

The Construction of Mass Organization Publication in Islamic News Portals

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Abstract

The issuance of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 2, the Year 2017 on the Mass Organization, has gained several pros and cons before its legal verification. One of the most significant applications of the regulation is in the disbandment of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia without undergoing legal process due to the renewal of regulation, namely the contrario actus principle. The news on mass organization regulation also becomes the highlight of Islamic news portals, namely Eramuslim.com, Nu.or.id, and Hidayatullah.com. The three portals are chosen for the study due to their frequent published news on the mass organization and their position at the top ranks for the most-visited news portal (Alexa.com). Despite being the same Islamic-based media, the three portals have distinctive news framing. This study applied the framing analysis model by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. The Nu.or.id reported there was much support for the issuance of the mass organization regulation based on the religious context, and many sides are against the peaceful action of 299. Hidayatullah.com claims that the regulation has discriminated against and limited the freedom of speech of mass organizations. Lastly, Eramuslim.com views regulation as a political tool used by the government. Based on Golding and Murdock, Hidayatullah.com and Nu.or.id have organizational interests to carry on their news; therefore, it shows an apparent tendency to take sides. In contrast, eramuslim.com, an independent media, tends to publish news for-profit orientation; therefore, its news framing tends to identify itself according to the media ownership.

Key Words : framing, perppu/regulation, news portals

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INTRODUCTION

After the fall of the new order of the second Indonesian President, Soeharto, the reformation era has opened a political opportunity and ignite mass-movement in the public spaces. During the Reformation era, several factors made society unite despite differences in race, language, and religion. The people demanded freedom of speech, and massive reformation caused the political and economic systems to be revealed openly. The situation explains that social movements such as demonstration and oration can change the political structure, a situation of which is seen as an opportunity (Singh & Qodir, 2015).

During the Reformation era, Dawam Rahardjo (1999) wrote about spiritual movements in strengthening the civil society by comparing the vision, mission, concept, and the LSM (non-profit organizations) and civil society organization for the public empowerment (Singh & Qodir, 2015). Religious organizations, well known as religious movements, also receive a chance to develop after the Reformation Era. According to Nottingham (1985), the movement is an organized attempt to spread a new religion or belief or a new interpretation of the existing religion.

The civil society organizations are regulated in the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia (Perppu). Perppu is the highest legal protection in the Indonesian Constitution the year 1925 on article 22, section 1, "in case of compelling urgency, the President has the right to stipulate government regulations in lieu of laws" (Auliani, 2017). President issued Perppu Number 02 the Year 2017 in lieu of number 17 the year 2013. The Ministry of Law and Human Rights stated 344.039 organizations of civil society have been registered and active in various fields and scales, both regional and national. The civil society organizations contribute to the nation, causing the government to act decisively on the organizations against Pancasila and the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (Marroli, 2017).

The Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs of Indonesia, Wiranto, stated in the official page of the ministerial website that the issuance of new Perppu would add the *contrario actus* principle. The principle allows the authority to revoke the permits of the violating mass organization without trial (Marroli, 2017). Meanwhile, Kompas.com reported that Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia/ HTI officially underwent the government's dissolution. Relating to the news, the Directorate General of General Law Administration of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, Freddy Harris, explained the three reasons for having the dissolution. The first reason is that HTI is considered for not providing a positive contribution to the development and state's goal. The second reason is that HTI is considered for having a radical concept that is not in line with Pancasila and the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Lastly, HTI has a negative impact and disturbance effect (Movanita, 2017).

The Regional Representative Council has ratified the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 2 the Year 2017 to become the Law Number 24 the Year 2017 (Wardah, 2017). Some people consider that the government has been acting authoritatively. Moreover, the media also turns its focus on the pros and cons of this Perppu. Media conducts the monitoring

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function towards power—news on politics that can increase elite political trust to proceed broadcasting in mass media. The emergence of online media has become an innovation of the existing traditional media. The new form of media does not depend on the resources and time, yet it has to address the one-way communication pattern adopted from the traditional mass media (Ceron, 2015). The new model of mass media applies to various fields, such as religious messages on Islamic websites. According to Abuddin Nata, the new mass media model facilitates the variety in Islam, especially in Indonesia, as community identity, both in the form of legal and illegal organizations (Taqyudin, 2018). The Islamic media portals try to deliver news ideas and spread them online. The following is the list of the most-accessed Islamic news portals.

No	Name	URL	ID Rank	Global Rank	The number of the report on Perppu
1.	Kementrian Agama (Religious Ministry)	kemenag.go.id	102	5,430	-
2.	Rumaysho	rumaysho.com	606	34,658	-
3.	Eramuslim	eramuslim.com	623	35,385	151
4.	Muslim	muslim.or.id	684	41,379	-
5.	Nahdlatul ulama	nu.or.id	705	45,303	27
6.	Hidayatullah	hidayatullah.com	973	54,055	109
7.	Suara Muhammadiyah	suaramuhammadiyah.id	9920	292,528	11

Table 1. Websites List and Rank based on Alexa.com

Source: Alexa.com, March 26, 2018

(Data research obtained on March 26, 2018, and the rank might change at any time due to the updating from Alexa.com daily. The number of news posts of each website can vary based on the “Perppu Ormas” keywords)

The three websites use official domains based on Alexa.com's findings according to their ranking and data on visitors. The news portal is firmly attached to media ownership and news reporting practices that have determined the nation's political-economic situation (Nashrudin, 2017). This study aims at finding the news report differentiation among the three news portals in terms of framing analysis. Framing is to describe news framework that builds and affects the choice of information used by the journalist in the form of media text (Janssen, 2010). The framing analysis is to observe the text production being delivered through each online news report.

There are some framing models available, yet this study utilizes the model proposed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. Pan and Gerald's model analysis includes four main elements, namely, the structure of syntactic, thematic, script, and rhetoric (Pangamiani, 2015).

This article aims at answering the question of how NU.or.id, Hidayatullah, and Era Muslim, as news portals, apply the news reporting concerning the pros and cons of the issuance of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on mass organizations.

The Regional Representative Council has ratified the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law concerning mass organization on October 24, 2019. Before the ratification, the three news portals, Nu.or.id, Hidayatullah.com, and Era Muslim, had reported the progress and the pros and cons concerning the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law concerning the mass organization. This study used news articles from August to October 2017 concerning the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law concerning the mass organization.

Media and Social Construction of Reality

Media is a channel/ tool to deliver a particular message from a source to the receivers. On level mass media, three approaches functioned to explain an event of a particular context (Sudiby, 2001). The first approach is media politics; an approach that explains the media content depends on the ownership, which determines how particular news managed by the media. Some factors affect which event to be published, how and when it will appear on media, media ownership, business capital, and the income received by the media. The second approach is the organizational approach that is inversely proportional to the media politics approach. Media content is significantly affected by the internal power of the media organization. During the process and formation of news production, media management is influencing active party; therefore, the news production process depends on the newsroom activity. There is a stigma that every internal organization has the authority to determine the good and evil, worthy, and unworthy of an event to undergo a news report by the media.

Lastly, the third approach is the culturalist approach, a combination of political economic and organizational approaches. With this approach, the news production is significantly affected by the organizational procedure and rules to value an event. However, it still significantly connects with the political-economic authorities apart from the media. In the political-economic media approach, the media only functions as a tool for political elites and economics to compete. In the meantime, the organizational approach has journalistic values as the news source and editorial-made within the organization. In general, media is a public discussion room on issues involving journalists, news sources, and the public. The three aspects are interrelated, building construction in a forum among all stakeholders with various backgrounds and points of view.

The media-political economy theory by Golding and Murdock put critical thinking as the primary focus. Golding and Murdock classified the political economy study into two variants, namely liberal and critical. The liberal political economy focuses more on the market exchange between consumers and individuals, entitling the right to set the commodity offered. The liberal political economy stresses more on the process and effect of market liberalization. the other hand, the critical economy of politics emphasizes more on the exchange process of industry and

culture; following Marx affirmation on organizing the ownership and cultural industry production (Triyono, 2012b)

According to Golding and Murdock, the media-political economy approach has three primary functions on the cultural product. The first role is to analyze the cultural product (in the form of text). The second role is to analyze texts as a product of the media industry. Lastly, the third role is to measure the political economy from the cultural consumption point of view to describe the imbalanced relationship between the material and culture (Triyono, 2012a). This study focuses on text consumption. Shoemaker dan Reese (1996) classified several affecting factors in the news text production. The affecting factors mentioned by Shoemaker and Reese are the level of ideology, other media, organization, media routine, and individual.

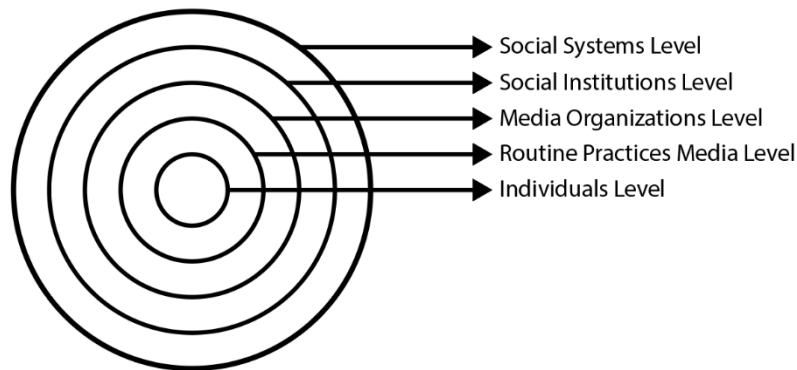


Figure 1. The hierarchical model of affecting factors in news text production

Source: Shoemaker & Reese, 1996

News text is closely related to the social construction of reality introduced by Peter. L Berger and Thomas Luckmann. The social construction of reality is an individual social process that simultaneously creates reality owned and experienced subjectively, such as human-made products from society (Tamburaka, 2012). According to Eriyanto (2008), there are several media stages in constructing a reality. First, media provides a complex idea to simplify in the form of news frames. The media functions as the agent to determine an event to be approved or denied. Second, the media provides particular symbols to an event. Symbols will determine a news narrative in becoming the antagonist (enemy) and protagonist (hero); therefore, the narration can significantly affect the readers. The third function of media is to place the interests related to the writing purposes. The interest can be in focusing on a particular event, the duration of an event, and continuous news reports towards issues settlement and resolution.

By the end of the 90s, Jansen (2010) stated that internet development affects the decrease of the newspaper reading interest; instead, people prefer to access the internet for the current updated news. The online media is the update of print media by considering the suitable format for online news. The news content and news presentation attract readers,

reader-oriented, to suit advertisers' expectations to place their advertisement on the online news website (Janssen, 2010). The news portal consists of actual, factual, and exciting content to attract the audience to access and read the news even though it is presented in brief and delivers the primary theme (Suprobo, Siahainenia, & Sari, 2014). The news report does not merely deliver a message, yet it also serves the function as a news source concerning a particular event. In general, the news report contains three elements, namely headline, news lead, and news body (detailed explanation of the news) (Tamburaka, 2012).

The construction creates reality; yet, the paradigm of the truth constructionist sees the news based on the subjectivity of the journalist. The media is viewed as the agent of reality construction (Bennett in Eriyanto, 2008). A news report presents the source and the writer's point of view and alignment in presenting the news. The reality is a form of point of view and construction. The reality is a form of point of view and construction. In the positivist paradigm, the media acts as the message channel from the communicator to the receiver/ public. The media purely functions for message exchange and is neutral. On the other hand, the constructionist paradigm considers the media as the agent of the social construction of reality. The media is viewed as the subject of the construction of reality; it has biases point of view and particular alignment. Media can choose the actor as the source of news and reality to add and reduce in presenting the news. The media becomes an active agent to translate the reality to share with the public.

Dedy N. Hidayat (2002) classified paradigms, to facilitate the communication study, into three types: classical paradigm (positivist and post-positivist) that sees the social science similar to natural science and physics to confirm the causal-effect Law in predicting a particular social situation/ symptom. The classical paradigm applied in quantitative studies appear in the calculation and statistical data to predict, control, and explain the study based on the respective science field. The second type of paradigm, according to Hidayat, is the constructivist paradigm that sees social science as a systematic analysis through a detailed observation of the social actor in understanding and construing how social behavior manages the social world. This paradigm exists in qualitative studies to construct the reality between the researcher and the object of study. Lastly, the third paradigm is the critical paradigm aims at helping out social awareness in improving and changing the human living condition. Studies that apply the paradigms mentioned above do not place the researcher as the mediator between the researcher and object of study (Syahputra, 2017). The research method uses the framing analysis that belongs to the constructionist paradigm.

Nation Policy in Media Framework

At first, framing analysis was the latest version of the discourse analysis approach to analyze media text. In 1855, for the first time, Beterson introduced the term framing. At first, framing referred to an organized set of structures/beliefs on a particular discourse, policy, and politics and provided some categories to appreciate the reality. Yousaf (2015) refers to the

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media framing as a series of words, images, and work presentations of the newsagent to deliver information on a particular event or issue to the audience. Media framing shows that the news agency needs several relevant, engaging, and suitable information for the targeted audience. Meanwhile, Cissel (2012) conceptualized framing as the media attempt to introduce particular information to the audience. The framing effect explains the strategic mechanism of the national policy in utilizing the media for a particular purpose (Dekker & Scholten, 2017). (Dekker & Scholten, 2017).

Framing is a concept, theory, approach, a perspective of media effect, analysis technique, a paradigm, and a program research paradigm (Marais, 2012). Pan dan Kosicki (1993), focused on specific sides of a significant issue; the chosen part is the most influencing towards the public. There are some framing analysis models and an explanation, according to several experts. Murray Edelman views that the interpretation of the audience on reality depends on the understanding, framing, and constructing about reality. Secondly, Robert N. Entman views the framing concept as a tool to describe the selection process and to emphasize a particular aspect of reality by the media. On the other hand, William A. Gamson views the framing based on media discourse. The media discourse is a crucial element to understand an issue or event through a developing public opinion. Lastly, according to Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, a framing model considers the text and sentence structure as a whole. This framing type focuses on how an individual interprets an event based on a set of signs that occur in the text.

This study applies the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicky framing model because the observation covers all elements such as quotation, the background of information, news source, image, lead, and diction used in the text. Pan and Kosicky provide insight that a journalist is responsible for building the construction and news reports based on social values and his/ her personal opinions. Meanwhile, Griffin (2003) conceptualizes framing as a process of recalling an essential event so that the reality aspect of another side gives different effects to the audience, which may differ from one another. (Jamil & Doktoralina, 2016).

A previous study by Tiara Meizita on framing analysis of Mass Organization bill focused on two media, namely Suara Pembaruan and Republika, by using the Robert Entman analysis model. The result of the study indicates a different point of view used by both media to view the pros and cons that occurred regarding the mass organization bill. The Republika tends to view the mass organization bill through religious context to be in line with the Indonesian Law. On the other hand, Suara Pembaruan focuses more on legal cases that have pros and cons in the mass organization bill related to Pancasila and the bill (Meizita, 2014).

Another previous study is by Muslim (2013), who analyzed the news framing of Israel's attack toward Lebanon. Modigliani framing model analysis. Modigliani framing model analysis to compare Kompas and Republika newspapers. As a result, this study produced a construction on Israel's attack on Lebanon in 2006.

The research result in Kompas indicates the cause of the war between Israel and Lebanon was due to organization, Hizbullah. This organization caught two of Israeli soldiers. On the other

hand, Republika focuses on other points of view, considering Israel as an aggressor country to broaden the area in the Middle East border. The study on the mass organization bill is a development of the previous study. In the previous studies, Tiara and Muslim compared news framing of two newspapers. Meanwhile, this study compares three online media using the framing analysis model from Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicky.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is a descriptive qualitative type whose data are in the form of words and images instead of numbers. This study resulted in descriptive data in the form of written words (Muslim, 2013). This research aims at describing facts and characteristics of a particular object systematically and accurately. This research contains quotes and conducts an in-depth analysis with a constructivist paradigm. The constructivist paradigm views humans as active and creative social reality inventors who act freely in the social world. This paradigm believes that social reality exists as a result of construction instead of naturally formed.

The text analysis method that exists in the constructivist paradigm is framing analysis. This constructivist paradigm analysis aims at finding the construction forms an event or reality. The framing analysis is by content analysis and semiotics methods. Framing is to figure out the journalist's method in selecting the news and writing about the issue according to a particular perspective or point of view (Sobur, 2012). The data validity is through data triangulation analysis. The triangulation analysis is to validate the data source. There are several types of triangulation analysis, according to Dwijdowinoto (2002), they are source triangulation, time triangulation, theoretical triangulation, researcher triangulation, and method triangulation. This research applied the source triangulation to compare or to recheck the validity of the information. By using source triangulation, this research will compare similar news from several media (Kriyantono, 2006).

The unit analysis is the primary data source, an issue on the government regulation on mass organization, published by three news portals, namely Nu.or.id, Hidayatullah.com, and Eramuslim.com. The object of the study is issues related to emphasized aspects and the difference in the news constructions. The data source obtained indirectly through news content in the search list with the keywords "perppu ormas" from August to October 2017. Besides the primary data, this study also used supporting data by applying documentation study techniques from journals, other online news portals, and related studies.

Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing analysis model. In "Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse," there are four main dimensions of framing: syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetoric. These four dimensions connect the semantical elements to the news narrative to create the organization's center of ideas. The ideas are attributed to the news text in the form of source, lead, quotes, information background, and sentences that exist in the text. Therefore, the mark tools of the text can get meaning (Sobur, 2012). The data collection is by non-participant observation and documentation methods. This documentation method is a set

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of data collection instruments to support data analysis from the data source (Kriyantono., 2006). Obtained documentation is from online journals, books, and online news portals.

STRUCTURE	FRAMING TOOLS	OBSERVED UNIT
SYNTACTIC Fact compiling method	1. News scheme	The headline, lead, information background, quotes, source, statement, closing.
SCRIPT Fact narration method	2. News comprehensiveness	5W + 1 H
THEMATIC Fact writing method	3. Detail 4. Meaning of sentence, relation 5. Nominalization among sentences 6. Coherence 7. Sentences type 8. Pronouns	Paragraph, proposition
RHETORIC Fact emphasizing method	9. Leksikon Lexicon 10. Graphics 11. Metaphor 12. Supposition	Idioms, images/ pictures, graphics

Table 2. Framework of Pan Kosicki Framing
Source: Sobur, 2012

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Framing Nahdlatul Ulama Online

No	Element	News Analysis Result
1	Syntax	The headline of NU Online focuses on the attempts done by HTI to change the Republic of Indonesia into Khilafah/ caliphate.
2	Scripting	Due to the brief characteristics of online news, the news portal is already following the 5W+1H requirements by emphasizing the Wo element to strengthen the reason for HTI disbandment. The informants were the Chairman of GP Ansor, Yaqut Cholil Qouman, the author of political movement HTI, Sofiuiddin.
3	Thematic	The disbandment of HTI has become a public concern, and NU is fully supportive of the issuance of government regulation in lieu of Law for the mass organization.

4	Rhetoric	NU Online provides images and graphics to emphasize the news. Most of the images were to strengthen the data source. The lexicons exist in the news were Indonesia is enduring radicalism emergency, marketing material, rebellion
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Table 3.1. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia threatens the NKRI

Source: Researcher's Processed Data

Since the issuance of the new Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 02 the Year 2017 on mass organization, many media are focusing on the regulation effect in the form of HTI dissolution without a trial. NU Online highlights that HTI is a radical organization. On August 4, 2017, there was a syntax analysis of the news entitled "Ketum GP Ansor: Indonesia Sudah Sesuai Syariat Islam/ The General Chief of Ansor Youth Movement: Indonesia is Already under Islamic Laws." The title emphasized that the country is already in line with the Islamic rules; the following news lead supports this title:

The Republic of Indonesia is already based on Islamic rules; therefore, there is no need to establish the Islamic nation or Khilafah/ caliphate, said Yaqt Cholil Qoumas, the General Chief of Ansor Youth Movement and the Banser Commanders of NU" (Thursday, August 3, 2017, paragraph 1).

NU online chose the General Chief of Ansor Youth Movement, who is also the Banser Commanders of NU as the informant to emphasize the NU perspective. NU's point of view believes that Indonesia is already following Islamic Law; therefore, NU is against the concept of Khilafah/ caliphate. In its second news, the NU Online explained its point of view to support the dissolution of HTI.

The author of the HTI Political Movement, Sofiuddin, stated that in many Islamic-based countries, the Hizbut Tahrir founded by Taqiyuddin An Nabhani is rejected and banned from various reasons. The causes comprise the fact that the organization is disrupting the nation's stability to assume that the organization has an alliance with terrorist movement (Hizbut Tahrir Is Rejected Everywhere, Tuesday August 29, 2017).

HTI is considered a religion-based political movement that deviates from the nation's fundamentals. Sofiuddin strengthens the assumption that HTI attracts followers by using the Khilafah/ caliphate issue in their da'wah. Meanwhile, in some Islamic-based countries, the Khilafah/ caliphate concept is rejected and even considered a terrorist movement group. As an author, Sofiuddin views the organization from a different point of view. On the other hand, NU Online has made a detailed reporting on the way HTI attracts the public to engage in their da'wah.

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Hery explained that there are three da'wah stages in HTI. The first stage is the individual tasqif (individual training). The second stage is tasqif jamali (general training) once in a month as a combination of halaqah from various regions to eventually be able to introduce the movement to the public. The last stage is to usurp the power of authority by raising support with the Ahlun Nushrah or influencing figures in the government, such as the army.

On the other hand, HA. Khotimi Bahri stated that the nash-based argumentation and historical background used by the HTI is considered weak. According to Bahri, the government model of Khilafah/ Abbasiyah, Muawiyah, and other similar types are of the dynasty/ daulah, instead of Khilafah/ caliphate.

The NU Online webpage proposed an idea during a public discussion with a theme of "GP Ansor Asanajapura discusses HTI after the issuance of Perppu-Ormas". Heri Al Halwani was one of the keynote speakers in the discussion; he proposed the three da'wah stages of HTI in gathering the people. Meanwhile, HA. Khotimi Bahri, a former member of HTI, explained that the reference of the Khilafah/ caliphate concept is considered weak. The scripting element of HTI has gone beyond the limitation in expressing their aspiration and opinions within the democratic country; thus, some people believe that the organization to have an agenda to replace the nation's ideology with the Khilafah/ caliphate. NU Online explained further the reason for blaming HTI for harming the unity of the Republic of Indonesia. On the thematic element, the NU Online chose an informant from the government side agreeing on the HTI dissolution.

The commander of Densus 99 (Banser), Nuruzzaman, said that HTI believed Indonesia must change to Khilafah/ caliphate as the country considered as an infidel.

"HTI considers Indonesia as an infidel nation; it requires an application of Islamic system called Khilafah/ caliphate," said Nuruzzaman.

The HTI ideology will continue spreading even though the organization banning through the issuance of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2 the Year 2017. They are lobbying several governmental institutions. Nuruzzaman even stated that HTI considers Indonesia as an infidel nation.

The statement above gives the impression that HTI considers most of the Indonesian people are infidels due to the governmental system is not following the Islamic concept. There is an assumption that despite the HTI dissolution, the organization stills conduct the da'wah activity. On the rhetoric structure, NU Online considers that HTI is violating the religious rules. An author of a controversial book, *The Principles of Khilafah/ Caliphate*, Muhammad Sofi Mubarak elaborates the misconception of Khilafah/ caliphate principles by HTI.

One of the interpretations of ulil amri appears the Al Qur'an Surah An-Nisa verse 59. HTI claims that the interpretation is the fundamental principle to establish the Khilafah/caliphate. "They do not care whether the term ulil amri has several meanings; they solely believe that ulil amri refers to the leader of a particular country." (A Public Discussion, GP Ansor Astanajapura Talked about HTI after the issuance of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia on a mass organization. Saturday, October 7, 2017).

The author of *The Principles of Khilafah/ Caliphate*, Sofi Mubarak believes that HTI only takes one verse of the Qur'an, An-Nisa 59, as the foundation of establishing the Khilafah/caliphate without considering other interpretation. On the text of the postulate that becomes the basis for HTI, there is some misinterpretation that causes a need for further study, especially in the supporting hadith to have a thorough comprehension.

The NU Online considers all parts of HTI guilty in spreading the concept of Khilafah/caliphate that is not suitable and in line with the principle of the Republic of Indonesia. Besides that, NU Online also explains the religious background for HTI dissolution, such as the history of Islam and the misinterpretation of a particular verse in Al Qur'an. The news directs opinion to increase the patriotism and that Indonesia is already in line and following the Islamic values

No	Element	News Analysis
1	Syntax	The members of PBNU and chief of MUI invited the public to refuse the action of 299. The action is the further movement of the 212 and 287 peaceful actions; this time it is to refuse PKI and the issuance of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia on the mass organization. On the other hand, NU agrees on the issuance of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 02 the Year 2017
2	Scripting	There are elements of 5W+1H to equip the news clarity. The most emphasized element in the news is the Who part, which collects the opinion of informants to refuse the Action 299.
3	Thematic	NU Online reported that communism is no longer exists in Indonesia. The government urges the people to report whenever there is a signal of the emergence of the movement. Besides, the people can take legal action to propose the objection towards the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia on the mass organization.
4	Rhetoric	NU Online provided the graphics and images to add the news detail and clarity. The image was in the form of NU figures and partnership with the government. Lexicon of the news consists of reconciliation, togetherness, maturity, latent urgency, and rejection.

Table 3.2. NU rejected the 299 Action

Source: Researcher's Processed Data

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PBNU strictly rejects and is against the peaceful action on September 29, 2017. This action is the continuance of the 212 Action that refused the emergence of PKI and the issuance of the new Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 02 the Year 2017 on the mass organization. NU stated clearly against the action due to several reasons that appeared on the headline:

The Executive Council of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) ensures that the organization will not involve by any means in the activities conducted by several mass organizations on Friday (29/9). The Secretary-General of Executive Council of Nahdlatul Ulama, Hely Faishal Zaini, stated that NU would not involve in the 299 Action initiated by several organizations in relation with the PKI; or in other words, NU is not against the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia on the mass organization (A Public Discussion, GP Ansor Astanajapura Talked about HTI after the issuance of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia on the mass organization. Saturday, October 7, 2017).

The rejection of the Executive Council of Nahdlatul Ulama represents the organization's point of view that supports the issuance of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on the mass organization. The lead explains that NU is fully supportive of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on the mass organization as an appropriate regulation for the nation and public. Another explanation is in the following paragraph:

According to Helmi Faisal, born in Cirebon, the 299 Action is not suitable for addressing the issue of PKI emergence. The organization is no longer exists, and true reconciliation is already ongoing.

"We have to aim at the Indonesian future based on the mutual partnership of all parties," added Faisal.

Still, according to Helmi Faisal, the issue of PKI is a dark record in Indonesian history; thus, it has banned it due to its deviation on Pancasila. The reconciliation is in the form of recovering a situation or action to solve an issue. This news report indicates that the Indonesian people must focus on other unity issues they might encounter instead of PKI.

In the scripting elements, covering 5W+1H of all news, the aspect "Who" appears dominantly in the report to indicate the reason for not proceeding the 299 Action. The second informants are the Chief of Ulema Council of Indonesia (MUI), KH. Ma'ruf Amin and Rais Aam as the member of the Executive Council of Nahdlatul Ulama. Explanation from both figures has similarities in the banning of communism in Indonesia, which is not following Pancasila and the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Rais Aam of PBNU said that the public should trust the mechanism related to the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 02 the Year 2017 on the mass organization.

Related to the rejection of PKI emergence, Amin ensured that the organization and its followers are no longer exist in Indonesia.

The thematic element shows that the Chief of the Ulema Council of Indonesia, KH. Ma'ruf Amin, suggests the people not to join the demonstration.

The Chief of the Central of Ulema Council of Indonesia (MUI), KH. Ma'ruf Amin required some social elements not to support the 299 Action. The movement is against the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia on the mass organization and is focusing on the rejection of PKI.

"They do not need to do that," said Kiai Ma'ruf Amin in Jakarta, Wednesday (27/9). (KH Ma'ruf Amin required the people not to proceed the 299 Action, Thursday, September 28, 2017)

From the informant side, the NU Online highlighted the government and religion figure, the Chief of Ulema Council of Indonesia (MUI), who said that the 299 Action had no significant purpose of conducting. The reasons for his statement are:

If an individual indicates the PKI movement's enrolment, Kiai Ma'ruf asks the public to report the finding to the police for further investigation.

The public and government must cooperate in anticipating the communist concept for reappearing," said Ma'ruf

He then suggests society's elements against the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law of the Republic of Indonesia on the mass organization to take the legal process to the Constitutional Court (MK).

The rhetoric element of the news implies the NU rejection of the 299 Action. The movement is contradictory to the vision and mission of Nahdlatul Ulama that is fully supportive of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on mass organization bill ratification. Based on the explanation, the movement against the emergence of PKI and the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on the mass organization does not have any significance to proceed. Like the first theme, the dissolution of HTI based on the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on the mass organization and the 299 Action banning, most informants are from the Nahdlatul Ulama. Therefore, the news indicates the full support towards the government and the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law and the government.

The Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on Mass Organization discriminates the Society

No	Element	News Analysis
1	Syntax	Hidayatulah.com focuses on the rejection of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on the mass organization and reaction from other parties, such as Islamic organizations, Non-Governmental organizations, legal and political fields. The headline news rejects the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 02 the year 2017, which seems to discriminate against some parties.
2	Scripting	There are elements of 5W+1H to equip the news clarity. The most emphasized element in the news is the Why part, which focuses on not releasing the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 02 the Year 2017.
3	Thematic	There are some reasons against the Law, such as the assumption of the authoritative government. The content of the Law is not following Pancasila and the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia on the freedom of speech and association.
4	Rhetoric	Hidayatullah.com presented graphics and images to add the clarity of the news. Pictures shown by Hidayatullah.com are informants and organizations that are against the Law on the mass organization. The report's lexicon includes cronies, HTI cronies, leading, regulation without legal certainty, and authoritative regime.

Table 3.3. Framing Hidayatulah.com

Source: Researcher’s Processed Data

Unlike Nu Online, which tends to support the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on Mass Organization, the Hidayatullah.com takes the opposite preference, which is against the Law. The news achieved the news source from several points of view, namely, mass organization, Islamic-based organization, Non-Governmental Organizations, and other legal parties that submit an objection to the Constitutional Courts of the Republic of Indonesia. On the syntax element, the first news report by Hidayatulah.com is the rejection of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on the Mass Organization and the support on the 287 Presidium. The mass organization against the Law is Rabithah Al-Ma’ahid Al-Qur’aniyyah from the branches in East Java, Central of Java, and Yogyakarta that agree to unite all members among Muslims in general. The reason for the alignment is:

The Rabithah’s alignment is a result of the criminalization and intimidation from the authorities and destructive movement and the rising of organizations against Islam. (The Response on the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on Mass Organization Rabithah Al-Ma’ahid Al-Qur’aniyyah branch of East Java, Central of Java and Special Region of Yogyakarta Promoted the Unity (Tuesday, August 1, 2017))

The Rabithah that is against the regulation of mass organization can cause the authority to carry out the dissolution of any Islamic-based organization without any legal process. It also emerges the hate movement towards the Muslims due to the new regulation on the mass organization. The first paragraph indicates the reason for rejecting and opposing the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on the mass organization. In contrast, the second paragraph explains why the Rabithah considers the regulation as discrimination and the first crime.

In the next point, there is an explanation telling that Rabithah supports the rejection of any discrimination and first crime and Islamic-based organizations.

“Especially the issuance of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law the Year 2017 on a mass organization that indicates the attempts to oppress the Muslims who do not suit the authority.”

Hidayatullah.com took the statement indicating that the authority intentionally made the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on the mass organization to impose the Islamic-based organization. The oppressing act of the Muslims limits the freedom of speech and religion of the group of people that does not suit the government. The discrimination and criminalization of Islamic religious leaders have been hot news on media; thus, the issuance of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on the Mass Organization is considered a way to smoothen the government in banning the Islamic-based organization without any legal process.

As for the scripting element, the news highlighted the "Why" to emphasize the contradiction of the news portal towards the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law. Yeti, the representative of KontraS, direct the opinion to show the public's objection to the government decision.

Yeti also regretted the government official's sporadic statements concerning the issuance of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law, which gives impacts such as the revocation of citizenship, termination of employment, and other similar acts towards the members of the respective organization.

According to Yeti, the type of statement can indirectly lead the people's opinion in shaping a stigma and discriminating some people considered to have a relationship with particular organizations.

Besides, still according to Yeti, the regulation also contains substantial issues as it has multi interpretation content (KontraS: The Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on the Mass Organization Should Not Add a Conflict Potential in the Society, Wednesday, August 2, 2017).

Yeti believes that the new Law may cause misinterpretation for the public and create discrimination to an individual and group. The government functionaries are considered too

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excessive in response to the mass organization that is not following the regulations and provisions contained in the rule. The reaction in the form of citizenship revocation and employment termination has put enormous pressure on the public and constrains the mass organization. Feeling objection to the situation, Hidayat Nur Wahid proposes some critics to the authority.

According to Wahid, there have been many victims due to the regulation application without legal certainty.

Some parties that experienced this hardship went on the action against the regulation on the mass organization and the Indonesia Scout Movement that underwent financial support suspension from the Ministry of Youth and Sports Affairs due to the support for HTI by the Chief of National Council of The Scout Movement. (PKS: Reject the Perppu Ormas Because It is Not Following Pancasila and the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Saturday, August 5, 2017).

Hidayatullah.com proves that the regulation on the mass organization has made some parties experience oppression as accused to be HTI members even though the organization is banned. The news portal considers that laws without clear legal standing have become an unfixed benchmark. Hidayat added the effect of the HTI banning: some people who engaged with the HTI and those who went on the action to reject the regulation on the mass organization considered the sides that had full support for HTI. The fact is that not all the accused parties are indeed loyal supporters of the concept of Khilafah/ caliphate. For the rhetoric structure, Hidayatullah.com opposes the regulation. According to the news portal, the Law oppresses freedom of speech in the nation. There is a contradictory situation that emerges from the issuance of the regulation. The president considered that there was an urgency to arrange the bill on the mass organization banning.

On the other hand, some parties believed the society did not need to have the regulation ratified. The Hidayatullah.com posted the same pictures on the news from the supporting parties of the Law. Most of the objection and rejection aim to keep the unity of the nation and the demand for freedom of speech and association based on Pancasila.



Figure 2. 287 muslims protested against Mass Organization Perppu in Jakarta
Source: Hidayatullah.com, Sikapi Perppu Ormas, Rabithah Al-Ma’ahid Al-Qur’aniyyah Jatim, Jateng, dan DIY Galang Persatuan (August, 1st 2017)

The above picture has appeared in some news rejection of Perppu Ormas, the action of which occurred during the 87 and 299 Actions. The banner shows that Islamic-based organizations consider the government has criminalized religion; therefore, the movement demands justice. The campaign is in the form of peace action and demonstration on the regulation bill; against the freedom of association in Indonesia. There is a clear distinction between the NU Online and Hidayatullah.com news portals. The former indicates the total support on the regulation bill, while the latter is against it. Considering that the regulation resulted in the oppression of the freedom of speech, the movement is against the authoritative government, which has made several parties criminalized after the banning of HTI.

Mass Organization Law is for the Benefit of the Authority

No	Element	News Analysis
1	Syntax	The headline composes that the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on the mass organization that has been ratified by the People’s Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia needs more revisions.
2	Scripting	There are elements of 5W+1H to equip the news clarity. The most emphasized component of the news is the Why part, which focuses on the fact that the regulation merely gains more public support for the political party interest.

3	Thematic	The revision for the regulation bill is by the opinion poll conducted for political parties and the Council members.
4	Rhetoric	The era Muslim news portal presents pictures from some parties that provide information about the law bill on the mass organization.

Table 3.4. Framing Eramuslim
Source: Researcher’s Processed Data

The Era Muslim has reported the highest number of news on the regulation bill on the mass organization. There are one hundred and fifty-one news (until March 2018) news reports on the rejection towards the Law; a slightly different from Hidayatullah.com is the focus on the issue and news report style. The Era Muslim focuses more on the fact that the regulation carries out the authority interest to have some organizations banned without undergoing any legal process; the bill will strengthen the attempt of oppressing the freedom of speech, especially for the Islamic-based organization. Eramuslim.com uploaded news on August 7, 2017, stating that the government's mass organization regulation is prone to misuse, especially by the government. The informant spoke for this news report, the member of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic Indonesia, Ahmad Zainuddin, saying that he was opposed to the president's officially signed regulation. Zainuddin explained the difference between the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 02 the Year 2017 and the Law Number 17 the Year 2013.

Ahmad Zainuddin explained the distinction between the Law Number 17 the Year 2013 and the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 2 the Year 2017 is the legal aspect and the assurance of the rights for the mass organizations that are a part of fundamental rights of Indonesian in the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The legal justice in this matter is the absence of any legal process for the mass organization due to the abolishment of Law Number 17 the Year 2013 (MPR: the Perppu Ormas has the Potential for Misused by the Authority, August 7, 2017).

Zainuddin thinks that there is an odd situation dealing with the freedom of speech and abolishing the legal process for the mass organization. The fact is not following Pancasila and the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia that become the highest legal standing in Indonesia. Zainuddin's opinion is a critic of the side effect of the Law on society. The opposing view does not come from the member of the People's Consultative Assembly, but also from the other member of the People's Representative Council who is against the new Law. The regulation brings back the history of the new regime where there was limited freedom of speech and association.

"The Law of mass organization assures the freedom of speech and association in articles 63 to 81. Unfortunately, these articles are abolished from the new regulation. There is a concern that due to the new regulation, some parties might use Pancasila to reach the personal goals and interests," explained Zainuddin.

Zainuddin concerns that the abolishment of several articles in the government regulation in lieu of law number 02 the year 2017 will become the political tools by the authority to ban a particular mass organization, even to punish the organization with respective regulation. The correlation among sentences is how Era Muslims highlight the executive and legislative bodies that are against the new Law. Indonesia is a democratic country that guarantees the freedom of speech, even to criticize the government; nevertheless, the new regulation and the banning of HTI sign oppression for the freedom of speech. Besides the statement above, another report came from Yusril. In the syntax element, Yusril expresses the disappointment about people seeking the opportunity in the material test for the regulation. The following is the lead of the news:

According to Yusril, many applicants pleaded to conduct tests for government regulation in lieu of law number 02 the year 2017, causing the Constitutional Court hearing to become more complicated and lengthy. Eventually, the bill was ratified by the People's Representative Council last Tuesday (24/10). "The problem is, many parties are trying to seek the opportunity to plead for the individual petition, causing the Constitutional Court hearing becomes more complicated. To shorten the process, the People's Representative Council decided to ratify the bill," said Yusril (Material Test of Mass Organization Failed at the Constitutional Court level, Yusril: "Many are Seeking the Opportunity," uploaded on October 25, 2017)

The hearing took a long process and ended by ratifying the bill into the regulation of the mass organization. The supporting parties of the Law, namely PPP, PKB, and Partai Demokrat, are considered pseudo-political support. The Executive Director of Indonesian Political Review (IPR), Ujang Komarudin, argues that the three parties' approval of the mass organization laws is under one condition: to revise several articles in the law content. The revision is to gain public support and sympathy. The Era Muslim took political observer as the informant, who sees the parties that agree with the perppu ormas as pro-government, while those who do not are considered pro-government and take advantage of the society. The explanation is as follow:

Ujang affirmed that the revision of the new Law on the mass organization ratified a week ago is just the council members' political lip service. The lip service is to gain support in the legislative election in 2019. (The Demand from Partai Demokar, PPP, and PKB on the Perppu Ormas is Merely Political Lip Service October 30, 2017).

Some parties use Perppu Ormas to achieve their interest in approaching the legislative election in 2019. The rhetoric analyzes two news reports with the keywords “opportunist” and “lip service” to criticize the government. Other explanation lies in the following graphic :



Figure 3. A caricature of Law on Mass Organization

Source: Erasuslim.com, Syarat Demokrat, PPP, dan PKB Soal Perppu Ormas
Hanya Basa-Basi Politik (October 30th, 2017)

The image depicts the authority and some political parties view the Law on the mass organization as a formality, just like a waste paper in the dustbin. These parties consider that the important thing is to have the Law on mass organization ratified. The pros and cons will cool down eventually, along with the mass organization and public opinions. The upcoming general election in 2019 required the political parties and government to seek supports from the people. However, the bill of Law on mass organizations needed ratification that created the pros and cons of the public. The Era Muslim reports the contra-side from the government. Like Hidayatullah, the Era Muslim shows that the government uses the government regulation in lieu of Law on the mass organization to oppress the freedom of the people, that Pancasila has become a political tool for the authority, and the absence of legal process in response to the dissolution of mass organizations. The Era Muslims uploaded more news reports on the issue than Hidayatullah, and the portal is more outspoken in criticizing the Law, and even the government.

The Pros and Cons of the Government Regulation in Lieu of Law on Mass Organization in the Media of Economy and Politic

No	Website	Data of Visitors in 6 Months					
		March 2018	April 2018	May 2018	June 2018	July 2018	August 2018
1	Eramuslim.com	4.60 million	4.40 million	5.00 million	4.80 million	3.85 million	5.05 million
2	Nu.or.id	4.55 million	3.40 million	4.50 million	4.25 million	3.85 million	4.10 million
3	Hidayatullah.com	2.30 million	1.95 million	2.50 million	1.85 million	1.75 million	2.10 million

Table 3.5. The Data on the Number of Visitors

Source: Similarweb.com

The table explains the audience demographic difference in the news portals of Era Muslim, NU Online, and Hidayatullah. According to Golding and Murdock, by using a liberal political approach, the media has succeeded in creating a commodity through the economic process. The media content will draw the attention of visitors with the same principles as the media. The liberal economic approach believes that the press will direct the public to invest in advertisements in shaping the media's public behavior. As a result, more visitors will generate more incoming advertisements to add profit for the media owners.

The news content of each portal has different news framing. The NU and Hidayatullah during content production are significantly affected by media organization factors. Nevertheless, there is a difference in news framing; NU tends to support the Law, while Hidayatullah is against it. From the media ownership, NU Online is under a big Islamic organization, namely Nahdlatul Ulama; therefore, the news packaging is following the organization's needs (Taqyudin, 2018). The news reports tend to support and positive towards the direction of NU. On the other hand, Hidayatullah, owned and managed by the Hdayatullah foundation, tends to against and has a subjective view towards the government regulation in Lieu of Law on the mass organization(Fatoni, 2017). Meanwhile, Era Muslim is individual ownership, established by MM. Nasution and has partnerships with other Islamic activists (Malik, 2014).

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CONCLUSION

Although all portals have the same Islamic base, the three news portals present different media reality on the news text. NU Online is fully supportive of government regulation's issuance in lieu of Law on the mass organization and proposes rejecting the 299 Action against the Law. Besides, Nu.or.id explains the reason to disband HTI according to a religious context. At the same time, Hidayatullah and Era Muslim tend to take contra-side towards the issuance of the new governmental regulation in lieu of Law on the mass organization.

Hidayatullah highlights that the issuance of the regulation has oppressed the freedom of speech. This situation can result in the misunderstanding and discrimination of the organization and the public. On the other hand, Era Muslim considers the new regulation on the mass organization has become the political tool for the authority to disband a particular mass organization following the new rule.

According to Golding and Murdock, the three media use the approach to generate profit by using the media-political economy approach. What makes a difference is the news production level, which is the media organization level. The media organization level is in three parts. The first part is Hidayatullah.com, which is a non-profit organization. The media tends to respond to government policies freely and critically. The second part is the Nu.or.id, which is owned by a particular organization that makes the portal utilized for the interest of and funded by the organization. The third part is an organization owned by the private sector and controlled by personal, family, or shareholders. This media must compete with other portals to produce news value to achieve news circulation and high rating, such as Era Muslim. In this part, the media and investors attempt to ensure the long-term and short-term profit to support the news policy in online media.

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