

The News Coverage of Indonesia Media toward AEC

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Abstract

The paper aims to elaborate the analysis of news coverage of Indonesia media toward ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) issue. Each media has its own framing of the news. I would like to know the framing of several online media in Indonesia to respond the AEC issue. The paper will discuss the news from two of popular online media in Indonesia. The paper would analyze news using the framing analysis. Through that way, the paper would present the comparison of how media's framing about AEC. Do the two online media frame AEC as the battle field to gain national interest as realism-mercantilism paradigm point of view or frame AEC as the mutual effort of ASEAN state members to reach the mutual prosperity as regional entity like neo-liberalism paradigm sees it?

Keywords: media coverage, ASEAN Economic Community, framing analysis

Introduction

AEC has been planned to be the significant step for ASEAN towards ASEAN Community in 2015. ASEAN Community itself has three important pillars namely ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC) that concerns about security and peace in the region, then ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) which focuses on the economic cooperation and development in the region, and ASEAN Social and Cultural Community (ASCC) which spotlights the development of humans in ASEAN's member countries. Nevertheless, it can be seen that economic is the main part of ASEAN Community. Hence, ASEAN has targeted whole aspects of AEC for being applied in the early of 2016 according to the blue print of AEC which was signed by the leader of all ASEAN member states in 2007.

The organization sees the community of region as a form of cooperation to aim mutual benefits for all member states. As known, the purpose of AEC

itself is to establish ASEAN as a single market and production-based with the goal of making ASEAN more dynamic and competitive (Asean 2014). Even though AEC will be fully implemented in the early of 2016, ASEAN has done some agreements to accelerate and to transform ASEAN becomes a region with free flow of goods, services, investment, skilled labors and capital. Some of the agreements are The ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement (ATIGA) in May 2010 that supports the free flow of goods, then The ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS) for free flow of services, and The ASEAN Comprehensive Investment Agreement (ACIA) to ease the free flow of investment among the ASEAN state members (Asean 2014).

AEC is assumed by ASEAN as the way to gain mutual benefits for all the member states because it gives the opportunity of each member to extent more markets beyond their territorial. It sounds like what neoliberalism proposes in international relations theory. The scholars of neoliberalism argue that war and military weapons are no longer the main dynamic of relations among nations. The hierarchy of issue in international relations also diminishes, for instance economic issue is as important as security issue. State is no longer the main actors of international relations, nevertheless big business like transnational corporations also hold the role (Nye 1977). The opinion of neoliberalism scholars could not be dismissed from the phenomena of European states integration to rebuild the region after World War II by expanding the cooperation among some states in Europe. The inter-states cooperation perceived mutual values and identity in society and also disclose the opportunity to cooperate with other region. The cooperation was assumed to shut the probability of war, moreover the cost of war were too expensive (Deutsch 1957).

It also explains how the ASEAN starts the integration. Nowadays, ASEAN is developing the economic cooperation among state members. With a market of over 600 million consumers and combined GDP of nearly US\$ 3 trillion, ASEAN is vibrant and growing, offering a future to its people of increasing prosperity and stability (Asean, 2014). Keohane argued that the cooperation enhanced the interdependence (Jackson & Sorensen 2005). Eventually, it

needed institution or regime to manage the cooperation. For instance, to ease the global trade, World Trade Organizations has been established. In ASEAN case, the interdependence also needed the institution by the establishment of ASEAN in 1967 and also the regimes or agreements that have been made afterwards.

The argument above shows how neoliberalism explains the AEC by highlighting the cooperation of the member states to gain mutual benefit, but how about others opinion like media? Is it the same or different view? The implementation of ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) 2016 has become one of most interesting South East Asia regional issue for media. In Indonesia for instance, the news coverage about AEC are quite many. The content of news is also interesting. At a glance, many media which discuss AEC as a big benefit to strengthen Indonesia economic, but there's also that see AEC as a battle of field therefore Indonesia urgently needs to prepare its citizen. In the other hand, AEC is viewed as a form of cooperation to aim mutual prosperity of ASEAN's state members.

Media has the ability to give certain image about an event or issue and it also happens when it comes to AEC. Media can suggest that AEC as a form of chance, threat, battle of field, or good cooperation and etc. The ability of media to feature certain things can be seen through how media frames an issue (Entman 1993). In some studies in International Relations studies, the role of media as the non-state actor started to be recognized by introduction of the concept of Media Diplomacy as part of Public Diplomacy. Eytan Gilboa stated that the communication revolution, the growing mass participation in politics, and changes in international relations produced new types of interaction between mass media and diplomacy and new terms to describe them such as public diplomacy, media diplomacy, populist diplomacy, instant diplomacy, tele-diplomacy, and even photo-diplomacy (Gilboa 1998).

Therefore, this paper aims to see how media in Indonesia to respond and frame the regional issue in term of AEC by publishing the news from public. To ease this research, there will be chosen two most popular online media in

Indonesia namely www.kompas.com which belongs to Kompas Gramedia, and www.tempo.co that owned by Tempo Inti Media. The paper will focus on the news coverage about the leaders of Indonesia's speeches namely President Joko Widodo and Vice President Jusuf Kalla about AEC. After that, the framing analysis will be used to analyze the news, and then in the last part, the paper will provide the possibility of IR theories to explain the media's framing of AEC issue.

A. Framing Analysis Concept

In this paper, the framing concept by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald Kosicki will be the chosen concept. Pan and Kosicki explain that framing is the process of making certain message to be more prominent than others (Eriyanto, 2002). The choosing of Pan and Kosicki framing concept because it emphasizes in detail which parts of news that should be observed in order to see the framing of news about event or issue. There are two important conceptions in framing that has been made by journalist namely psychology and sociology conceptions.

The psychology conception relates to internal structure in someone's mind and it explains how journalists receive the information by their understanding, while the sociology concept relates to social and politics discourse in society, then Pan and Kosicki integrated those two different aspects. Journalists do not only use their understanding to construct the reality, but there are other things such as *a) the process of reality construction involves the social value inside the journalist, b) social value in society is influencing since journalist doesn't write for himself but for public instead, c) the production process that involves the journalism standard.*

There are four main structures to analysis namely syntaxes, scrip, thematic and rhetoric structures. Syntaxes structure relates to how journalists arrange the fact (statement, opinion, citation and observation) into arranged news. The observed units are the headline, lead, background, citation, source and closing. Then, scrip structure relates to how journalists tell the fact through news and to identify that we can observe 5W and 1H inside the

news. Thematic structure relates to how journalists reveal their thought toward event or issue through proposition, sentences, and correlation among sentences to construct the whole text. The last one is rhetoric structure that explains about how journalists pick words, idiom, graphic, even photos. The selection is not only for completing the news, but also to emphasize certain meaning. In the table below, Pan and Kosicki created a framework used for analyzing the media framing about event or issue

Table 1 Framing Analysis Framework of Pan and Kosicki (Eriyanto, 2002)

Structure	Framing devices	Observed units
Syntaxes How journalists arrange fact	News scheme	Headline, lead, information background, quotation, source, statement, closing
Scrip How journalists tell the fact	News completeness	5W + 1H (what, where, when, why, who and how)
Thematic How journalists write the fact	Detail Sentence meaning	Paragraph, proposition
Rhetoric How journalists emphasize the fact	Lexicon Graphic	Word, picture and graphic

B. The Framing of Indonesia Media toward AEC

As mentioned above, this paper aims to know the framing of Indonesia media toward AEC and how they give image to it. For this purpose, the two existing online media in Indonesia whose news articles will be analyzed in this chapter, namely www.kompas.com and www.tempo.co, and both are the part of two big media corporations, namely Kompas Gramedia and Tempo

Inti Media respectively. Two media have frequently covered the issue of AEC in their news. Kompas.com has been released about 400 news articles since 2011¹ while Tempo.co has been covered about 180 news articles also since 2011².

The paper limits news coverage only about the leaders of Indonesia's namely President Joko Widodo and Vice President Jusuf Kalla speeches regarding AEC. The speeches were delivered during 26th ASEAN Summit on 26th of April until 29th of April 2015 in Malaysia. Both leaders had been interviewed separately by several media including Kompas.com and Tempo.co related to AEC issue.

- Kompas.com Framing about Leaders Speech toward AEC

First, Kompas.com published article entitled '*Presiden Jokowi: Jangan Takut dengan MEA*' (Don't be Afraid of AEC, President Jokowi said) on 27th of April 2015³. Kompas.com framed AEC as an economic battlefield among ASEAN member states and like it or not, all member states should join the field. Then, Kompas.com also emphasized anxiety of Indonesia related to AEC implementation.

Through syntaxes structure, the framing has been shown through news scheme. The title of article clearly pointed the anxiety of Indonesia toward AEC, so that the president needed to make effort to calm society down through the headline '*Presiden Jokowi: Jangan Takut MEA*'. After that, Kompas.com wanted to suggest that AEC was the unavoidable economic battle field through the lead or opening sentences of the article and the quotation presented below.

*Presiden Joko Widodo menyatakan Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN
atau MEA yang akan mulai berlaku pada 1 Januari 2016 tak*

¹ I searched the news articles by using 'MEA' (Masyarakat Ekonomi Asean) as keyword in www.kompas.com

² I searched the news articles by using 'MEA' (Masyarakat Ekonomi Asean) as keyword in www.tempo.co

³ Suhartono, "*Presiden Jokowi: Jangan Takut Dengan MEA*", Kompas.com (27 April 2015) internet, 27 May 2015, www.kompas.com

bisa mundur lagi. Alasannya, semuanya sudah dibahas sejak 2003 lalu. “Ya harus siap karena sudah tidak bisa mundur lagi. Pokoknya harus siap. Namun yang paling penting menurut saya, kita akan identifikasi dulu dalam waktu yang sangat dekat ini,” ujar Presiden Jokowi saat ditanya se usai jamuan makan malam di Kuala Lumpur Convention Center (KLCC), Malaysia, Minggu (26/04/2015)

President Joko Widodo stated that ASEAN Economic Community or MEA would be applied on 1st of January 2016 and could not be delayed anymore because it had been planned since 2003. “Yes, we should be ready because it couldn’t be delayed anymore. We must be ready. However, I guess the important thing to do is to identify in the near future,” President Jokowi said after the feast in Kuala Lumpur Convention Center (KLCC), Malaysia, Sunday (26/04/2015).

Kompas.com revealed Indonesia’s anxiety and also all member states related to AEC through the next paragraph and quotation of president. However, it also emphasized that optimism was needed in this unavoidable economic battlefield like showed below.

Presiden Jokowi menambahkan bekerja itu harus optimis dan jangan pesimis. “Jangan takut (dengan MEA) karena semua negara juga takut dengan berlakunya ASEAN Economic Community (MEA) ini. Kita harus optimis karena kita punya produk yang macam-macam. Ini harus kita identifikasi. Mana yang punya daya saing, itu yang masuk ke negara kanan kiri. Saya kira itu yang dalam waktu pendek ini harus dikerjakan,” ujarnya.

President Jokowi added that in working we should be optimist and don’t be pessimist. “Don’t afraid (of AEC) because all member states are also being afraid with the implementation of AEC. We should be optimist because we have various products.

These products should be identified, which one that has competitiveness and can be sold to other states. I guess it should be done in the near future,” he said.

Kompas.com framing about AEC as unavoidable economic battlefield also revealed through how it tell the story about the Indonesia readiness toward AEC (scrip structure). According to 5W+1H formula, the things should be observed namely; the subject of debate about readiness, how the pro and con opinions, who involve in the debate, and the summary in the end. However, in this article Kompas.com only revealed one side of opinion which stated that Indonesia, like or not, should be ready for AEC. Meanwhile, another opinion was not loaded because the source inside the news only one person namely the president.

Next, according to thematic structure, there are two themes that were conveyed namely the readiness of Indonesia for AEC and the preparation for AEC. Both themes related to the main theme about Indonesia readiness to the unavoidable economic battlefield. Meanwhile, by rhetoric structure can be seen the emphasizing of adjective ‘afraid’ in the title and content of the article. It showed Indonesia condition to face EAC next year.

Second, Kompas.com published the article related to AEC whose spokesperson was Vice President Jusuf Kalla on 27th of April 2015⁴. If being compared to previous article that contained speech of President Joko Widodo, this article had more positive tone. However, the main idea is still the same namely EAC as the economic battlefield.

Through syntaxes structure, the Kompas.com framing of AEC can be seen from the title of articles namely ‘*Wapres: Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN 2016 Untungkan Indonesia*’ (ASEAN Economic Community 2016 will be profitable for Indonesia, vice president said). The title used word ‘profitable’ to emphasize certain meaning. It suggested that the effect of AEC would be

⁴ Hindra Liauw, “*Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN 2016 Untungkan Indonesia*”, Kompas.com (28 April 2015) internet, 27 May 2015, www.kompas.com

getting profit or getting loss. It showed that AEC was the economic battle about losing or winning.

By the lead and the first quotation, Kompas.com showed about the probability of Indonesia to win the ASEAN economic battle used some considerable reasons as presented below.

Wakil Presiden Jusuf Kalla menyatakan pelaksanaan Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN (MEA) pada 2016 bisa menguntungkan Indonesia. "Pertama, pasar kita luas, punya resources (sumber daya alam) lebih baik. Kita juga punya tenaga kerja yang lebih kompetitif," kata Jusuf Kalla setelah menghadiri penutupan Konferensi Tingkat Tinggi (KTT) ke-26 ASEAN di Kuala Lumpur dan Langkawi, Malaysia pada Senin (27/4/2015).

The Vice President Jusuf Kalla stated that the implementation of ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in 2016 would be profitable for Indonesia. "First, our market is enormous and we having better resources. We also have competitive labors," Jusuf kalla said after attending the closing of 26th ASEAN Summit in Kuala Lumpur and Langkawi Malaysia on Monday (27/04/2015).

Kompas.com also put another point namely negative effect of AEC for Indonesia, nevertheless Kompas.com placed it in the middle of article. As mentioned before that the aim of framing is to emphasize certain meaning. Even though, it wrote about the negative effect of AEC because of some of Indonesia uncompetitive products, however Kompas.com tended to underline the optimism spirit of Indonesia to welcome AEC next year through the opening sentences of the article.

Then according to scrip structure (5W+1H), the debate was about losing or winning the AEC. However, Kompas.com only revealed one side of opinion which stated that Indonesia would get economic benefit from AEC.

Meanwhile, another opinion was not loaded because the spokesperson within the news was only one person namely the vice president.

Next, from thematic structure there were two themes namely the confidence of Indonesia getting benefit from AEC and the negative effect of AEC for Indonesia economic. The two themes as matter of fact were quite opposite, but Kompas.com put the first theme as the headline and lead of the article. Indeed, it emphasized certain meaning namely AEC would get economic benefit from AEC. The last one, through rhetoric structure there was the emphasizing of word 'benefit' or 'advantage'. It resembled the positive spirit of Indonesia to enter the AEC era.

From the analysis of two news articles above, it was concluded that Kompas.com saw AEC as economic battlefield among ASEAN member states. The economic battlefield gave the anxiety in one side, but Kompas.com tried to frame the optimism of Indonesia in facing AEC.

- Tempo.co Framing about Leaders Speech toward AEC

Tempo.co also published the article of leaders' speech about AEC. The interviewed was conducted in the same time, however Tempo.co had different emphasized point of view about the speech. Generally, Tempo.co also regards AEC as the economic battlefield among ASEAN member states. To make it clear, the paper would analyze two of Tempo.co articles below.

First, Tempo.co published the article entitled '*Jokowi: Hadapi MEA 2016, Indonesia Perlu Produk Khusus*' (Indonesia Needs Special Products to Face AEC, Jokowi said)⁵. The interviewed was conducted in the same time with Kompas.com; however Tempo.co took different news angle (point of view). Tempo.co also considered AEC as economic battlefield, so Indonesia needed to prepare for the battle. The preparation was the highlight on the news article. Seen from syntaxes structure, Tempo.co delivered the message

⁵ Antara, "*Jokowi: Hadapi MEA 2015, Indonesia Butuh Produk Khusus*", Tempo.co (27 April 2015) internet, 27 May 2015, www.tempco.co

through the headline and the lead inside the article. They featured the strategy of Indonesia to face the AEC as shown below.

Presiden Joko Widodo menegaskan perlunya segera melakukan identifikasi produk-produk dalam negeri yang memiliki daya saing dalam menghadapi Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN 2016. “Akan diidentifikasi dalam waktu dekat ini produk-produk yang mempunyai compatible (daya saing), yang bisa menyerang kanan-kiri negara kita” kata Jokowi setelah menghadiri jamuan makan malam KTT ASEAN ke-26 di Kuala Lumpur, Minggu malam, 26 April 2015.

President Joko Widodo asserted the importance of identifying local products that had competitiveness to face AEC 2016. “Identification of local products with competitiveness that are able to attack our neighborhood states will be identified soon,” Jokowi said after the feast of 26th of ASEAN Summit in Kuala Lumpur on Sunday 26th of April 2015

In the quotation above, it can be seen the strategy of Indonesia to attack other ASEAN states by using good quality of local product. Tempo.co tried to capture the image of battlefield and competition of AEA. Also different from Kompas.com in the same topics, Tempo.co accentuated the optimism of Indonesia to integrate with ASEAN’s single market.

Then from scrip structure, the point accentuated in this article about the strategy to win. There was no debate presented in the article, moreover the spokesperson were only one person. After that, based on thematic structure there were two themes inside the article namely the strategy to win and the optimism to face the AEC. The two themes related to the main theme namely AEC as economic battlefield. Then, according to rhetoric structure, there were the using of word of competitive product that referred to strategy of Indonesia for AEC.

Second, Tempo.co published the news article about Vice President Jusuf Kalla speech on the same day Kompas.com did which was on 27th of April 2015 entitled ‘*JK: Indonesia Siap Memasuki Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN 2016*’ (Indonesia is ready to meddle in ASEAN Economic Community 2016, JK said)⁶. The framing of this article was quite different from the previous. Tempo.co tended to frame AEC as a mutual effort of ASEAN member states than an economic battlefield.

It was delivered through the syntaxes structure. Tempo.co showed the Indonesia readiness to meddle in AEC next year in the headline, however if being seen from the lead or opening sentences, it underlined the mutual effort of ASEAN states to make AEC successful as presented below.

Wakil Presiden Jusuf Kalla mengatakan, salah satu misi Indonesia dalam Konferensi Tingkat Tinggi ASEAN adalah agar pelaksanaan Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN lancar. Dalam KTT ASEAN di Malaysia ini, salah satu yang dibahas adalah kesiapan negara-negara ASEAN terkait pelaksanaan MEA 2016. “Nanti kan diskusi di sana. Kita ingin bagaimana agar pelaksanaan MEA itu berjalan lancar,” ujar Kalla di Bandar Udara Halim Perdanakusuma, Jakarta, Senin 27 April 2015

Vice President Jusuf Kalla stated that one of Indonesia mission in ASEAN summit was to urge AEC going smoothly. One of discussion point in ASEAN summit in Malaysia was the readiness of ASEAN states related to implementation of AEC 2016. “Later it will be discussed there. We want the implementation of AEC going smoothly,” Kalla said in Perdanakusuma Airport Jakarta on Monday 27th of April 2015.

The quotation in the article above showed the framing about AEC was the mutual endeavor of ASEAN through the discussion in ASEAN summit to

⁶ [Tika Primandari, “JK: Indonesia Siap Masuki Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN 2016”, Tempo.co \(27 April 2015\) internet, 27 May 2015, www.tempo.co.id](http://www.tempo.co)

make sure the readiness of all members, in order to achieve the purposes of AEC.

Then, scrip structure of the article pointed that there was not debate in the article. The only spokesperson in the article showed the readiness of Indonesia to enter the AEC and there was no opposite opinion on the article. Next, according to thematic structure there was two themes in the article namely ASEAN summit was the mutual endeavor to achieve the successfulness of AEC and Indonesia was ready to enter the AEC era next year. After that, based on rhetoric structure there were two emphasizing words in the article namely '*lancar*' (going smoothly) and '*siap*' (to be ready). The words sound positive and describe the readiness for AEC.

The analysis above showed that the framing of Tempo.co about EAC was fluctuated. Sometime it featured AEC as battlefield like the first article, and then it changed and framed AEC as a mutual endeavor of ASEAN member states. However the tone of news article was quite positive. It was different from Kompas.com that consistently framed AEC as economic battlefield.

C. Understanding the Meaning of Indonesia Media Framing

As mentioned before that the aim of this paper is to show the Indonesia media's framing toward AEC issue. After doing the framing analysis used Pan and Kosicki model, the analysis found the different framing of both media, Kompas.com and Tempo.co in publishing the article news contained AEC issue. *First* Kompas.com firmly framed AEC as an economic battlefield, even in the first article Kompas.com underlined AEC as unavoidable economic battlefield that like or not should be faced. Kompas.com in one side also captured the anxiety of Indonesia to jump into free flow of goods, services, labors, investment, and capital. However, Kompas.com showed how Indonesia tried to be optimist to face the AEC next year.

Second, Tempo.co has fluctuated framing. In the first article, it framed AEC as economic battlefield and the second one it accentuated AEC as mutual endeavor of ASEAN member states to gain AEC purposes. As a battlefield,

Tempo.co showed the effort of Indonesia to win or to survive in AEC by identifying local products that have competitiveness. Meanwhile, in the second article about mutual endeavor, Tempo.co captured how the ASEAN member states sit together to talk about making AEC success.

By those, this paper to show how media have their own perspective about issue and event. The interview was conducted in the same time, but the result in the article would be different depended on each framing of media. As mentioned before, media has enormous role in delivering message to people. Media also has the ability to construct the public opinion. Public opinion itself is the communication act to bring message to people and hope the feedback afterward. The media attracts public attention, so that it can influence the decision making process. Rogers and Dearing showed it by using the agenda setting theory (Dearing & Rogers, 1996).

In this paper, I also want to show the different perspective of ASEAN and Indonesia media in seeing AEC. As mentioned above, ASEAN regarded AEC as the mutual effort of ASEAN member states to gain the simultaneous prosperity in Southeast Asia region. Neoliberalism sees that to achieve the better condition, the states should cooperate and bring up the interdependence among states. The Neoliberalism perspective explained the interdependence of the states in same region and need institution or regime to ease the process.

However, media have different perspective from neoliberalism, and nearly realism-mercantilism instead. Realism-mercantilism perspective viewed the form of economic relations among states were conflicting and zero sum game or 'winner takes all' principle and also, in international relations the role of states was prominent (Hettne 1995). According to the analysis in the previous chapter, it explained that most of the media framed AEC as the economic battlefield and the involving state has to prepare before jumping into the battle.

Conclusion

ASEAN expects that the implementation of AEC will bring the prosperity to all member states. Based on, neoliberalism's view that cooperation among state would give the advantages to the states, ASEAN established a regime or institution to ease the cooperation process. However, media whose influence was quite huge to people perspective, framed the AEC as an economic battlefield like realism-mercantilism perspective about international political economic. The framing of AEC as an economic battlefield has the opportunity to encourage Indonesia to prepare and have such strategy for next year by considering AEC as economic battlefield.

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