

THE ANALYSIS OF FRAMING ON THE FORMATION OF JOKOWI-MA'RUF MINISTRY NEWS ON KOMPAS AND NASIONAL

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Abstract - This study discusses the formation of the Indonesia Maju Ministry under the leadership of President Joko Widodo and Vice President Ma'ruf Amin. The process of selecting ministers raises a polemic for the public. There are pros and cons to the minister composition because of the dominance of ministers from political parties. It is contrary with Joko Widodo's statement that take a prior to professional than politicians. This study aims to explain the Kompas Daily and Nasional Daily news frames on the formation of the new ministry. The approach used was descriptive qualitative by using Murray Edelman's framing analysis model. The results show that Kompas Daily and Nasional Daily have the same theme towards the formation of a new ministry, namely Indonesia Maju. In terms of categories, Kompas Daily emphasizes two crucial elements, namely political-professional, while Nasional Daily looks only at the professional aspect. In the public view, Kompas Daily frames the formation of the ministry as a power-sharing political, while Nasional Daily frames the ministers as not loyal to the president.

Keywords: ministry formation, category, print media, news, framing analysis.

INTRODUCTION

Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin were elected and appointed as President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia on October 20, 2019. Both would lead the Republic of Indonesia for five years. To facilitate the government running, Joko Widodo, abbreviated as Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin, formed a ministry that would work until 2024. The ministry was a line of ministers who serve as aides to the president and vice president in running the wheels of government.

President Jokowi formed a ministry he called as the *Indonesia Maju* Ministry. This ministry consists of 34 ministers and four ministerial-level officials. They would carry out their duties and responsibilities following their respective fields of expertise. They would work in various departments under the command of the president and vice president. Jokowi officially announced his ministry on October 23, 2019. Previously for two days in a row, Jokowi introduced his ministry candidates by calling the ministerial candidates one by one. Jokowi specifically invited them to the Presidential Palace to meet and know their vision and mission.

The formation of this ministry has generated a polemic in the community. Views of the pros and cons colored the formation of the ministry. Some accused the chosen ministers is Jokowi's politics of reciprocation. They have lead Jokowi to be re-elected as president at the 2019 presidential election. Some others argued that Jokowi chose ministers based on their competencies. They were chosen because of their expertise. They are professionals.

Media has a big attention due to news value factor. Newspaper, television or another media publish a news because it has news value (Galtung & Ruge 1965). Insan Alfajri (2019) says that the dynamics of government ministry formation in the 2019-2024 periods were considered not merely to be a sharing of power. The arrangement of the ministry was based on the ideological consolidation of each party. Hamad (2004) states that the media should have provided ample space for the preparation of the ministry because the formation of candidates for president and vice president assistants was a political event that always caught the attention of media.

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The Indonesian mass media paid full attention to the process of forming this new ministry. The electronic, print, and portal media were actively broadcasting information about the formation of the new ministry. Throughout the morning and evening, the mass media awaited news progress from the Presidential Palace. Many of them even broadcasted live the ministerial candidate call.

Indeed, the media cannot be separated from everyday life because it has become a necessity for society. What applies equally in the country as well as outside the country can be known through the media. The media is even vital if there is an out-of-reach event because the audience is 'pushed' to get news of an event. The audience certainly wants to know the development of these events. The audience certainly wants to know the development of these events. The sense and curiosity of this audience are the reason why the media are still very relevant, meaningful, and necessary in community activities (Normah & Faridah 2018).

The public is crammed with information about who will sit in the new ministry of the Indonesian government. Long before the president and vice president inauguration, the public was fed to news about the candidate for the minister. Electronic, print, especially online media, were consistently reporting the candidates. The instigation of figures entering the new ministry was widespread in the cyberspace. The community was not able to avoid that information.

Newspapers rated as media that have proper verification in spreading the news. Regarding the issue of the new ministry formation, the truth of its news is considered more reliable than online media. *Kompas Daily* and *Nasional Daily* are two newspapers that intensely reported the formation of the *Indonesia Maju* Ministry. Both of these print media provide ample space for the formation of a new ministry. The day after the announcement, *Kompas Daily* and *Nasional Daily* presented some news about the ministry's inauguration. *Kompas Daily* and *Nasional Daily* put the news on the front page. Both of them even made the formation of the new ministry as headline news (main news). Photos and graphics also adorned the front page of *Kompas Daily* and *Nasional Daily* on Thursday, October 24, 2019 edition.

Although both media presented the news of the new ministry formation, *Kompas Daily* and *Nasional Daily* differed in their presentation. The two newspapers had different points of view. In terms of quantity, for example, the *Nasional* presented 18 news stories, while *Kompas Daily* had only eight news. In terms of space usage, the spread of news in the *Nasional Daily* was also higher than *Kompas Daily*. News of the new ministry formation in the *Nasional Daily* spread on ten different pages, while *Kompas Daily* only on six pages.

From the aspect of content, especially titles, they are also different. The *Kompas Daily* headlines tend to be normative and ceremonial, while the *Nasional Daily* is sharper and decisive. *Kompas Daily's* headlines such as "Time to prove," "Focus on the Task and Collaboration," "The public expects the minister to receive input," "Challenges of the New Menpora. Meanwhile, the titles of the *Nasional Daily* includes "Mahfud Demanded to Build Coordination in Overcoming Radicalism," "Pay Attention to the Negative Impact of IT on Children," "Transformation in the Hands of Nadiem," "Connectivity of Priority Travel Destinations."

From the researchers' point of view, *Kompas Daily* presents news with macro information. The paper emphasizes the work program of new ministers that are in line with President Jokowi's expectations. Meanwhile, the *Nasional Daily* news presentation is more micro in nature by explaining the work programs of several ministers. Resource persons are also different for *Kompas Daily* and *Nasional Daily*. In this case, *Kompas Daily* develops multi-source journalism by interviewing diverse sources. They are observers from the campus, associations, or people related to the chosen news theme. Whereas the *Nasional Daily* is more of a government style by interviewing people chosen as ministers.

Hakimi et al. (2019) stated that in the framing process, the interviewees did try to influence the audience through the news. Framing is used to inform audiences about how they think about the information, whereas Druckman (2001) said that framing and choice of sources have a very close relationship. Framing occurs when the resource person emphasizes the considerations raised. The resource person is the one who constructs views in the news.

The similarities and differences between the *Kompas Daily* and the *Nasional Daily* concerning the formation news did not just happen. The newsroom plays a role by agenda setting. It influences a production process to the audiences (Straubhaar et al 2012). Media of agenda influences the public (Miller 2005). The influence of the editor as a manager of the news is significant. Through the hands of editors, events, and issues related to the ministry formation is processed. The editor decides the style of the news that will be broadcasted. The editor is the one in charge of deciding which issues to publish and which ones to discard. Editors select events and issues that are ready to be published.

Thus the editor is the one responsible for the rise or absence of news. Editors determine which ones are highlighted and which ones are obscured or even thrown away. This study aims to understand the framing carried out by

the *Kompas Daily* and the *Nasional Daily* on the news about the formation of the *Indonesia Maju* Ministry under the leadership of President Joko Widodo and Vice President Ma'ruf Amin.

In communication, what applies to the formation of Jokowi-Ma'ruf ministry is framing. Edelman (1993) says framing is a reality that is determined by the way we construct it. The same reality can be a different reality when it is framed in different ways. Meanwhile, according to Entman (1991), framing is used to describe the process of determining and highlighting certain aspects of a reality that are carried out by the media. The media selects and presents news, which one to be given more space than others.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Communication scholars have done framing analysis studies quite a lot. One of them is Ramli (2015), who discusses the analysis of news framing on the Indonesia-Malaysia border in West Kalimantan. This study reveals how *kompas.com* and *Utusan online* frame the border disputes between two neighboring countries in Camar Bulan and Tanjung Datu.

The study uses the Entman model framing analysis, which divides four elements in dissecting cases, namely the definition of the problem, the cause of the problem, moral judgment, and problem-solving. The goal he wants to achieve was to identify ways used by *Kompas.com* and *Utusan Online* in framing the border dispute and how both media carry out the process of framing the news related to the land case.

The results obtained in the framing process were that *Kompas.com* and *Utusan Online* considered nationalism as the most crucial element in framing the news between the two countries 'border. The framing of border news for *Kompas.com* and *Utusan Online* is influenced by internal factors including news values, nationalism, journalistic practices, media agenda setting, media escort to the government, media ownership, media philosophy and principles, backlash against external media, and reporter's understanding

Meanwhile, the external factors include the reader's interest, the media system, journalistic norms and methods, Indonesian-Malaysian history, commercialization, propaganda and interest groups, anti-Malaysian sentiments, foreign news agencies, the interests of the people and the state, and domestic politics. The contribution of this study is the presence of nationalism aspects as an essential element in reporting news involving the state. In terms of moral judgment, nationalism is the most dominant element in presenting news. In the factor of influence, nationalism aspects also play an essential role in the preparation of news. Therefore, this study implies that nationalism is very difficult to avoid in building news on the border between Indonesia and Malaysia. Although the journalistic ethics method is based on objectivity, the subjectivity of journalists is still present in making news involving the state. Subjectivity is formed in the spirit of nationalism.

Research on framing analysis was also carried out by Kho et al. (2011) on education issues in Malaysia. It was explained in this study that the development of the education system reflected the progress of a country. Determination of a reasonable language used in the education system is a big challenge for Malaysia towards a developed country. As a plural state, language is a big problem in Malaysia's development. The Chinese hope that the Chinese language can be used in the education process, especially in science and mathematics. At the level of primary education, Chinese can be used as an introduction to these subjects. In addition to English, the Chinese language needs to be used to elevate its dignity to establish it as a mother for the Chinese who lived for a long time in Malaysia.

This study focuses on sources aspects of Chinese newspaper news. The subjects of the research are four Chinese-language newspapers, namely *Sin Chew Jit Poh*, *Nanyang Siang Pau*, *China Press*, and *Guang Ming Daily*. This study explains how the four newspapers frame education issues in Malaysia. The framing model used is Semetko and Valkenburg through five mainframes, namely the frame of responsibility, conflict, morals, economic, and humanitarian consequences. Besides, framing from the aspect of identity includes government, opposition, editing, reader activity, and the National Front. The conclusion, among others, is that news sources have a significant influence on the frame of responsibility, humanitarian interests, conflict, and morality. The Government and the National Front use a frame of responsibility, while readers and editors focus on the frame of humanity. For the frame of conflict, the reader accompanies the opposition to debate this issue. Then the reader and editing activities also use a conflict frame. In this study, the establishment of reader activity is not so clear because it uses a frame of responsibility and humanity. Moreover, the National Front and editing also used a humanitarian framework, while the opposition focused on a morality frame. So they frame the news according to the frame of their choice.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach to describe how the formation of the *Indonesia Maju* Ministry in the *Kompas Daily* and the *Nasional Daily* is framed in a report. Edelman model framing analysis that emphasizes categorization is used. Reese (2010) states framing is an organizing principles which are socially shared and persistent over time, which work symbolically to meaningfully structure the world of social. And then Angelo (2010) said news construct the realities through which public life.

The formation of the *Indonesia Maju* Ministry was related to political decisions because the process went through a series of political activities. Matthes (2010) states that politics, issues, and events have their interpretations. A frame is a view of the chosen issue and refers to a view that constructs reality through specific means. Framing brings different valuations and reserves

Chong and Druckman (2007) state that framing has a main premise that the issue can be seen from various perspectives and developed through four stages. First, the issue is identified. Second, if the aim is to understand how the frame of communication impresses public thought, then the researcher needs to isolate specific behavior. Third, a set of initial frames for an issue are inductively identified to create a coding scheme. Fourth, if once a set of frames is identified, the next step is to select content analysis.

Eriyanto (2002) states that the Edelman model of framing places framing as a categorization that is the abstraction and function of the mind. Categorization makes it easy for audiences to understand the meaning of diverse realities. Categorization also simplifies very complex realities. Through categorization, reality will be chosen, which are relevant and less relevant, which ones are highlighted and which ones are obscured. So categorization is a tool used by the media to select reality that occurs on the ground.

In line with Edelman's explanation, the framing of news on the formation of new ministers was based on categorization, a tool that influences the mind and awareness of the public. Compared to propaganda, categorization is more subtle in influencing public awareness. In the case of war, propaganda uses the terms ethnic eradication or military aggression; meanwhile, the categorization changes it to a more subtle term. Ethnic eradication is written as foreign policy, and military aggression is written as military actions.

Based on that reason, the subject of this study is the *Kompas Daily* and *Nasional Daily* Newspapers. In contrast, the object of study is the news related to the new ministry formation that was inaugurated by President Jokowi. The news was published in the Thursday edition of October 24, 2019. The news coded was as many as 26 news items, consisting of eight *Kompas Daily* news and 16 *Nasional Daily* news. Two people who are considered to understand framing acted as coders. They are communication scholars who already know the coding.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach to analyze the framing of news about the formation of the *Indonesia Maju* Ministry through the October 24, 2019 edition of *Kompas* and *Nasional Daily*. In finding out the way of the two newspapers framing the news, this study applies the Edelman framing model that emphasizes on categorization. The followings are the discussion of the results.

Kompas Daily presents the issue of *Indonesia Maju* as the main selling item in its reports on the formation of the *Indonesia Maju* Ministry on Thursday, October 24, 2019 edition. The report is particularly visible in the headline entitled "Time to Prove." Then the emphasis on selecting the new ministers was even more apparent in the heading entitled "Run Fast *Indonesian Maju* Ministry." The followings are the tendency for *Kompas Daily* to broadcast a frame on the issue of *Indonesia Maju*.

Categorization: Minister of Political Professionals

Based on *Kompas Daily* point of view, Jokowi, as the elected president has full authority to choose the people who will sit in his ministry. Jokowi used his prerogative to determine the figures he considered fit to be ministers. The high hopes of the people towards the progress of Indonesia pushed Jokowi not to be mistaken in choosing his assistant in the government. Concerning the chosen ministers, *Kompas Daily* emphasized the importance of professionalism in realizing the would-be running work program.

It can be seen in the following news text excerpt:

"The inauguration of 34 *Indonesia Maju* ministry members, three ministerial-level officials, and the attorney general, Wednesday (10/23/2019), at the Presidential Palace, Jakarta, is the beginning of fulfilling the campaign promises of President Joko Widodo and Vice President Ma'ruf Amin. In addition to the ministers'

competence and commitment, Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin's management will determine the success of his government. "

The urgency of the competencies and commitments of elected ministers was emphasized by *Kompas Daily* to support the Jokowi-Ma'ruf work program for the next five years. *Kompas Daily* reminds Jokowi-Ma'ruf government that competence and commitment are essential requirements for someone to hold the post of minister. Competence is related to the field of expertise, while commitment concerns moral responsibility for the mandate. For the government, competence and commitment are needed to continue development. The government wishes to advance the welfare of the people through its vision and mission. It can be seen in the following text excerpt:

"In his inauguration speech as President 2019-2024 on October 20, 2019, Jokowi stated that the target of his ministry for the next five years was to lay the foundation for the ideals of *Indonesia Maju* on the centenary of Indonesian independence in 2045.."

Other text quotations that are in line with the vision and mission are in the following text:

"Announcing the ministry members on the steps of the Presidential Palace, President Jokowi, accompanied by Vice President Ma'ruf Amin, reaffirmed his vision of developing human resources, creating jobs and empowering micro, small and medium enterprises, corruption, law enforcement, and terrorism. "

To support the professionalism of Jokowi's government, *Kompas Daily* then framed the commitment of the elected ministers. *Kompas* newspaper chose the commitment diction as a determination owned by the elected ministers in carrying out the mandate. They must commit to the success of the government's work program following Jokowi's promises during the campaign period.

It can be seen in the following news excerpt.

"... President Jokowi asked 38 officials who were appointed yesterday to fulfill seven commitments, namely no corruption, there is only the vision and mission of the president and vice president must work fast, hard, and productively, do not get stuck in a monotonous routine, must be results-oriented, always do the checking in the field, and have to work seriously. "

In line with the commitment, *Kompas Daily* also framed those chosen as good people. They have a transparent background and work career. They are expected to be able to work for Indonesia, not for personal or group interests as follows:

"Former Vice President Jusuf Kalla asked the public to support the *Indonesia Maju* Ministry. They are good people and some I know. "

Other news excerpts are;

"... The 38 officials who were appointed yesterday have already finished themselves. Thus, their thoughts and deeds can be devoted to the interests of the nation and state, not the interests of the group or themselves. "

Not only professional ministers, but the other categories of *Kompas Daily* are also politically elected ministers. For *Kompas*, the election of ministers was inseparable from the political aspect. Jokowi's journey as president was peppered with a quite-long political intrigue and negotiations due to Jokowi's background, which did not originate from a party's top administrator. Jokowi was the Mayor of Solo, who then the Governor of DKI Jakarta. Before his term as DKI Jakarta governor end, political parties approached him as well as carrying him as a presidential candidate.

Like in the previous 2014 presidential election, Jokowi was also proposed by political parties to advance in the 2019. *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, Golkar, Nasional Demokrasi, Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, Partai Persatuan Pembangunan, Partai Hati Nurani Rakyat, Partai Bulan Bintang, Partai Indonesia, Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia, dan Partai Sosial Indonesia* are the political parties that bring him as a presidential candidate. They worked hard to win Jokowi on the 2020 presidential contestation.

Kompas Daily then assessed the formation of a new ministry with a political flavor. Jokowi was unable to avoid the siege of the supporting parties at the 2020 Presidential Election. Therefore, with 38 ministers, the composition of the new ministry is indeed very political. Beyond that, the face of the *Indonesia Maju* Ministry is also very pluralistic. Many dichotomies have been raised by the community, such as military-civil issues, geographical representation, religion, groups, women's empowerment issues, millennial issues, and many more. Among those issues, the political parties and

non-political parties dichotomy is quite serious. It is due to Jokowi's election process as president being inseparable from the work of the supporters and supporting political

It can be seen in the graphic presented on page one of *Kompas Daily*. The title of the chart is the "Minister / Acting Ministerial Level from Political Parties." The graphic shows the composition of political parties incorporated in the *Indonesia Maju* Ministry. The formation was five *PDIP* ministers, four from *Golkar*, three from *PKB* and *Nasdem*, two *Gerindra* ministers, and one from *PPP*.

The composition of the ministry, which put more than 50 percent of ministers from political parties, made Jokowi's ministry political. *Kompas Daily* then gave rise to a political frame of reciprocation. Jokowi accommodated the interests of political parties because of their support during the presidential election. It can be seen in the following news text excerpt:

"... There is no doubt that the competencies of some ministers are from political parties."

"The coalition of huge political parties is convincing because it unites divisions, and at the same time is worrying because it brings cohesion and even betrayal."

Kompas Daily's emphasis on the category of ministerial election cannot be separated from the political dimension further explored with public concern. *Kompas Daily* saw public anxiety with the dominant minister with political party backgrounds in Jokowi ministry. It is found in the following news excerpt:

"The public's spontaneous reaction to the announcement of the *Indonesia Maju* Ministry, some said so-so. Not high, not wrong either, just ordinary. Some express it like a hodgepodge. Amazed by some ministers, but also doubted by many other figures. The presence of a new figure creates a surprise on the one hand, but on the other hand, raises anxiety regarding its placement. "

"What is present in the vision and mission of the president and vice president, and there is no vision and mission of the minister."

In another section, similar news texts can be found in the following news excerpts:

"To the 34 ministers and four minister-level officials, Jokowi also ordered them to have the same vision. There is no vision and mission of the minister. "

Categorization: Professional Minister

The *Nasional Daily* newspaper also presents the *Indonesia Maju* frame as the central issue in its reports on the Thursday edition, October 24, 2019. The Issue of *Indonesia Maju* may be seen in the logo that accompanies every news. The logo that reads "*Indonesia Maju* Ministry" adorns the reports about the new ministry formation of Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin. The following is the tendency for the *Nasional Daily* News to frame the issue of *Indonesia Maju*.

Based on the *Nasional Daily* point of view, Jokowi is the president who is responsible for running the government. Accompanied by Ma'ruf Amin as vice president, Jokowi was mandated by the Law to select ministers as he wished. Jokowi was given full rights and power to determine the figures of ministers he considered could realize his vision and mission during the last presidential election campaign. Regarding the vision and mission, he prioritizes professional ministers.

Professionals referred to are the skills or expertise of prospective ministers in specific fields. As an elected president, Jokowi does not want to be wrong in placing people to work in government.

It can be seen in the following news excerpt:

"The president must be able to guarantee that the people chosen in the ministry are not misplaced and able to carry out work programs according to the government's vision and mission."

Other Quotations:

"... the ministers are required to work, realize the vision and mission of the government launched by Joko Widodo."

Other quotations:

"... the ministers must optimally carry out their duties and functions in their respective posts. If they are not able to show tangible results, Joko Widodo may reshuffle some of them ... "

To support this professionalism category, the *Nasional Daily* framed Jokowi's ministers as visionary and innovative ministers. Every minister has a work program that is clear and in accordance with the wishes of the president. They are also typically innovative with works they have made before being elected to the ministry. It is seen in the following news excerpt:

"Ministers must be able to follow the rhythm of the president's work with a fast, precise, innovative, and productive style. Don't be shackled with discourse without good work. "

"Another crucial thing is demanded to innovate, considering that in the preparation of programs, new things are needed. One of them is to improve the internal mechanism system so that it is more open and *fluid* to facilitate monitoring from the palace."

"The ministers only need to reveal how ideas and breakthroughs are in their areas of responsibility."

Next quote:

"... a president who emphasizes aspects of innovation and creativity to all levels of ministers."

While on the other hand, the *Nasional Daily* also reminded the public's view of the formation of this new ministry. This newspaper emphasized the potential for the emergence of ministers who are not loyal to Jokowi. The *Nasional Daily* saw the composition of the ministry, which was also entirely dominated by people with political party backgrounds. They will be a threat at any time. The reason is that the interests of political parties will accompany their performance.

The *Nasional Daily* saw a gap in the use of positions for ministers with political party backgrounds. There is no guarantee they will be loyal to President Jokowi because of his dependence on political parties. They realized that his presence in the new ministry was the result of the political party's work. The general chairman of the political party was the one who offered the names of cadres to be elected as ministers. Thus, ministers from political parties understand that loyalty to political parties is also needed in addition to being loyal to the president.

It can be seen from the news quote as follows:

"At least, the ministers must be loyal and serve for the better government of Indonesia in the next five years."

"Ministers should not have their agendas or outside the policies planned by the government ..."

"Ministers should not get caught up in the politics of imaging."

Based on the description above, the framing of Kompas and *Nasional Daily* news on the formation of the new Jokowi ministry can be seen in the following table:

Table 1. News Categorization

<i>Kompas Daily</i>	<i>Nasional Daily</i>
Political-Professional Minister	Professional Minister

Table 2. News Framming

Element	<i>Nasional Daily</i>	<i>Kompas Daily</i>
Frame	<i>Indonesia Maju</i>	<i>Indonesia Maju</i>
Our Choice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High Commitment • Work in the interests of the nation and state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional • Visionaries and innovators
Their Choice	Power-sharing politics	Minister is not loyal to the president.

CONCLUSION

Kompas Daily and *Nasional Daily* viewed the formation of a new ministry under the leadership of Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin as events that had very high news value. Both of these newspapers provide ample space by reporting the news on several pages. Even *Kompas Daily* and *Nasional Daily* put it in the headlines. The first page contains news and photos of Jokowi-Ma'ruf along with the new ranks of ministers. In the news framing, *Kompas Daily* and *Nasional Daily* both raised the theme of *Indonesia Maju* as selling issues. The categories, however, are different. *Kompas Daily* emphasizes the aspects of professionalism as an essential element, but it does not discuss aspects of professionalism intensely. This newspaper adds that the formation of a new ministry laden with politics. The reason is that people from political parties dominate the composition of ministers. Concerning public view, *Kompas Daily* sees it as a power-sharing politics, while *Nasional Daily* sees it as a potential minister who is not loyal to the president.

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