CONTROVERSY ON THE TERMINATION OF LARGE-SCALE SOCIAL RESTRICTIONS IN GREATER SURABAYA AT KOMPAS.COM AND SUARASURABAYA.NET

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ABSTRACT
East Java Governor Khofifah Indar Parawansa officially imposed the termination of PSBB Surabaya Raya on June 8, 2020. The decision based on the agreement of three leaders of the Greater Surabaya region (Surabaya, Sidoarjo, and Gresik). The agreement to stop the PSBB caused controversy in the community because, based on statistics, the definite number of COVID-19 cases is still very high in the three regions. It is still not feasible to stop the PSBB. This study uses the analysis method of Framing Pan and Kosicki by basing on a constructive paradigm and media representation. This method assumes that every news has a frame that functions as the center of organizational ideas. News in both media has not fully used the elements of 5H and 1H and display photos that are not following the news contents. As a result, suarasurabaya.net mostly constructs the existence of East Java Governor's disapproval of the termination of the PSBB policy in Greater Surabaya based on one source. Whereas Kompas.com is more multi-perspective, displaying reasons for the termination of PSBB because of many display sources of interviews.

Key Word: COVID-19; Framing Analysis; Pan and Kosicki; PSBB

1. INTRODUCTION

World Health Organization (WHO) states that the corona virus is categorized as a global pandemic. This statement was made by the Director General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus at a press conference on March 11, 2020 (WHO, 2020). By highlighting cases outside China, which increased by 13 times, with the number of infected countries increasing threefold (Utomo, 2020).

In this case the government acted quickly in handling this case, since early March it was announced that there were Indonesian citizens who said ODP. The government continues to urge to maintain health and live a healthy life, avoid people who have coughs, and start wearing masks when going out of the house or when meeting people. Not only that, from a health perspective, the government also provides hospitals, medical devices that are adequate for preparation in case of additional cases. Regulations also continue to be made and updated, especially regarding the way in and out of Indonesia, in this case through a press conference on the Youtube account of the Presidential Secretariat, the immigration authorities have started to prohibit entry to foreign citizens to carry out transit activities, especially from prohibited areas such as China, Italy, Iran, and Korea (Media Center COVID-19, 2020).

The government does not only make policies on immigration and health matters, but also on matters of education, transportation, and industry. After the issuance of the Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) policy which was first implemented in Jakarta since April 10, the government issued a policy in the education sector to accompany the implementation of the PSBB. The policy is the imposition of teaching and learning

activities at home (Lova, 2020) and limiting office activities by enforcing a work from home policy called Work From Home (WFH).

Apart from Jakarta, several regions have also started implementing the PSBB to deal with the spread of the Corona virus. Especially in East Java as the region with the second most cases in Indonesia. As stated that on March 5, 2020, East Java had data on 65 people suspected of the corona virus, 34 of which came from Surabaya (Ariefana, 2020). When it was discovered that there were more cases in East Java, the Governor of East Java began planning to carry out PSBB in regions / cities of East Java, especially in areas with the highest number of cases. On April 19, 3 regions agreed to implement the PSBB, to reduce the number of cases in Surabaya which continued to increase which since that date was recorded as 1806 in the ODP in 31 sub-districts in Surabaya (Faizal, 2020).

The plan finally began to be carried out on April 28, 2020 and ended until May 11, but because until May 11 the number of cases increased the PSBB in Surabaya Raya was extended to May 25 and was extended for the third time ending on June 8, 2020. The end of PSBB Surabaya Raya causing serious controversy in the community, because the data on the number of positive cases of COVID-19 in East Java is still very high. The number of positive cases in Surabaya recorded on Sunday, 7 June 2020 reached 3124 people. This figure is the highest number of cases in East Java (Jatimprov.go.id, 2020). The policy to terminate the PSBB has caused public unrest who is always following the development of information on the spread of the COVID-19 virus from the mass media. This distribution data is very easily accessible to the public because almost all mass media and social media update information on the number of people infected with the virus every day by referring to data from the central task force for the acceleration of the COVID-19 response.

The controversy is more or less influenced by the role of the media. Because each media has its own perspective in dealing with an event. Different media perspectives can trigger pros and cons in the community in responding to decisions made by the East Java provincial government and three regional leaders in Greater Surabaya (the Mayor of Surabaya, the Regent of Sidoarjo and the Regent of Gresik).

This study explores news from online media, because it has advantages in speed and updating of information. In this day and age anyone everywhere can easily watch television, read newspapers and listen to radio online (Manzerolle & Kjøsen, 2012; Miller, 2008). Easy access to news and information from online media due to network availability and internet connection (Achmad, 2020; Achmad & Ida, 2019; Castells, 2009; Peter P. Nieckarz, 2005; Räsänen & Kouvo, 2007; Turkle, 2011)

Based on data from Twitter, an online news account that has an influence on the reporting of the COVID-19 issue in East Java, nationally, is kompas.com. Meanwhile, the influential local media is suarasurabaya.net. As shown by Zainal Abidin Achmad's account through Social Network Analysis (SNA) on the Drone Emprit Academic website belonging to the Indonesian Islamic University, Yogyakarta, shows that the kompas.com account has an engagement value of 66 by reaching 7,741,428 potential Twitter users. Meanwhile, suarasurabaya.net with an e100ss account has 37 engagement with 797,647 tweets, the most for local media (academic.droneemprit.id, 2020).

To find out how the two online media framed the news about the termination of PSBB Surabaya Raya, the researcher used the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing analysis model, which divides a news text into four structures, namely syntactic structure, script structure, thematic structure or cohesion and coherence. rhetorical structure or use of words, idioms, pictures and graphics. Framing analysis looks at the inequality of news perspectives, even though they have the same message content. As seen in the differences in news headlines in several media even though they inform the same facts. In each news item, the election applies to the prominence or removal of certain aspects of the facts, supported by differences in journalists' writing styles and editorial policies (Achmad, 2009). Therefore, framing analysis is very useful for dissecting media ideology when constructing facts (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 2016), as was done in this study.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This type of research is qualitative research. The nature of this research is descriptive analytical which aims to describe the characteristics of the news on kompas.com and suarasurabaya.net. Researchers use the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing analysis which assumes that every news has a frame that functions from the organization of ideas (Pan & Kosicki, 1996). Framing is related to meaning, such as interpreting an event seen from a sign that appears in the text (Wiranata, Mardliyah, & Achmad, 2016).

Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis model defines that framing is a process of making a message more prominent, placing more information than others so that the audience is more focused on the message (Eriyanto, 2009). Pan and Kosicki operationalized the four dimensions of the structure of the news text as a framing framework, namely: syntax (how journalists compile facts), script (how journalists tell facts), thematic (how journalists write facts), and rhetoric (how journalists emphasize facts). The framing devices used include: news schemes, completeness of news, details, intent and sentence relationships, use of nouns, coherence, sentence forms, use of pronouns, lexicons, graphics, metaphors, and suppositions (Pan & Kosicki, 1993) .

The time limit for news published by kompas.com and suarasurabaya.net is on June 8 and 9 2020 or news published after the press conference of the Governor of East Java Khofifah Indar Parawansa regarding the termination of PSBB Surabaya Raya (Kompas TV, 2020). After the press conference, kompas.com and suarasurabaya.net wrote three follow-up news items related to the termination of PSBB Surabaya Raya.

This study uses a constructionist approach that places researchers as an inseparable part of the object (Setiawan, Huda, & Mardana, 2016). The main relevance of constructionist theory in research is the explanation that the language contained in the news is a collection of signs (articles, photos, videos, sentences) that have meaning and can represent the culture in our society. , including the media. The basis of the constructionist approach comes from Stuart Hall's Representation Theory of the use of language to convey meaningful things to others. This means that representation is interpreting the concepts that exist in our minds by using language. Representation theory has three approaches, namely the reflective approach, the intentional approach, and the constructionist approach (Hall, 1997).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Each media has its own style when it comes to publishing news, the difference in editorial policies of each media affects the way news writers describe the results of the interviews they get in their own language (Achmad, 2014). Due to the nature and the fact that the work of the mass media is to tell events, the entire content of the media is a constructed reality (Subur, 2015).

Reconstruction is a constructionist approach and in a constructionist approach there are two characteristics. First, an approach that emphasizes the politics of meaning and the process of how a person describes this reality. Second, an approach that views the dynamic process of message formation, which examines the meaning construction of individuals as message givers and recipients. This means that messages are not a reflection of reality that displays facts as they are (Eriyanto, 2009).

Because this research assumes that the news is the result of a construction, the researcher displays the data from the exposure of the Governors on the island of Java and the Mayors / Regents in East Java obtained from the Indonesia Indicator for the period 19 June 2020, to find out whether the construction made by the news is also entered into one of the data. As shown by data from the Indonesia Indicator, East Java Governor Khofifah Indar Parawansa is noted to dominate the most exposed (boast) figures in online media. Because every day Khofifah has a routine to inform journalists about the development of the COVID-19 case in East Java online. Khofifah's figure has appeared in 5,536 news related to the COVID-19 issue. In fact, there were 14,554 statements regarding the corona virus from Khofifah Indar Parawansa which were quoted by online media (Indicator, 2020).

This framing analysis was carried out on the news published by Kompas.com and suarasurabaya.net regarding the termination of PSBB Surabaya Raya. The presentation is in accordance with the time (chronology) before the end of the PSBB on June 8 and 9 2020 or calculated when the approval of the Governor of East Java Khofifah Indar Parawansa not to extend the PSBB Surabaya Raya was issued.

News Analysis 1
Title: Risma and 2 Other Regional Heads Agree to End the PSBB Surabaya Raya, Khofifah Facilitator
Source: Kompas.com (Faizal 2020) - 08/06/2020, 21:17 WIB
Syntax Structure:
The title in this news has a slight inconsistency with the content of the news, the name Bu Khofifah is mentioned in the title, but in the news content only mentions the name of Bu Khofifah, there is not even an official statement from Bu Khofifah in the news. More than one background information. The source came from an interview with Heru Tjahjono, who was then the Regional Secretary of East Java Province.

Script Structure:

Table 1: Structure of the Script (news from kompas.com entitled Risma and 2 Other Regional Heads Agree to End PSBB Surabaya Raya, Khofifah Facilitator)

What is the content of the news?	The head of the Greater Surabaya area agreed not to continue the PSBB during the PSBB Evaluation Meeting
Who gave the statement on the news?	Head of the Greater Surabaya area
When is the evaluation meeting held?	Monday, June 8 2020
Where is the Meeting Place?	Grahadi State Building
Why did the regional heads agree not to continue the PSBB? Economic problems must keep moving in order to survive the pandemic	Economic problems must keep moving in order to survive the pandemic
What if the PSBB is not continued?	The Surabaya municipal government has prepared a strict health protocol that must be carried out by the community if the Surabaya PSBB is not extended.

Thematic Structure.
To emphasize the facts, it is found in the quotations from the interview results, the first is a quote from Heru Tjahjono.
"The Governor of East Java in this case is only a facilitator," Heru said after the meeting ..... "

The word facilitator implies that the Governor of East Java is the supporter of the meeting for the decision to terminate the PSBB. Then the next is an excerpt from an interview with Risma at Gelora Bung Tomo.
"These friends are discussing this again. Hopefully our proposal will be accepted by the Governor. " Risma said when met at Gelora Bung Tomo, Surabaya, Sunday (7/6/2020).
This quote justifies the sentence in the news lead.
"... the decision is an agreement of regional heads in the three regions."

Rhetorical Structure.
The image used is right with the headline, which shows the figure of Bu Khofifah, right in front of her, a microphone indicates that she is in a meeting room.

News Analysis 2
Title: PSBB Surabaya Raya is not yet worth ending, this is the reason for an epidemiologist
Source: Kompas.com (Ghinan, 2010) ¬– 08/06/2020, 22:13 WIB

Syntax Structure:

The schematic title shows that Surabaya Raya is still not enough to do a New Normal based on an Epidemiologist. The headline is in accordance with the content of the news which many quote from interviews with epidemiologists.

Script Structure:

Table 2: Structure of the Script (news from kompas.com entitled PSBB Suarabaya Raya Not Worth Ending, This Is Epidemiological Reason)

What is the content of the news?	. Epidemiologists say that Surabaya Raya is not ready to enter the New Normal
Who said that statement?	Epidemiologist from Airlangga University, Windhu Purnomo.
When was the statement?	Monday (8/6/2020)
Where is the statement?	Surabaya
Why is PSBB Surabaya Raya still not worthy of an end?	Based on research conducted by the Faculty of Public Health (FKM) Unair, the community in the Greater Surabaya area is considered not to care about protocol.
How about the epidemiologist analysis?	Community behavior is getting worse amidst the PSBB, more and more people do not wear masks.

Thematic Structure

Kompas.com quoted a statement from an Epidemiologist. Like the following words: relaxed, dismantled, not messed up, it's getting worse, we have to, the increase in cases.

Rhetorical Structure

Based on the words obtained in the thematic structure, these words emphasize the title section that Surabaya Raya is not yet worthy of an end and the attitude of the community is indifferent to regulations. As:

"Don't let it go, now it's like this. It was dismantled (loosened) and it was messy (messy), "said Windhu when contacted in Surabaya"

According to KBBI, the word loosen up, loose itself, is not strict in meaning that there are no tightening of regulations. To dismantle it also means to be loosened. For sentences that are not interpreted as messy, positive cases are increasing and increasing in each region.

"Bappenas has given guidelines, we must comply with them according to WHO, ..."

The word we must obey, it means that we must obey the rules that have been given.

"Because we are worried about a spike in cases, so there is no need to rush (end the PSBB)" he said.

The word spike in cases indicates that the number of cases is increasing and it is not time to end the PSBB. Based on the pictures match the content of the news.

News Analysis 3

Title: PSBB Surabaya Ends, Risma: This is Heavier, We Cannot Be Careless and Careless

Source: Kompas.com (Agriesta, 2020) - 09/06/2020, 06:33 WIB

Syntax Structure:

This news explains the expectations of the main character of the news. Describing the Mayor of Surabaya, Tri Rismaharini, asked his citizens to be more disciplined in implementing the health protocol after the PSBB, in accordance with the title "Risma: This is tougher, we should not be careless and careless."

Script Structure:

Table 3: Script Structure (news from kompas.com entitled PSBB Surabaya Ends, Risma: This is Heavier, We Cannot Be Careless)

What is the content of the news?	Risma's hopes for the residents of Surabaya for after the PSBB
Who said that statement?	The mayor of Surabaya Tri Risma Harini
When was the statement?	Monday night (8/6/2020)
Where was the statement stated?	At his official residence
Why did the PSBB end?	The PSBB was terminated to make it easier for its citizens to make a living
What is the hope of the mayor of Surabaya?	Asking residents of the city of Surabaya and asking hotels, restaurants, malls, shops, and markets to apply discipline health protocols

Thematic Structure

Kompas emphasized that the title posted was about the hopes of the Surabaya mayor. And to increase the readership by taking quotes, with the words as follows: we must maintain that belief and must not be careless, must not be careless and careless, we must always be disciplined, this is a mandate again.

Rhetorical Structure

Based on these words obtained in the thematic structure, these words are meant to emphasize the wishes of the Surabaya mayor with several statements from the Surabaya mayor. As in the sentence:

"Yesterday, many complained to me that I wanted a normal life, but with strict health protocols. Let's do it. We have to maintain that belief and not be careless, "said Risma during a press conference,"

The word we must maintain trust is addressed to residents of Surabaya to carry out strict health protocols. Then also on the word.

"This is even tougher because we have trust on our shoulders, let's watch it. We can't be careless and careless," he said.

The word frivolous was repeated in a quote from the Surabaya mayor. It means that Surabaya residents should not go around doing health protocols when the Surabaya PSBB ends.

"We must always be disciplined, please pay attention to this ..."

Mrs. Risma's quote is shown again in the news with the intention of also reminding readers. About the next time there are new protocols or rules, we must voluntarily obey them and do them.

"Once again, this is a mandate for the residents of Surabaya ..."

The word trust is used, mandate itself in KBBI means something that is entrusted (entrusted) to another person, plus the word once again, it shows that Mrs. Risma really hopes for the trust that has been given to the citizens of Surabaya.

News Analysis 4

Title: PSBB Surabaya Raya is not extended

Source: suarasurabaya.net (Perdana, 2020) - 8 June 2020, 20.30 WIB

Syntax Structure

Clear news content according to the title. In the lead section, Heru as the Secretary of the Covid-19 Task Force said the results of the decision of the PSBB Surabaya Raya Evaluation Meeting that night.

Thematic Structure

The content of the story is explained with several quotations and indirect sentences. The quotation further explains who owns and wants the PSBB not to be extended. The following are words that explain the content of the news the researcher means: affirm, it should be noted, only acts as a mediator.

Script Structure

Table 4: Structure of the Script (news from kompas.com entitled PSBB Surabaya Raya is not extended)

What is the content of the news?	Results of the PSBB Surabaya Raya evaluation meeting
Who stated?	Heru Tjahjono
When was the statement?	Monday (8/6/2020)
Where was the statement?	Grahadi State Building Surabaya
Why was PSBB Surabaya terminated?	-
What is the decision to terminate the PSBB?	The decision was taken by 3 heads of the Greater Surabaya region

Rhetorical Structure

"Heru Tjahjono, Secretary of the COVID-19 Task Force, emphasized that decisions about that were taken by each regional head, not by the Governor of East Java."

The word emphasizes what the news was written in, in other words it convinces journalists.

"This afternoon, the Regent of Gresik, the Regent of Sidoarjo, as well as the Mayor of Surabaya decided not to continue the PSBB in Surabaya Raya. It should be noted, it is not the province who decides, yes, "he said.

The words of the results of the decision are reinforced by the words that need to be noted to reaffirm to journalists. Not only that the affirmation was made by the secretary of the meeting but the news writers wrote it in an indirect sentence.

"Khofifah Indar Parawansa, the Governor of East Java, is in the decision-making process regarding the end of the third phase of PSBB Surabaya Raya on June 8, only acting as a mediator."

News Analysis 5

Title: Risma: If you want a new normal, let's discipline the protocol

Source: suarasurabaya.net (Abidin, 2020) - June 8, 2020, 21.17 WIB

Syntax Structure

The lead in the story explains in a nutshell what will be discussed in the next paragraph. In the lead, Risma wants Surabaya residents to be disciplined in the protocol made when the PSBB is not extended later.

Thematic Structure

From the quotations entered by the news writer in this news, it shows Mrs. Risma's desire. Which is written in the following words: I want, I ask, let's take care, this is the danger, let's go.

Script Structure

Table 5: Script Structure (news from kompas.com entitled Risma: If You Want New Normal, Come on Discipline Protocol)

What is in the news?	Risma will arrange strict and detailed protocols for various lines of business and citizen activities in the midst of this new normal transition.
Who stated the news?	Risma
When was the statement?	Monday evening (8/6/2020)
Where was the statement held?	At this official house Jalan Sedap Malam.
Why do you need protocol discipline?	To deal with New Normal and prevent it from increasing the number cases.
What form of protocol discipline?	When the mall is full, don't go in first, keep your distance, it is obligatory to use mask, you must wash your hands..

Rhetorical Structure

From the words mentioned in the previous structure, explain or interpret as follows:

"I want to convey to the citizens of Surabaya that the trust of the Governor and the East Java Forpimda should not be careless. Yesterday, many complained to me that I

wanted a normal life but with strict health protocols, let's do it. We have to maintain that trust, we have to take care of everything, we must not be reckless because we, not other people, can protect ourselves, "said Risma.

"I ask everything, hotels, restaurants, malls, shops, trade, markets, everything, including workshops and construction. Let's take care, we prove that we citizens of Surabaya respect and obey the protocols that have been made by the government, "said Risma.

"Let us all obey the rules, we can't be rea reo, we can't seem to let go. No, you still have to be disciplined, please help. Because trust is heavy. We cannot feel that we are free, this is not over yet, there are still many of our brothers and sisters in hospital, there are still many medical workers who are struggling to heal our brothers who are in the hospital, so don't add to it that we are not disciplined, "he said.

The word that the researcher in italicized in the quote shows Mrs. Risma's invitation and hopes for Surabaya residents to be careful, obey the rules.

News Analysis 6

Title: The Public Must Obey and Change, In Crowded Places there are Many Violations of Health Protocols

Source: suarasurabaya.net (Syarief, 2020) June 9, 2020, 13:14

Syntax Structure

The title section is quite emphatic and invites the reader to find out who said things in the title section. The lead explained well, namely Heru's study of places that were visited and did not comply with the rules / protocols during the PSBB.

Script Structure

Table 7: Structure of the Script (news from kompas.com entitled Public Must Obey and Change, in Crowded Places There are Still Many Health Protocol Violations)

What is the content of the news ?	Discuss rules and some basics mayor create a new normal protocol
Who gave the stetement ?	Heru
When did he give the statement ?	Tuesday, June 9th 2020
Where was the statement given ?	-
Why arethese 5 places crowded and not implementing protcols?	-
What is the form of protocol that will be made ?	-

Thematic Structure

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The words quoted match the title, suggesting later protocol and the crowded places mentioned in the story. As the words say: not enforcing, integrity pact, obey and disciplined.

Rhetorical Structure

"There are 16.9 percent of active courses / campuses / schools. Of those who are active, 75 percent do not wear masks and 80 percent do not apply physical distancing. "Places of worship are the same too, but until now the places of worship have continued to clean up, organize, and keep changing," he told Suara Surabaya Radio, Tuesday (9/6/2020).

The word italicized does not apply, leading to the hope that the later protocol will be implemented by residents to apply physical distancing. Then next.

"At 12 Gresik first, then Sidoarjo, then Surabaya. Tonight there is an integrity pact that we will compile, "said Heru."

Then in Heru's quote, the pact according to the KBBI is an international agreement. The meaning of the sentence that day will take turns compiling a joint agreement with the government of Surabaya City, Sidoarjo Regency, and Gresik Regency. Furthermore, Heru hopes that the community will work together to maintain health and prevent the Covid-19 virus together.

"Obedience and discipline to maintain health, wearing a mask, and physical distancing are vaccines," said Heru.

The words obey and discipline explain Heru's desire.

4. CONCLUSION

The syntactic structure in the news text from kompas.com and suarasurabaya.net has shown the correspondence between news headlines and news content descriptions. All news texts have a complete background of information delivery and the availability of information sources. The headline structure generally includes the name of the media, place and date of the event. The script structure on all news subjects at kompas.com has fulfilled the 5W + 1H (What, Who, When, Where, Why, and How) elements. But there are two stories on suarasurabaya.net that leave some of these six elements.

The thematic structure in the news text of kompas.com and suarasurabaya.net, emphasizes the concerns of the East Java Provincial government if the PSBB in Surabaya Raya is stopped. Kompas.com's concerns were expressed by presenting an epidemiological expert's review regarding the appropriateness of the PSBB Surabaya Raya being stopped. Suarasurabaya.net shows its concern by providing facts about many residents of Surabaya and its surroundings who violate health protocols.

The rhetorical structure of the two media is different. Kompas.com mentioned the position of the Governor of East Java as a facilitator while suarasurabaya.net positioned Khofifah Indar Parawansa as the mediator at the meeting that agreed to terminate the PSBB Surabaya Raya. The word facilitator refers to the party or person who acts as a facility provider or support provider for the agreement of the three regional leaders in

Greater Surabaya. The word mediator refers to a person who acts as a mediator for the disputing parties. The word facilitator constructs the meaning that the Governor of East Java supports the policy of terminating the PSBB Surabaya Raya. Meanwhile, the word mediator constructs the meaning that the Governor of East Java is a neutral party, and does not agree with the termination of the PSBB as a decision from the Surabaya mayor, the Sidoarjo Regent and the Gresik Regent.

5. SUGGESTION

The results of this study can be used as a comparison for the findings of various other mass media covering the implementation of PSBB in various cities in Indonesia. Apart from using framing analysis, other research methods can be applied to extract data and carry out deeper analysis, for example with virtual ethnography or netnography.

6. ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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