

The Polemic of the Postponement of the 2024 Indonesia Election: Analysis of Framing in Online Media

Rivi Saputri*, Achmad Nurmandi, Misran, and Dimas Subekti

Abstract—This study aims to analyze the framing of online media in reporting on the polemic of the rejection of the three-term presidential term and the postponement of the 2024 election in Indonesia. This study uses a qualitative method. The author uses Robert N. Entman's theory in looking at 4 indicators of framing. Sources of data used in this study are primary data and secondary data. The result of this study found that at the Define Problem stage 17%, diagnose causes 38%, make moral judgment 25%, and treatment recommendation 17%. Meanwhile, for framing analysis on CNNIndonesia.com online media, it was found that at the Define Problem stage 14%, diagnose causes 39%, make moral judgment 30%, and treatment recommendation 15%. In making and displaying news coverage, the two online media discuss more the diagnoses cause indicator. The framing of the two online media portals Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com regarding the issue of postponing elections and rejecting office for three periods, every news writer or online media has their character and ideology in making news scripts that will be conveyed to readers, but the online media must be neutral in delivering news to the general public.

Index Terms—Framing analysis, online media, postponement elections, Indonesia

I. INTRODUCTION

One of the political issues that are always discussed and raises pros and cons is the 3rd term president. Recently, the issue of Jokowi 3 Periods often sticks out and appears in various national mass media. Although this issue was heavily echoed in the era of President Joko Widodo, previously in the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono a similar discourse had also been proposed, but the public refused. This is not without reason, considering that the 3 term President's term of office is contrary to Article 7 of the 1945 Constitution which states that "The President and Vice President hold office for five years, and after that, they can be re-elected for the same term of office, only for one term of office." [1]. Various kinds of speculation have sprung up regarding the pros and cons of the Jokowi 3 Periods [2]. Pro Jokowi 3 Periods assume that if Jokowi takes office again as president with Prabowo as his deputy, it will unite the Indonesian people who are divided because of the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections. Considering that in the last two presidential elections, the competition between Jokowi and

Prabowo is very hot for the presidential seat. The Republic of Indonesia. Contra Jokowi 3 Periods assume that a too long term of office will potentially lead to absolute power which is very vulnerable to irregularities, namely Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism (KKN), considering that Indonesia has had a bad experience due to no presidential term limit, namely in the era of President Soeharto.

Regarding the issue of postponing the election and the three-term presidential term, students feel this is wrong and not in line with the existing laws in Indonesia. So that the students who are gathered under the name BEM SI or the All-Indonesian Student Executive Board flocked to express their aspirations in front of the Regional People's Representative Assembly/ People's Consultative Assembly of Indonesia Republic (DPR/MPR RI) Building, Central Jakarta on Monday, April 11, 2022. The All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) is incorporated from various universities in Indonesia. At first, the demonstration went smoothly until there were provocateurs 2 who caused the demonstration to become chaotic several were injured and even one of the lecturers of Communication Studies at the University of Indonesia, became a victim of beatings until he was helpless. The demonstration on April 11, 2022, conveyed several demands including the following:

- 1) Urge and demand representatives of the people to listen and convey the aspirations of the people.
- 2) All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) urges the representatives of the people to pick up the aspirations of the people that have been conveyed in demonstrations in various regions from March 28, 2022, to April 11, 2022.
- 3) All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) demands and urges members of parliament to expressly reject the postponement of the 2024 election or a three-term term.
- 4) All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) urges and demands representatives of the people to submit a study accompanied by 18 student demands to President Joko Widodo, which so far have not been answered.

The news about Jokowi 3 This period certainly did not escape the attention of the media, all mass media, especially online media, were competing to raise the topic to be presented to the public. Jokowi's 3 Period news contains news value in the form of prominence, namely important people. Important and prominent people always create news, not only their words or behavior, even their names have created news. The journalistic theory states that names make news. [1]. The prominence in the news is that it liberates an important figure, Joko Widodo, as the President of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, it did not take long to attract public attention to this topic, considering that Jokowi is the President of the Republic of Indonesia, who has fame

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and appeals to the public. Media, power, and audiences have a strategic relationship. Media, which is a source of providing information for the community, makes the media a great force in guiding public opinion so that it can easily influence people's opinions and views. [4]. People who act as audiences should be quite aware of this. But in practice, people just accept news from the media without paying attention to it first. People's dependence on the media is proof that the media has great power to shape the social conditions of society. This makes it easy for the public to be led away by the construction carried out by the media. Online media often report an event that is not neutral, even partial. Often media owners and journalists have an interest in influencing society. Media owners, median income, and the capital issued by the media determine the content of the media. These three factors determine the events that can or cannot be displayed in the news and tend to where the news is directed. The news presented is not the actual reality because the news has undergone a series of selection processes. Information written by the media in the news will show emphasize certain aspects and disguise other aspects that the media does not want to show. This is influenced by media owners and managers who have different backgrounds and ideologies. This is called framing [6].

Framing analysis is an analysis of media texts that are used to dissect the way or ideology of the media in constructing facts [7]. Framing analysis looks carefully at how the media in selecting the highlighting facts so that the news becomes more meaningful, easy to remember, and can easily lead to public opinion. Through framing, it can be seen the perspective or perspective of journalists or journalists in writing news [8]. Looking back at the news of Jokowi's 3rd Period, the mass media, especially online media, also have differences in presenting the reality of Jokowi's 3rd Period. The background and ideology of each media cause the presentation of reality on this topic to also differ. The news of Jokowi's 3 Periods was no exception on the online media portals Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com. The online media Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com have big names, are known to many people, and are quite prestigious. Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com are among the top 40 frequently visited sites in Indonesia. In addition, the two media were also quite intense in reporting on Jokowi's 3 Periods.

The framing analysis model of Robert N. Entman is used as a research method by the researcher because the researcher wants to know how the level of objectivity of the media in reporting is related to the issue of election delays. Entman places important information in a particular context and relates some issues more than others [9]. Framing emphasizes structured news text. This is considered more important for journalists so that the delivery of news to the public can be easily understood. Good information is absorbed by the audience and is felt and remembered more strongly than the usual news text. In analyzing news framing, the researcher uses two online media used by the author: the online news portal Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com. The selection of the two news portals is because each portal has different characteristics and reporting directions, this is reflected in the method. Both media are also media with a wide audience. The object of this research is the messages displayed on

online news portals. The message was conveyed to the public in the form of coverage of the issue of election delays prepared by the media Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com. the point of view of the two media in conveying information to the general public in the form of messages and see how online media form the same message on Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com media [10]. Thus, in analyzing news not only look at the title given but also at the news text made by the author. Therefore, researchers related to the issue of the rejection of the three-term presidential term and the postponement of the 2024 election on the online media Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com [11]. Researchers selected the news on Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com by determining certain considerations after reading the entirety of the news for a predetermined period. Based on the background that has been described, the researcher wants to research "The Polemic of The Postponement of the 2024 Indonesian Election: Analysis Of Framing in Online Media".

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Framing Analysis

Framing analysis is used to analyze media ideology in constructing facts. Framing is an approach to see how reality is shaped and constructed by the media, the process of forming and constructing that reality, the result is a certain part of reality that is more prominent and easier to recognize. According to Robert N. Entman, framing is a selection process from various aspects of reality so that the event is more prominent than other events. Placement of information in a unique context so that the side that stands out gets a bigger allocation than the other side. Entrant sees framing in two major dimensions, namely the selection of issues and the highlighting of certain aspects of the issue [12]. Issue selection is concerned with selecting facts while highlighting certain aspects of the issue has to do with writing facts. Each media has a certain point of view and ideology in choosing the facts of events to produce different news from the perspective of different journalists and media [13].

Framing is a framing paradigm that is used to refine many theories about the framing process under the guidance of a paradigmatic perspective [14]. Framing is framing a problem that can be seen from various perspectives and interpreted to have implications for various values or considerations. Framing also refers to the process by which people develop certain conceptualizations. The effect of framing is that social reality is very complex, full of dimensions, and irregular and presented in simple news. Framing provides the key to how events are shaped and packaged into categories that are known to the audience. Entman sees framing in two dimensions, namely selection of issues and emphasizing or highlighting aspects of reality. These two factors can sharpen the framing of news through a process of selecting issues that deserve to be displayed and emphasizing the content of the news [16].

Robert Entman's framing model formulates the framing form model which is divided into four models, namely *Define Problem, Diagnose the Causes, Make Moral Judgement, and Treatment Recommendation* [17]. *Define Problem* namely how we see a problem like what and what the problem is in an

event. *Diagnosis Causes* is an event is caused by what or who and what is considered the cause of a problem. *Make Moral Judgments*, namely what moral values are presented to explain a problem in an event and what moral values are used to legitimize an action, and *Treatment Recommendations* namely what solutions are offered by the media to overcome these problems.

III. METHOD

This study uses a qualitative research method, intending to provide a factual description of the object or subject under study. Qualitative research is a method to explore and understand the meaning that some individuals or groups of people ascribe to social or humanitarian problems. The data sources in this study are mass media reports on Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com with a time limit of April 2022. The timing of the news is based on the fact that in April the discourse of postponing the election was in the spotlight of all parties, making students launch demonstrations on April 11, 2022. Data This was then investigated using the Robert N. Entman framing analysis model with the help of the N Vivo 12 Plus software to analyze the news text, the non-probability sampling method did not provide the same opportunity or opportunity for each population to be selected. [18]. Sources of data used in this study are primary data and secondary data. Primary data was obtained from the collection of news with the topic under study, namely the issue of postponing the 2024 election on the online media Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com during the period from April 1 to April 31, 2022, and secondary data was obtained from data news which is processed using the Nvivo 12 plus application.

IV. UNITS

The results of the data analysis are shown as follows:

TABLE I. SUMMARY OF ROBERT N. ENTMAN’S FRAMING ANALYSIS ON KOMPAS.COM

News Title	Robert Entman’s Framing Analysis Indicators			
	Define Problem	Diagnose Causes	Make Moral Judgement	Treatment Recommendation
Rejecting the President for 3 Periods Students Take Action Backward and Burn Tires in Front of the Blitar Regional People’s Representative Assembly	Students from the Islamic Student Association (HMI) protested the discourse of delaying the 2024 General Election, extending the presidential term for three terms, and increasing the price of fuel oil (BBM).	The protesters staged a theatrical action of throwing flowers on the tombstones they had prepared.	On the sidelines of the demonstration, the Head of the Indonesian Islamic Student Association (HMI) Blitar Branch Rio Adi Saputra said students continued to hold demonstrations even though President Joko Widodo had emphasized that the 2024 election	Demonstrations were also held to demand that the government immediately take policies that can ease the burden on people’s lives, which are becoming increasingly difficult economically from day to day.

News Title	Robert Entman’s Framing Analysis Indicators			
	Define Problem	Diagnose Causes	Make Moral Judgement	Treatment Recommendation
(DPRD) Office			would not be postponed.	
Students Demonstrate at the Lamongan Regional People’s Representative Assembly (DPRD) Building, Rejecting the President for 3 Periods to Increase Fuel Prices	The demands of hundreds of students in this demonstration are not much different from several student actions held in other cities/regencies in Indonesia, namely, rejecting the discourse of extending the presidential term into three terms.	In addition to rejecting a three-term presidential term, they also reject increases in fuel prices, cooking oil, and VAT.	The impact of the issue of rising fuel prices is an increase in the price of basic commodities. This has also caused a shortage of some foodstuffs on the market, making it difficult for people to reach them. Even though this pattern is always repeated, the government always fails to anticipate this.	To secure student demonstrations, the police Lamongan escorted them without using firearms. The apparatus also tried to keep the action conducive and minimize clashes. None of the members carry firearms, because we are escorting, not fighting, asked the Lamongan Police Chief, Adjunct Police Chief Commissioner (AKBP) Miko Indrayana.

^a. Source: Kompas.com News

Based on the 2 news that has been presented, the framing of polemic news on the postponement of the 2024 elections by Kompas.com is shown through the structure of defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgment and treatment recommendations, researchers find that Kompas.com interprets the issue of postponing the 2024 elections always quoting statements from political figures who proposed and supported the proposed postponement of the election, without forbidding the existence of the proposal because it is an implementation of the elements of Indonesian democracy. In its report, Kompas.com also indicated that the issue of postponing the election was possible because it was considered that the proposal could have a good impact on the Indonesian economy and voiced that students would continue to hold demonstrations even though President Joko Widodo had confirmed that the 2024 elections would not be postponed.

TABLE II. SUMMARY OF ROBERT N. ENTMAN’S FRAMING ANALYSIS ON CNNINDONESIA.COM

News Title	Robert Entman’s Framing Analysis Indicators			
	Define Problem	Diagnose Causes	Make Moral Judgement	Treatment Recommendation
Student Demos Still Occur in East Java, South Sulawesi Banten	Thousands of students in Surabaya, calling themselves the Cipayung Plus group, staged a demonstra	The Action Coordinator, Yusa Firmansyah, said that in this action his party would submit three demands to the government	Chairman of the Makassar Branch of the Islamic Student Association (HMI), Arsy Jailolo, emphasized that the government must be firm against	Islamic Student Association (HMI) asked the government to review the transfer of the Capital of the Archipelago (IKN) because it was considered to have many social and cultural impacts. The

News Title	Robert Entman's Framing Analysis Indicators			
	Define Problem	Diagnose Causes	Make Moral Judgement	Treatment Recommendation
	tion at the East Java Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) building	, through the East Java Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD).	people who voice their positions for 3 presidential terms, including ministers who must be removed from their positions.	government is also asked to resolve the shortage of diesel fuel and the increase in fuel prices. Islamic Student Association (HMI) also refused to increase the price of basic commodities.
All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) Confirms Not Involved in Beating Ade Armando	The All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) confirmed that it was not involved in the beatings against Ade Armando at the April 11 grand demonstration against President Joko Widodo's 3rd term and postponing the 2024 election.	The coordinator of the All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) Kaharudin said that his party had never communicated with the University of Indonesia lecturer. Nevertheless, All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) still regrets the beatings that occurred.	Regarding the beating of Ade Armando, it has nothing to do with All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI), not from the student group. Because after receiving the study and its demands, we will withdraw the mass action because the risk of chaos was high at that time.	The Coordinator All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI), Kaharudin, regretted the incident of beatings that had marginalized the essence of yesterday's action. The and demands that have been received still have to be monitored so that they are carried out by the relevant parties.

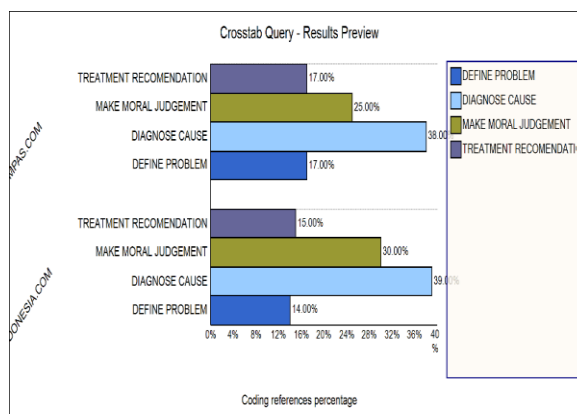
^b. Source: CNNIndonesia.com News

Based on the 2 news that has been presented, the framing of polemic news on the postponement of the 2024 election by Kompas.com is shown through the structure of defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgment and treatment recommendations, the researcher finds that CNNIndonesia.com interprets the issue of postponing the 2024 election as an issue that is rejected by Jokowi. CNNIndonesia.com directs readers that Jokowi firmly rejects a 3-term term and the government must be firm with those who voice a 3-term presidential term, including government employees who must be removed from office. CNNIndonesia.com conducts more data mining from interviews with sources. From some other news, almost all of the news discusses the response of political figures and parties regarding the postponement of the 2024 elections.

A. Comparison of Framing Analysis Results on Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com

Define Problem: From the analysis of the Define Problem aspect, it gets a percentage of 17%, related to the issue of postponing the election, Kompas.com emphasizes the news with a statement that provides an opportunity that the proposed postponement of the election should not be prohibited because basically, a proposal is a component of

democracy. Kompas.com often quotes statements from political figures who propose the issue of postponing elections with their views that postponing elections is a good way to do it at this time, but in another statement students from the Islamic Student Association (HMI) protested the discourse of delaying the 2024 General Election, extending the presidential term for three terms, and increasing the price of fuel oil (BBM). In contrast to Kompas.com, CNNIndonesia.com gets a percentage in the Define Problem aspect of 14%, in its reporting, it tries to show that the proposed postponement has been rejected by various parties, especially parties that have a dominant voice in parliament and also from the public through national surveys. CNNIndonesia.com tends to quote statements from political observers and experts, who question the stance taken by Jokowi to express his views on the issue of postponing the election. CNNIndonesia.com also shows that the All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) confirmed that it was not involved in the beatings against Ade Armando at the April 11 grand demonstration against President Joko Widodo's 3rd term and postponing the 2024 election.



^c. Source: using Nvivo 12Plus

Fig. 1. Framing analysis results on Kompas.com and CNNIndonesia.com.

Diagnose Causes: After analyzing the diagnostic causes aspect, Kompas.com got a percentage of 38%, emphasizing the statement that by postponing the election there are positive things to do. As first conceived by Bahlil Lahadalia, it is a proposal that is considered to have a good impact on the post-pandemic economy and as an effort to provide business and investment opportunities for entrepreneurs. In addition to rejecting a three-term presidential term, Demonstran students also reject increases in fuel prices, cooking oil, and VAT. Although postponing the election is against the constitution, it will have a good impact in the future after Indonesia is recovering from the Covid-19 pandemic. While CNNIndonesia.com got a percentage of diagnosis causes of 39%, CNNIndonesia highlighted news that according to him was wrong and caused different views by related parties. BEM coordinator SI asked that the party had never communicated with the University of Indonesia (UI) lecturer. Nevertheless, All-Indonesian Student Executive Board (BEM SI) still regrets the beatings that occurred, besides that Jokowi also did not give an open statement to reject the emergence of the issue of postponing the election. However, Jokowi issued a different statement, on the one hand saying that the proposal was unconstitutional, but on the other hand, he could not prohibit this opinion because it is part of

democracy. And also, CNNIndonesia.com show that in the demonstration action student asked about the party would submit three demands to the government, through the Regional People's Representative Assembly (DPRD).

Make Moral Judgement: In the aspect of making a moral judgment, Kompas.com gets a percentage of 25%, the moral value that Kompas.com wants to convey is that from the beginning the issue of postponing the election was a proposal initiated by the Minister of Investment of Indonesia, Bahlil Lahadalia and received support from the general chairman of PKB, PAN, and Golkar. Therefore, President Jokowi cannot be blamed for the emergence of the issue of postponing the election. Most of the news on Kompas.com gives a positive view of the government, and also Chairman of the Islamic Student Association (HMI), emphasized that the government must be firm against people who voice their positions for 3 presidential terms, including ministers who must be removed from their positions. Meanwhile, CNNIndonesia.com received a percentage of 30% making a moral judgment. CNNIndonesia.com has released a moral assessment that the proposed postponement of the election is not supported by various parties that control the majority of votes in the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), including PKS, Democratic Party, NasDem, Gerindra, and PDI-P. The political party firmly rejected the proposal to postpone the 2024 election and did not support the proposal. CNNIndonesia.com also shows the Chairman of the Islamic Student Association (HMI) asked about emphasized that the government must be firm against people who voice their positions for 3 presidential terms, including ministers who must be removed from their positions.

Treatment Recommendation: On Kompas.com, the treatment recommendation aspect gets points, namely 17%, in the news it always voices that the proposed postponement of the election is part of the implementation of democracy. Demonstrations were also held to demand that the government immediately take policies that can ease the burden on people's lives, which are becoming increasingly difficult economically from day to day. However, Kompas.com also shows that the election will still be held following the provisions of the Constitution. CNNIndonesia.com on the treatment recommendation aspect only scored 15%, tending to voice that Jokowi should have given a firm stance and statement to stop the discussion regarding the issue of election delays that are currently developing by political elites who want the 2024 election to be postponed. Kompas.com also shows about Islamic Student Association (HMI) asked the government to review the transfer of the Capital of the Archipelago (IKN) because it was considered to have many social and cultural impacts. The government asked to resolve the shortage of diesel fuel and the increase in fuel prices, and the last Islamic Student Association (HMI) refused to increase the price of basic commodities.

V. CONCLUSION

Kompas.com in its reporting always quotes statements from political figures who propose and support the proposed postponement of the election, without prohibiting the proposal because it is an application of elements of Indonesian democracy. In its news, Kompas.com also

showed that the issue of postponing the election was possible because it was assessed that the proposal could have a good impact on the Indonesian economy. Kompas.com often quotes statements from political figures who propose the issue of postponing elections with their views that postponing elections is a good way to do it at this time, but in another statement students from the Islamic Student Association (HMI) protested the discourse of delaying the 2024 General Election, extending the presidential term for three terms, and increasing the price of fuel oil (BBM). CNNIndonesia.com's framing of Jokowi's 3-period news, namely CNNIndonesia, shows its side with Jokowi. CNNIndonesia.com appreciates Jokowi's support for 3 terms and strives to make Jokowi's name good in the eyes of the public. Not to forget, CNNIndonesia.com also leads readers to believe that Jokowi firmly rejects the 3-term position and the government must be firm towards those who voice their positions for 3 presidential terms, including government employees who must be removed from office, and the Chairman of Islamic Student Association (HMI) asked about emphasized that the government must be firm against people who voice their positions for 3 presidential terms, including ministers who must be removed from their positions. Based on the discussion on the percentage of framing in the online media Kompas.com, it was found that at the Define Problem stage 17%, diagnose causes 38%, make moral judgment 25%, and treatment recommendation 17%. Meanwhile, for framing analysis on CNNIndonesia.com online media, it was found that at the Define Problem stage 14%, diagnose causes 39%, make moral judgment 30%, and treatment recommendation 15%. Thus, it can be seen that in making and displaying news coverage, the two online media discuss more the cause diagnosis section. Thus, every writer or online media has their character and ideology in making news scripts that will be conveyed to readers, but it is better if the online media does not take sides in reporting on an issue that is not yet clear and must be neutral in delivering news to the general public. Thus, there are no perceptions that will lead the public to take wrong actions such as anarchic demonstrations and hate certain parties such as the government just because they hear about an issue whose truth is not clear, especially since those who convey this issue are well-known online media in a country.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The contribution of each author's to this work, Rivi Saputri conducted research, processed data, and wrote papers; Achmad Nurmandi funded the publication of the paper; Misran analyzes papers; and Dimas Subekti directed the writing of papers; all authors have approved the final version.

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