presented, and as a result, these events are given one dominant/primary meaning than others. Meanwhile, Lim & Jones (2010) define framing as a central organizing idea to understand relevant events, suggesting what the problem is.

From these various definitions, there are common threads from various definitions. Framing is related to the process of highlighting and selecting messages. News is built, selected, and presented only as a specific part of the news (Van Gorp & Vercruyssen, 2012). Complex events are simplified so that they can be understood and fit into a person's cognitive structure. As a result of the simplification process, certain parts of a story are highlighted, while other parts of the story are eliminated or reduced. Scheufele & Scheufele (2010) divide the framing concept into macro and micro levels. The differences between frames at macro level and micro level are as follows:

At the macro level, the term framing refers to the presentation that communicators use to present information in a way that is consistent with the underlying schema that exists between their audience. Of course, this does not mean that most journalists try to do it, rotate the story or deceive their audience. In fact, framing for them is a necessary tool to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their respective media regarding news holes and airtime. Framing, in other words, becomes an invaluable tool for presenting relatively complex problems, such as stem cell research, efficiently and in a way that makes them accessible to ordinary audiences as they play with existing cognitive schemas. As a micro-construct, framing describes how people use information and presentation features about problems when they form impressions.

From the opinion of Van Gorp & Vercruyssen (2012) it can be concluded that the frame at the macro level is related to the use of audience schemes, the general view that exists in society. Meanwhile, the frame at the micro level is a frame related to a person's cognitive aspects when receiving and processing information. A somewhat different view is put forward by Van Gorp & Vercruyssen (2012).

According to Entman (2010) a frame at the micro level is a frame at the level of cognition (psychology), when a person perceives reality according to individual cognition. Meanwhile, the frame at the macro level is a frame where a person absorbs the values that exist in society (Jamil & Doktoralina, 2016).

The framing process is not purely an individual process (Wibhisono, 2020). A person with the same culture, experience and values can have the same understanding and construction of an event (Briandana, 2019). Based on the distinction based on the micro and macro levels, the conception of Anggoro (2016) can be categorized as a framework at the micro level. Meanwhile, frames at the macro level include (Edelman, 1993; Entman, 2010a; Reese, Gandy, & Grant, 2001; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009; Van Gorp, 2007).

Meanwhile, the concept of social movements is also used in this study. A social movement, according to Molaei (2015), is a mobilization against the state and its government system, which does not always use violence and armed rebellion, as occurs in riots, rebellions and revolutions. According to him, social movements generally declare themselves within the framework of democratic values.

Ida & Saud (2020) offer at least four main characteristics of social movements, namely (1) informal interaction networks; (2) mutual feelings and solidarity; (3) conflict as the focus of collective action; and (4) promoting forms of protest. In other words, social movements are informal networks based on mutual feelings and solidarity, which aim to mobilize conflictual issues, through various forms of protest which are carried out continuously. These also distinguish social movements from movements carried out by political parties, interest groups, religious sects, momentary protests, or momentary political coalitions (Sulistyo & Azmawati, 2016).

In Indonesia itself, the fall of Soeharto's New Order authoritarian regime in May 1998 cannot be separated from the role of social movements, especially the student movement, which in turn led this nation into a more democratic condition (Pratama, Jamil, & Briandana, 2021). The youth movement has actually been initiated by the pro-democracy movement since the 1970s, such as the peasants, laborers, indigenous peoples, urban poor, press, political parties, intellectual and intellectual groups. In other words, these sporadic and temporary resistances have created the preconditions for the student movement which is likened to being at the crest of a wave allowing them to reach the finish line (Ahmad & Popa, 2014). Based on the explanation of the problem, this study aims to analyze the media framing of the Tempo media regarding the Omnibus Law coverage case.

METHODS

Text analysis was carried out on the reporting of the protest case against the Omnibus Law. How does Tempo frame the news of the protest movement? The text analysis method used in this research is framing analysis. The framing analysis model used in this study is the frame model from Entman (2010b). Entman (2010b) sees the frame in two big dimensions, selection of issues and highlighting issues. Prominence is the process of making information more meaningful, more interesting, or more memorable to audiences. A prominently presented reality has a greater likelihood of being noticed and influencing the audience in understanding a reality. In practice, framing is carried out by the media by selecting certain issues and ignoring other issues; and accentuating aspects of the issue using a variety of strategies, striking placement on the front, repetition, use of graphics and photos, catchy words and so on. All these aspects make certain dimensions of news construction more memorable to the audience.

In the conception of Entman & Usher (2018), framing basically refers to providing definitions, explanations, evaluations and recommendations of a news item to emphasize a certain frame of mind on the events being reported. First in the model is to Define Problems. How is an event viewed? As a what? Or as a problem? Second is identifying the Source of the Problem (Diagnose Causes). What are the causes of the events seen? Who are the actors who are considered to be the cause of the problem? Third is identifying the Moral Decision (Make Moral Judgment). What moral values are presented to explain the problem? What moral values are used to support or not support an action? Fourth is Emphasizing Completion (Treatment Recommendation). What solutions are offered to solve the problem? This study's application of framing analysis will demonstrate how the government has fallen short in its efforts to implement development communication that centers on community involvement in all strategic decision-making related to national development.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the government's view, the Omnibus Law aims to attract investment and shorten the bureaucratic chain. On the contrary, according to contra groups, there are several negative implications of the formation of the Omnibus Law, including harming workers, harming agriculture, land monopoly, cutting and changing administrative concepts, education-market oriented, and lacking of transparency. Using Robert N Entman's framing framework, the main issue that the Omnibus Law aims to attract foreign investment is as follows:

Table 1. Tempo Magazine Framing. Issue: Attracting Foreign Investors

Framing Devices	Issue: Attracting Foreign Investors Tempo Magazine, 17 October 2020
<i>Define Problems</i>	The President asked his ministers to speed up the creation of a derivative rule for the Omnibus Law because he wanted to seize the investment momentum. Jokowi stressed that the government could not just wait for investment that fled to Vietnam, Malaysia, or Thailand.
<i>Diagnose Cause</i>	Investment. The Omnibus Law is needed to stimulate investment. For example, land acquisition will accelerate infrastructure development that requires a large area of land.
<i>Make Moral Judgment</i>	This step was taken by the government to break the bureaucratic chain due to overlapping regulations that were considered to hinder the entry of investment. A number of circles have criticized the formation of the Omnibus Law for various reasons and arguments regarding the method of drafting a new regulation as well as replacing or removing several articles in one or more applicable regulations.
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	The concept of the Omnibus Law is a step in issuing a law that can improve the many laws that have been considered overlapping and hinder the process of making business easier. With the issuance of one law to reduce and improve the number of laws, it is hoped that it will solve problems in the economic sector. This is because with many laws it cannot be accelerated, since they still regulate and can conflict with each other.

Define Problems shows Tempo's framing shows that the Omnibus Law lies in the government's desire to increase investment. It is important for the government to make breakthrough efforts to attract foreign investment amid declining economic growth in line with the sluggish global economy. Diagnose Cause: investment is the basis for efforts to accelerate infrastructure development. Make Moral Judgment: to break the bureaucratic chain due to overlapping regulations. Treatment Recommendation: According to Tempo, the issuance of the Omnibus Law can improve the investment climate and is expected to be a solution to problems in the economic sector. Using the Robert Entman's framing framework, the main issues of rejection to the Omnibus Law are as follows:

Table 2. Tempo Magazine Framing. Issue: Omnibus Law Rejection

Framing Devices	Issue: Attracting Foreign Investors Tempo Magazine, 17 October 2020
<i>Define Problems</i>	In its formulation, the Omnibus Law is also very non-participatory by not involving workers as one of the sectors who will feel the impact of this regulation directly.
<i>Diagnose Cause</i>	Government. It is feared that the implementation of this regulation will cut and change the concept of administrative requirements, this is related to business practices, the fate of workers, provisions of local government regulations, and nature preservation.
<i>Make Moral Judgment</i>	Canceling the Omnibus Law, with arguments related to the method of preparation, deliberations in the legislature and the ratification of the rule, which were filled with various irregularities. A number of articles underwent amendments before being ratified by the President.
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	Withdrawing the Omnibus Law through a planned implementation of a thorough discussion in the legislature to compile a better Omnibus Law Draft by inviting all stakeholders.

Define Problems shows that the drafting of this law is not participatory, Diagnose Cause lies on the government, Treatment Recommendations are to rearrange the draft law in the legislature for discussion with stakeholders. Tempo considers that this law is too enforced, so that a protest movement has emerged to reject the enactment of this law.

Omnibus Law: *Pros and Cons*

The rejection of the civil society movement toward the Omnibus Law design product has various reasons. Apart from the points contained in the Omnibus Law which are considered to be detrimental to workers, the Omnibus Law product in its preparation is also very non-participatory by not involving workers as a sector who will later feel the impact of this Omnibus Law directly.

There are *Pros and Cons* to the Omnibus Law between the government and the legislature against opposing groups, such as trade unions, environmental activists and activists and human rights groups, and civil society. According to the pro group, the government together with the legislature, the concept of the Omnibus Law is a step to issue a law that can improve the many laws that have been considered overlapping and hinder the process of making business easier. With the issuance of one law to improve the number of laws it is hoped that it will solve problems in the economic sector. This is because with many laws, it cannot be accelerated since these laws still regulate and can conflict with each other.

Furthermore, according to pro groups, the practice of Omnibus Law can be seen in Goovernment Regulation Number 1 of 2001, Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, the Omnibus Law has been stipulated at the level of the TAP MPR RI, namely MPR RI Decree Number I/MPR/2003. The law resulting from the concept of the Omnibus Law can lead to an umbrella law because it regulates thoroughly and then has power over other rules.

For the government, harmonization is currently needed to release overlapping laws and regulations by applying the Omnibus Law concept. The concept of the Omnibus Law mechanism needs to be regulated in the law formation scheme. Renewal of statutory regulations in the framework of legal development is urgently needed.

Meanwhile, according to the contra group, there are several negative implications of the formation of the Omnibus Law, including detrimental to workers, detrimental to agriculture, land monopoly, cutting and changing the concept of administration, market-oriented education, and lack of transparency. It is also feared that the Omnibus Law will cut and change the concept of administrative requirements. This is related to business practices that will cause damage or change the function of space or the environment, including: centralization of policies, eliminating community involvement, flexibility and adjustment of spatial planning, removal of permits. constructing buildings, reducing the substance of environmental sustainability, and eliminating environmental criminal sanctions. In addition, it is feared that the omnibus Law will have implications for the perpetuation of market-oriented educational practices.

Table 3. Differences in Frames between Government and Labor

Issue	Government Frame	Labor Frame
Attracting Foreign Investors	Attract foreign investment to encourage job creation.	Weakening the position of local government and labor because of the shifting of the central government and business will become stronger.
Simplifying the Bureaucracy	Cut bureaucracy so that it is simpler and there are no overlapping rules.	Weakening labor rights, harming workers, harming agriculture, land monopolies, cutting and changing administrative concepts, market-oriented education, and lack of transparency.
Economic Liberalization	Efforts to attract foreign capital investment by means of economic liberalization.	One of the consequences of this perspective of economic liberalization is the reduction of labor rights. The pretext of facilitating investment makes the position of entrepreneurs very strong so that the principles of easy hiring, easy firing (easy to recruit-easy to fire) are increasingly justified.
Preparation of the Omnibus Law	The Omnibus Law was prepared by the Government together with the Legislative Council to become the flagship program of the Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin Government in order to accelerate economic growth and be included in the 2020 National Legislation Program Priorities.	The preparation of the Omnibus Law is not participatory by not involving workers as one of the sectors who will feel the impact of the Omnibus Law directly through the draft work of this law.

Issue	Government Frame	Labor Frame
Employment	It is hoped that the entry of investment in Indonesia will encourage the creation of the widest possible job opportunities for all Indonesian people. There needs to be innovation from the Government to attract investors, one of which is through simplification and streamlining of regulations or what we know as the Omnibus Law.	Termination of employment is due to certain reasons which result in the termination of rights and obligations between workers or laborers and employers.
The ratification of the Omnibus Law is hasty	The government accelerated the preparation of the Omnibus Law by inviting businessmen (Kadin) to pursue the Omnibus Law target to complete 100 days of Jokowi's second administration.	Research results from the Indonesia Ocean Justice Initiative show that the discussion of the Omnibus Law violates the principle of establishing laws and regulations as stipulated in Law No.12 of 2011.

Omnibus Law irregularities that triggered the Protest

The weaknesses of the Omnibus Law can be seen from the formulation process, discussion, and endorsement by President Joko Widodo. The most striking irregularity is the existence of four draft versions of the discussion results, after being ratified on 5 October 2020. The draft has several substantive differences. The omnibus Law formulation is also considered to have many irregularities. The following is the framing of the omnibus Law irregularities in Tempo, 14 October 2020.

Table 4. Framing anomalies of the Omnibus Law

Issue	Omnibus law irregularities
Formulation	<p>The drafting of the law was closed and involved more business circles and the government in the drafting team.</p> <p>It does not involve much public participation, from formulation to discussion in the Legislative Council.</p>
Time of Discussion	<p>The discussions in the Legislative Council were rushed. Evidence of the haste is evident from the schedule of discussions that are still held even during the recess of the DPR members or on holidays.</p> <p>The Legislative Council and the government enforced the discussion of the Omnibus Law draft during the Covid-19 pandemic.</p> <p>The time difference between the consultation meeting to replace the Deliberative Council meeting which discussed the schedule for ratification of the Omnibus Law and the plenary session was only about 30 minutes apart on 5 October.</p> <p>The plenary meeting for the ratification was planned for 8 October, but was shortened by three days to 5 October.</p>
Material of the Law	<p>The material of the law is considered to be more detrimental to labor groups, environmental sustainability, and natural resources.</p> <p>Members of the Legislation Body did not receive the text of the results of the Omnibus Law discussion during the plenary meeting for ratification.</p> <p>Various versions of the results of the discussion on the Draft Omnibus Law have appeared, the contents of which have a number of differences.</p> <p>There is a difference between the draft of Omnibus Law that was published on October 5 and the final draft. The final draft had only been revised by the Legislative Council two days earlier.</p>
Government's Attitude	<p>The government accuses opponents of the Omnibus Law of spreading hoaxes, even though the final draft has not been submitted by the Legislative Council to the President.</p> <p>The police have arrested people accused of spreading hoaxes related to the omnibus Law. However, the police themselves could not explain the draft on which the hoax allegations were based.</p>

A number of legal experts argue in seeing the defects in formal law in the Omnibus Law. This is because there is a substantial change in the draft passed by the Legislative Council. Constitutional law expert, Bivitri Susanti, said such changes were against the law. "This law legally violates the law and the constitution. From the side of legitimacy it is also low, because it was made in an inappropriate way," he explained. Article 72 of the Law on the Establishment of Legislation was given seven days after ratification to the Legislative Council. However, that does not mean that the Legislative Council has the right to change the substance. That time span is simply for tidying up drafts of minor errors, such as typos, "Plus bureaucratic procedures for making cover letters and so on." (Tempo, October 14, 2020)

Protests against Omnibus Law

The passing of the Omnibus Law sparked protest rallies in various regions. They oppose the ratification of the Omnibus Law because it contains articles that are detrimental to workers. Protest rallies against the Omnibus Law, which initially took place peacefully in various cities, then turned into chaos. The following is the protest movements published in Tempo magazine on October 9, 2020.

Table 5. The Workers' Social Movement against the Omnibus Law

City	Date	Social Movement
Bekasi	5 November 2020	Workers who were about to protest at the Legislative Council building in Senayan were stopped by the police in the East Jakarta Industri Park Bekasi industrial area and at the West Bekasi toll gate.
Tangerang	5 November 2020	Hundreds of workers broke through the police barricade to join the protesters at the Merdeka Palace, Jakarta. A patrol car was damaged by a mob in front of the branch office of the Indonesian Metal Workers Union Federation, Tangerang.
Cianjur	6 November 2020	On November 6, thousands of laborers and workers in Cianjur Regency gathered at the border between Cianjur Regency and West Bandung Regency. They then shifted to the Cianjur District Legislative Council building, then headed for the center of the capital city of Cianjur Regency.
Bandung	6 November 2020	Workers rallied at several points, including blocking the national road in Rancaekek, Bandung Regency. The protest rally took place at Gedung Sate and the office of the Legislative Council of West Java Province. The police arrested 160 demonstrators who were accused of attacking officers and damaging public facilities.
Jakarta	6 November 2020	Thousands of workers and students demonstrated at the gathering point in front of the Merdeka Palace and the Legislative Council building. One thousand people were arrested on charges of being the perpetrators of the riot. Six policemen were hospitalized. The masses damaged public facilities, such as the Transjakarta bus stop, police posts, the excavator for the Mass Rapid Transit project, to the lobby of the ESDM Ministry building.
Depok	6 November 2020	Thousands of workers from various trade unions went on strike.
Kudus	6 November 2020	Workers put up banners against the Omnibus Law at 40 points.
Cirebon	6 November 2020	The rally that was originally orderly in front of the Cirebon District Legislative Council office turned into the destruction of public facilities and people's homes. The police arrested 112 people on charges of being the perpetrators of the riot.
Jogyakarta	6 November 2020	A peaceful rally of workers and students turned into riots after noon. The mob damaged the Yogyakarta Provincial Legislative Council building and burned a restaurant on Jalan Malioboro.
Surabaya	6 November 2020	The protest rally by workers and students led to clashes with the police. The riot occurred around the East Java Provincial Legislative Council building, the East Java Governor's office, and the Granadi Building.
Medan	6 November 2020	Police arrested 177 people accused of rioting during a protest rally in front of the Legislative Council of North Sumatra Province.
Padang	6 November 2020	A total of 84 people were detained by the police on charges of being the perpetrators of the riot after a protest rally in front of the West Sumatra Provincial Legislative Council office.

City	Date	Social Movement
Banjarmasin	6 November 2020	The protest rally at the Legislative Council building of South Kalimantan Province went on peacefully after the students were accepted by the DPR members. The police, all of whom were unarmed, and the demonstrators had time to pray together before the crowd dispersed.
Kendari	6 November 2020	The protest rally in front of the Legislative Council of Southeast Sulawesi Province, which initially went on peacefully, turned into chaos. The police dispersed the crowd with water cannons.

The police arrested activists who rejected the Omnibus Law, especially protest orators and people affiliated with the Coalition for Action to Save Indonesia (KAMI), a community organization declared by national figures, such as Din Syamsuddin and Gatot Nurmantyo. The police charged opponents of the Omnibus Law violating the Information and Electronic Transactions Law. Some of them were arrested yesterday morning at his residence and then became suspects. The following activists were arrested (Tempo, 14 October 2020).

Table 6. Arrests of activists by Police

Name	Position	Date of Arrest	City of Arrest
Khairi Amri	Chairman, KAMI Medan	9 October 2020	Medan
Juliana	Staff, KAMI Medan	10 October 2020	Medan
Devi	Staff, KAMI Medan	10 October 2020	Medan
Kingkin Anida	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera	10 October 2020	Medan
Wahyu Rasari Putri		12 October 2020	Medan
Anton Permana	Orator, KAMI		Jakarta
Jumhur Hidayat	Orator, KAMI	13 October 2020	Jakarta
Syhganda Nainggolan	Executive Committee Secretary, KAMI	13 October 2020	Depok

DISCUSSION

Framing and Social Movement

Framing concepts and theories have been widely used in media studies. But this theory is also widely used to explain social movements. The experts who talk a lot about framing and social movements are (Edelman, 1993; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009; Van Gorp, 2007).

An important question of social movements is what makes a person or group of people engage in social movements or protests. What causes people to take to the streets to reject the Omnibus Law. The answer to this question lies in framing. Framing Theory can help explain why in a protest action or social movement, a person can feel involved and support a social movement (Reese et al., 2001). But at other times, they don't feel involved and don't support other social movements.

Frame refers to a schema of individual understanding, so that a person can place, perceive, identify, and label events in a certain understanding (Jamil & Doktoralina, 2016). In an event, the frame plays a role in organizing experiences and action instructions, either individually or collectively. In this connection, the frame plays a role in determining the success of social movement participation (Eriyanto, 2011). Actors and social movement leaders can frame events in such a way that audiences share the same opinions, judgments and feelings. Riden Hatam Aziz, Secretary General of the Central Executive of the Federation of Indonesian Metal Workers Union together with Ismail, the Regional Coordinator of the Guard Metal Cilegon, West Java, mobilized 600 people to Jakarta. Due to pressure from the security forces, only 400 workers moved to Jakarta on 5 October 2000. Those who rejected the Omnibus Law included labor elements, i.e. the Confederation of Indonesian Trade Unions, chaired by Elly Rosita Silaban, the Confederation of Indonesian Workers Unions, Said Aqbal, together with the Confederation of Indonesian Workers Unions, Andi Gani Nena Wea, went down with the workers to reject the Omnibus Law. The coordinator of the Student Executive Board (BEM) Alliance, Andi Khiyarullah, said that more than 5000 students and a large number of students from 300 universities who came to the Jakarta Palace rejected the Omnibus Law. The success of a social movement or

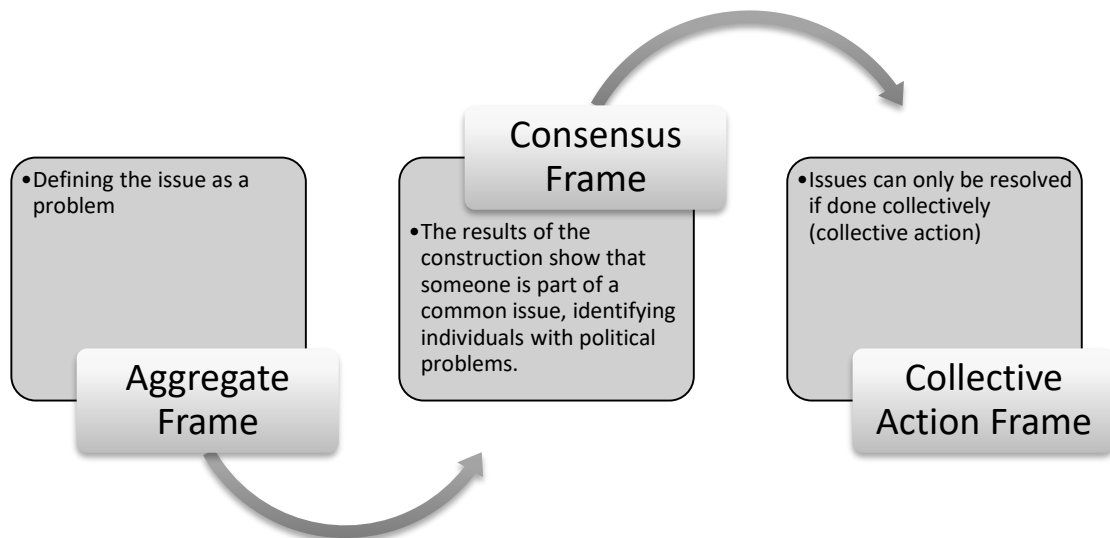
protest movement is determined by the extent to which the public has the same view of an issue, a common enemy, and a common goal (Eriyanto, 2011).

According to Gamson & Modigliani (1989), the success of social movements lies in how events are framed to give rise to collective action. In order for collective action to emerge, it requires a collectively acceptable interpretation and meaning of symbols. In this case, workers are representatives of those who have received adverse consequences from the Omnibus Law. When the public feels that what they are fighting for is part of themselves, then people feel part of a social movement.

According to Molaei (2015), all social movements must have a framing process, and will determine the success or failure of social movements. Sulistyono & Azmawati (2016) identifies three types of frames that are generally carried out in social movements. Actors and social organizations will carry out these three frames in the struggle for their social movements (Putri, Andika, & Annisarizki, 2020).

First, aggregate frame. This frame is concerned with defining an issue or event as a common problem. This is the initial stage or process carried out by social movement actors or organizations (Yusriana et al., 2021). The success of social movements largely depends on whether the issues being fought for are seen as common problems. The protest movement rejecting the Omnibus Law has great support because this policy is constructed as a common problem, a problem that affects many people. On the other hand, the protest movement which was initiated by a number of people to protest the increase in toll rates seems to lack support. This is because this policy is not constructed as a common problem that affects everyone. Because of this, one's involvement in the protest movement then becomes low.

Second, the consensus frame. It is concerned with the process of identifying individuals as part of the public. When an issue is successfully formed as a common issue, actors and social movements must formulate a strategy so that each individual is identified with the issue. People must be convinced that they become part of the public who are facing problems together. Therefore, it is not enough to emphasize that an issue or policy is a big problem or a common problem, but also to emphasize that individuals must be affected by the issue or policy. In the case of the elimination of the Omnibus Law, this issue is a big problem, and every worker, employee can be affected by the Omnibus Law if it is enforced.



Picture 1. Frames in Social Movement

Third, the collective action frame. This frame is related to the construction that problems can only be solved by holding a collective protest. Only with the protest movement together can the voices of those who are not satisfied be heard by policy makers, and a policy can be changed. In the case of the omnibus Law protest, the collective action frame occurs when workers, employees who feel affected if this law is enacted, jointly carry out a protest movement to reject the Omnibus Law.

The description above shows the lack of public participation in the process of drafting the Omnibus Law. Community empowerment is an alternative paradigm of development with the aim of bringing people to empowerment and independence. The essence of every development activity is a change in

attitude to project oneself into other situations and that arena consciously and planned to prepare to make changes to improve the quality of life in order to anticipate circumstances and changes that will occur in the future. Protests against the Omnibus Law show community resistance in the development process that involves the aspirations and interests of the community. The description above shows the lack of public participation in the process of drafting the Omnibus Law. Community empowerment is an alternative paradigm of development with the aim of bringing people to empowerment and independence. The essence of every development activity is to occur.

This study shows that development communication is basically aimed at contributing to the development process, especially in order to accelerate the process of diffusion of innovation. The diffusion of innovation in development is an effort to meet the demands of modernization. The implications of the development communication process demand a diffusion of innovation media, that is, the process of innovation that is communicated through a certain channel in a certain time to all members of a social system. Communication in this model is a process in which participants create and disseminate information between one member and another with the aim of achieving common understanding. (Rogers, 1976; Jahi, 1988). This study shows that development communication is basically aimed at contributing to the development process, especially in order to accelerate the process of diffusion of innovation. The diffusion of innovation in development is an effort to meet the demands of modernization.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that Tempo's news framing is more in favor of the social movement frame than the government frame. The main issue raised by the government is that the Omnibus Law is useful for increasing investment by breaking the length of the bureaucratic chain, is considered too hasty so that it ignores the formal legislation formulation process to listen to all the opinions of stakeholders related to the Omnibus Law. The non-participatory formulation process, among others, did not involve workers as one of the sectors who would later feel the impact of this regulation directly. Anomalies in the process of formulating the Omnibus Law in the Legislative up to the Presidential Palace to be signed triggered protests from community components which in several cities turned protests turned anarchist. Protests against the Omnibus Law can be seen as a form of resistance to the Government and the legislature. This is because it is considered that the Omnibus material is more detrimental to labor groups, environmental sustainability and natural resources. The arrests of activists who oppose the Omnibus Law show the government's failure to form a frame that is acceptable to the public. This study shows the importance of the government accepting community input in every policy decision that has an impact on aspects of society's life at large. Having an understanding to develop development communication that focuses on community participation that is informative, persuasive and instructive in a systematic way is absolutely necessary for the government to bridge the gap between the government's interests and the interests of the community as citizens.

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