



News Framing of the Protest Against the Elimination of Teacher Allowances in Samarinda City by Kaltim Newspaper

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to analyze how Koran Kaltim Daily Newspaper framed the news related to the protest of the elimination of allowances carried out by teachers under the auspices of the Samarinda City government. This is done to know and understand the meaning contained in the news and how Koran Kaltim framed the polemics that occurred in the community. The focus of this research refers to the news framing theory by Scheufele which classifies framing techniques into 4 techniques namely defining problems, diagnosing causes, making judgments, suggesting remedies. This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with the framing model analysis technique by Zhondang Pan & Gerald M. Kosicki, which divides framing into 4 major structures namely syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures. Data were collected in the form of news texts containing the adjustment of teacher allowances in Samarinda City by Koran Kaltim as many as 5 news articles published on September 30, 1, 4, 12, and October 18, 2022. The results showed that Kaltim Newspaper tended to favor the government of Samarinda City, this can be seen from the provision of more news portions to the government. The teachers are only given space as an opening that determines the direction of the conflict, the rest of the teachers are described as only emphasizing and following the statements issued by the Samrinda City government. The framing of conflict news is packaged with subtle language and does not tend to show criticism of the policies taken, as seen from the use of idioms that have multiple meanings so that they do not clearly show criticism of the government.

Keywords: *News Frames, Teachers, Media*

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INTRODUCTION

In carrying out its duties, it is not uncommon for the government to receive opposition from a number of parties who feel that the policies taken are detrimental (Widiastuti et al., 2021), such as for teachers at the Elementary School (SD) and Junior High School (SMP) levels in Samarinda City who protested the issuance of circular letter Number 420/9128/100.01 concerning Alignment of Teacher and Educator Incentives (Putra et al., 2021). Ultimately, thousands of teachers in Samarinda who are members of the Samarinda Teachers Care Forum and the Indonesian Teachers Association held a demonstration against the incentive adjustment at Samarinda City Hall.

One of the mass media in East Kalimantan that reported on the polemic was the Kaltim Newspaper (Wulandari & Pratama, 2022). As a press institution, Koran Kaltim carries out its role as a conveyor of information to the public.

Professor Wilbur Schramm said that communication and society are two twin words that cannot be separated. Because, without communication, society cannot be formed and vice versa, without society, humans will not be able to develop communication.

Each newspaper has a different perspective in processing and presenting an event into news that is disseminated to the public (Brajannoto et al., 2021). This perspective can be seen through the framing process of a newspaper, including the point of view displayed by Koran Kaltim (Nizar et al., 2013). News framing is a technique used to generate discourse that will be accepted by the audience. In practice, news framing can be seen in the way journalists select and filter aspects of reality and combine them into an important part of the news.

By conducting a framing analysis, researchers want to know how Koran Kaltim presents the news of the polemics that occurred between the two parties (Lu, 2009). According to Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki described in Eriyanto's 2012 book, the framing device consists of four major structures, namely Syntax, Script, Thematic, and Rhetoric.

Researchers found that Kaltim Newspaper published five news articles related to the protest by teachers in Samarinda, namely in the September 30, 1, 4, 12, and October 18, 2022 editions (Risqi Nurika Fatha Hidayati, Masruri Muchtar, 2022). Koran Kaltim's coverage included statements from both the teachers' association and the Samarinda City Government (People & Rate, 2019). In each edition of the news featured, Koran Kaltim tried to present the news as stages from the emergence of the polemic to the discovery of a bright spot in the polemic that occurred.

Based on the background description that has been stated above, the researcher seeks to answer the problem of how the news frame of the protest of the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City by the Koran Kaltim daily newspaper?

The purpose of this research is to find out and analyze how the news frame of the protest of the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City by the Koran Kaltim daily newspaper.

In terms of theoretical benefits, this research is expected to contribute to the development of knowledge in the field of communication science (Irma Yuni Astuti, Nanik Istiyani, 2019), especially in the framework of research analysis (People & Rate, 2019). Meanwhile, from a practical perspective, it is hoped that this research can be used as a reference for future researchers who are interested in conducting further research on news framing in the mass media.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Communication

To properly explain an act of communication, we must answer five questions, namely who conveys the message, what is the content of the message conveyed, through what media the message is conveyed, to whom the message is addressed, and what is the impact or influence according to Harnold Laswell in (Cangara, 2016).

Mass Communication

In communication science, mass communication refers to communication carried out through mass media such as newspapers, radio, television, banners, and films. This mass media is managed by authorized individuals or institutions, with the aim of disseminating information to a large number of people scattered in various regions at almost the same time and quickly.

Newspaper

Newspapers are printed media published regularly and systematically that contain news, opinions, articles, and information related to daily life, Iskandar (2009: 111). In another definition, newspapers are considered a printed communication tool that has a wide reach, as explained by Laksana (2010: 8). As printed media, newspapers can be read repeatedly. From this explanation, it can be concluded that daily newspapers are writings that contain evidence about an event that has been processed and delivered to the audience on that day and published daily or periodically.

News

According to Nancy Nasution (in Ana Nadhyana Abrar, 2005), news is a report containing information about an event that occurs, or that the general public wants to know. News has an actual nature and occurs in the environment where the reader is, involving prominent figures related to the event and has an influence on the reader.

News Frames

News framing is a technique used to create a discourse that will be captured by the audience. In practical terms, news framing can be seen in the way journalists select and sort out parts of reality and make them an important part of the news (Scheufele, 1999).

Framing Theory

According to Entman (1993: 52), framing essentially contains two main elements, namely prominence and selection (Kuncoro et al., 2022). prominence is to make a piece of information more visible, meaningful, and memorable to the audience and that is

what increases the likelihood that message recipients will understand the information, capture its meaning, process it, and store it in memory.

Zhondang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki Framing Model

In the book Eriyanto, 2012, according to Zhondang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, there are four main types of structures in the framing device, namely Syntax, Script, Thematic, and Rhetoric (Kuncoro et al., 2022). These four types of structures are interrelated and can be used to identify the framing method used in the media. In this structure, it can be seen whether or not journalists tend to understand an event.

Peace Journalism

Peace journalism was first proposed by Johan Galtung, a professor of peace studies who was saddened by the media's habit of reporting on conflict. According to him, the media can be said to be a seller of conflict (Ayu Sindi Widiastuti & Kosasih, 2021). In the midst of various groups (Ayu Sindi Widiastuti & Kosasih, 2021), the media has its own interests both economically, politically and independently. In accordance with the term used, peace journalism is oriented towards peace efforts in a conflict.

Conceptual Definition

The conceptual definition of this research is the news frame of the Teacher Allowance Removal Protest in Samarinda City by Koran Kaltim. News framing is a technique used to create a discourse that will be accepted by the public (Zaenal et al., 2018). So in accordance with this concept, the protest of the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City reported by Koran Kaltim will be analyzed using the concept of the framing model of Zhondang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Type of Research

In this study, researchers chose a descriptive qualitative research type using the framing analysis method approach of the Zhondang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki model because this method is considered to be able to show how the framing was carried out by Koran Kaltim on the news of the protest of the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City. In this research, it is important to use descriptive qualitative systematically and objectively to ensure accurate and accountable research results. The descriptive qualitative method allows researchers to describe and analyze in detail and in depth the news frames carried out by Koran Kaltim.

Research Focus

In accordance with the construction formation stage (Bungin, 2008: 188-189). So the focus of this research is the theory of news framing, which is a technique used to produce discourse that will be captured by the audience. Practically, news framing can be seen from the way journalists select and sort out parts of reality and make them an important part of a news story (Scheufele, 1999).

There are at least four commonly used news framing techniques, namely:

1. Defining Problem, which defines the problem with considerations that are often based on generally accepted cultural values.
2. Diagnosing Causes, which is diagnosing the root of the problem by identifying the forces involved in the problem.
3. Making Judgement, which is making a moral judgment on the root cause and its effects.
4. Suggesting Remedies, i.e. offering solutions by pointing out certain treatments and the alleged effects that may occur.

Data Sources

1. Premier Data

The results of documentation and collection of news that has been published in Koran Kaltim relating to the protest of the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City by the Koran Kaltim government.
2. Secondary Data

Derived from scientific journals, books, articles or other references that are in accordance with the title of the news coverage of the protest of the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City.

Data Collection Technique

1. Textual data was obtained using the documentation method, namely the selection and documentation of news about protests against the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City by Koran Kaltim.
2. Library research by reviewing and studying literature in the form of books, journals, articles and data from various parties and the internet on matters related to the problem being studied.
3. Data Analysis Technique
4. Researchers conducted data analysis using the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing model, which allows researchers to identify, analyze, describe, and see how journalists' perspectives in writing news because it can be reviewed using syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overview of the Research Object

Koran Kaltim

Koran Kaltim is a daily newspaper located in East Kalimantan and has been published since November 22, 2006. Published by PT Media Bangun Bersama which is based on Jalan Jelawat RT. 18, Kel. Timbau, Kec. Tenggarong - East Kalimantan. Koran Kaltim Daily Newspaper (SKH) is spread across 10 regencies / cities in East Kalimantan Province. Koran Kaltim uses a Mini Broadsheet type paper size with a total of 20-28 pages published for 6 days a week, currently Koran Kaltim produces 4 thousand - 5 thousand copies of newspapers every day.

RESULTS

News 1

In terms of syntax, Koran Kaltim's news entitled "Regarding the Exclusion of Allowances for Teachers, Forum Peduli Guru Mengaku Disappointed", can be inferred that Koran Kaltim wants to open the news with the disappointment of the teachers' forum towards the allowance policy imposed by the Samarinda City Government.

The lead shown also reinforced the fact that there was a protest by all layers of teachers under the auspices of the Samarinda City Government against the circular letter that had been issued by the Regional Secretary (Sekda) of the Samarinda City Government.

"The circular letter that had been issued by the Regional Secretary of the Samarinda City Government drew protests from all layers of teachers in Samarinda City."

Some background information also displayed and reaffirmed the protests made by layers of teachers in Samarinda City against the circular letter that had just been issued.

"Teachers throughout Samarinda City who come from various schools feel disadvantaged by the circular letter, because the teachers feel that their welfare has received less attention and there seems to be a difference between the State Civil Apparatus (ASN) of teachers and ASN in other agencies."

Other backgrounds even expressed the disappointment experienced by teachers towards the policy that eliminated the applicable allowances.

"The head of the Samarinda Teacher Care Forum, Iqro, regretted why the city government decided to eliminate several allowances that teachers should get."

The reporting done by the Kaltim newspaper fulfills several elements in the news value referred to by Harriss, Leiter, and Johnson, 1981 in (Ana Nadhya Abrar, 2005), a number of these elements are the information conveyed has conflict value, namely information that describes conflict. This is important to convey so that the wider community can take a stand. In addition, this news also contains elements of news value in the form of actual, important, close, unique, and humane.

When analyzed in terms of Script, this news has fulfilled the terms and conditions of a news story, namely 5W + 1H, journalists also write this news with good order and wording so that the news presented is more informative and educative.

Thematically, the news written by Koran Kaltim carries two themes, namely the emergence of protests and disappointment experienced by teachers in Samarinda City and the delivery of teachers' demands to the Samarinda City Government to revoke the circular letter and revise the mayor's regulation number 5 of 2021.

The relationship between sentences is neatly arranged, journalists also organize the news well and use light words so that the impression of the reader is more directed towards informative news.

The details of this news if analyzed are interesting, journalists write news that gives a critical impression to the government by choosing sources who are felt to have a direct impact on the policies taken by the government.

Koran Kaltim presents the news using the Straight News type, which is direct news written as it is and delivered briefly and straightforwardly.

In terms of rhetoric, there is an idiom "issue" used by Koran Kaltim, the use of this idiom can be interpreted that Koran Kaltim wants to provide more subtle criticism of the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City, because if examined with the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), the word "issue" means a problem that is put forward or news that is unclear in origin and not guaranteed to be true. This could create the impression that the elimination of teacher allowances in Kota Samarinda was not necessarily happening.

News 2

The framing of East Kalimantan Newspaper in terms of Syntax, which chose the title "No Double Allowances Allowed Disdikbud Responds to Teacher Allowance Alignment Chaos", based on the title chosen, East Kalimantan Newspaper showed favoritism towards the Samarinda City government by presenting the Samarinda City Education and Culture Office which responded that there should be no double allowances received by teachers in the polemic over the alignment of teacher allowances.

The lead used did not directly provide space for the Samarinda City Education and Culture Office to respond to the polemics that were occurring, but emphasized that the Samarinda City government had issued circular letter number 420/9128/100.01 concerning the Alignment of Teacher and Education Personnel Incentives.

"A few days ago, the Samarinda City Government issued a circular letter Number: 420/9128/100.01 concerning Alignment of Incentives for Teachers and Education Personnel, which was issued on September 16."

Then, the background information opens by displaying the contents of the circular letter which has become a polemic among layers of teachers in Samarinda City.

"Several points listed in the letter decided, among others, that ASN teachers who have received Teacher Professional Allowance (TPG) should not receive teacher incentives or whatever they are called, because they are the same, namely additional income outside of salary."

Another background information featured a response from the source of information, Asli Nuryadin as the Head of the Samarinda City Education and Culture Office, who conveyed the chronology of the beginning of the issuance of the circular letter on adjusting teacher allowances in Samarinda City.

"The initial chronology was that Disdikbud was summoned by the Regional Government Budget Team (TAPD) which then conveyed notes from the Financial Supervisory Agency (BPK) in the use of the budget."

Furthermore, the background information emphasizes that teachers who have received allowances should not receive other types of allowances because it is considered to be in accordance with existing regulations.

"Asli explained that ASN teachers who have received TPG should not receive other benefits in accordance with existing regulations."

The quote used clearly contains information that comes from the pro-government side of the incentive adjustment for teachers in Samarinda City.

"For example, there are teachers who get TPG and Tamsil, which both come from the center." and "Incentives, TPG, TPP, and Tamsil are the same, the problem of different values also depends on each local government."

In terms of script, the journalist has quite completely told the facts from the 5W + 1H aspects that have been described by the source of information. However, at the HOW point, there is no concrete solution offered by the government, it is only limited to conducting future discussions regarding the current polemic.

From a thematic point of view, the reporting done by Koran Kaltim has two themes, the first is the content of circular letter number 420/9128/100.01 and the second theme is the response from the Head of the Samarinda City Education and Culture Office. Even though it is only a conveyor of information, the sentences used by Kaltim Newspaper imply that

The media took sides with the power holders to convey the problems that occurred with the assertion that what happened must have been in accordance with the applicable regulations.

The relationship between the sentences appears to be continuous because the two themes of discussion carried have a causal attachment, the issuance of the circular letter has a background as stated by the Head of the Samarinda City Education and Culture Office. By adding the details of the circular letter number that is being discussed, Koran Kaltim presents informative news for readers and makes it easier for readers to understand the discussion in the news.

Koran Kaltim presents the news using the Straight News type, which is direct news written as it is and delivered briefly and straightforwardly.

In this news, Koran Kaltim does not use too many rhetorical aspects because the news only uses photos of information sources. Idioms are also not visible, but there are a number of abbreviations used such as TPG (Teacher Professional Allowance), TAPD (Local Government Budget Team) and Supreme Audit Agency (BPK). The use of these abbreviations allows for the purpose of adding insight to the reader.

Kaltim Newspaper emphasizes the purpose of the solution taken by the Samarinda City government, which is to propose rules that are not multi-interpreted so that teachers are not confused in obtaining allowances.

News 3

In terms of syntax, by writing the headline "THOUSANDS OF TEACHERS REJECT INCENTIVE ADJUSTMENT", Kaltim Newspaper tried to convey the rejection response from all teachers under the Samarinda City Government in a brief and straightforward manner. With sentences that are not wordy, of course, it is hoped that readers can easily grasp the content of the news and increase the desire to continue reading the entire news content. By placing the news on the cover page, Koran Kaltim considered this news to be very important to the public and quite shocking because the rejection action involved many individuals.

The lead that was written was sufficient to describe and emphasize the protest that was held by teachers at the Samarinda City Hall involving thousands of teachers. It was also written that the action was led by the Samarinda Teacher Care Forum and the Indonesian Teachers' Association.

"Thousands of teachers in Samarinda City who are members of the Samarinda Teacher Care Forum and the Indonesian Teachers Association (PGRI) held a demonstration rejecting incentive adjustments, at Samarinda City Hall, Monday (3/10)."

The background information also emphasizes and clarifies the participants and objectives of the protest that took place at Samarinda City Hall, namely:

"The mass of ASN and non-ASN teachers from public and private elementary and junior high schools demanded that the Samarinda City Government revoke Circular Letter (SE) Number 420/9128/100.01 concerning Alignment of Teacher and Education Personnel Incentives issued on September 16."

Balanced news is shown by Koran Kaltim, this can be seen from the selection of information sources consisting of two parties who are involved in the polemic, namely Ardi Rumengan from teacher representatives and Andi Harun as the Mayor of Samarinda. However, there is no balance of statements displayed in the news, the teacher's representative only gets one paragraph of space in the news, while the Mayor of Samarinda gets a portion of 3 paragraphs. In fact, the information conveyed by the teachers' representatives had the impression of only balancing and softening the news of the protests carried out by the teachers against the Samarinda City government.

In the closing section, Kaltim Newspaper gave space to the power holder to convey a solution, namely inviting teacher representatives to meet the central government.

If analyzed in terms of Script, this news has fulfilled the terms and conditions of a news story, namely 5W + 1H, journalists also write this news with good order and wording so that the news presented is very easy to read. Journalists also give the right title and headline and directly lead to the core of the discussion related to the events that occurred.

Thematically, paragraph by paragraph, this news article only carries one theme of discussion, namely the demonstration to protest the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City. The sentences in the news are delivered in a straightforward and polite manner, the delivery of the written protests is only limited to the points of demand and the hope of the teachers that their demands will be realized immediately. The writing of the demands, which seemed to be only a formality and a counterweight, plus the reinforcement of the city government's statement, made Koran Kaltim's media position seem to lean towards the policy makers.

The relationship between sentences is written neatly and continuously, of course, making it easier for readers to understand the problems that are happening.

On the other hand, the demands of the teachers are written in detail as points of delivery providing additional space for teachers to speak out.

Koran Kaltim presents the news using the Straight News type, which is direct news written as it is and delivered briefly and straightforwardly.

Koran Kaltim conveyed the rhetorical aspect through news photos that conveyed the message that there were thousands of teachers occupying the courtyard of the Samarinda city hall office to convey five demands that were welcomed by Samarinda City officials in the same place.

Emphasis was placed on the Mayor of Samarinda who met directly with the demonstrators and said that the adjustment of incentives was actually a regulation from the central government and if it was not carried out according to the rules listed, it would have bad consequences for policy makers and the teachers themselves.

News 4

Syntactically, Koran Kaltim tries to explain the solution to the polemics that occurred, using the title "Teacher Representatives will Meet the Ministry of Research and Technology and the Ministry of Home Affairs" this solution effort was initiated by the Samarinda City government, taking the source of information from the teachers can show that the media tries to lead the opinion that there is an agreement and equalization of goals from the teachers with the Samarinda City government.

The lead in the news emphasizes the narrative that the solution provided by the Samarinda City government is purely for the welfare of teachers and portrays a government that is in favor of teacher welfare, by opening the news using the statement "As an effort to fight for teacher welfare".

"In an effort to fight for teachers' welfare, five teacher representatives from Samarinda traveled to Jakarta on Monday (10/10). Their departure was to confirm and clarify the rules regarding additional employee income (TPP) for the state civil apparatus (ASN)."

The quotes used also show the intervention and participation of the Samarinda City government when meeting the central government.

"During the visit, the teacher representatives along with representatives of the Samarinda City Government will also include Assistant 1 and the Head of the Education Office."

The news background information does not show the results of the efforts made, only reporting that there are efforts that have been made by the Samarinda City government, namely trying to find clarity to the central government.

"Currently, the meeting with the ministry is still in the scheduling stage."

Other background information mentioned that the purpose of the visit was only to obtain direct information about regulations from the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Home Affairs.

"If according to those who have policies or regulations, both the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Home Affairs, it turns out that it is allowed, well, that is our goal to get information directly,"

Until the closing section, no concrete solutions were mentioned, only in the form of conveying the hopes of the teachers and there was no confirmation of how the circular letter would be continued or not.

"Jati hopes that with teacher representatives meeting directly with the central government, it will be clear that there is no prohibition on giving TPP to teachers. So that the teachers do not feel restless and upon the return of the representatives from Jakarta get clear and accurate information".

In terms of script, the journalist has quite completely told the facts from the 5W+1H aspects that have been described by the source of information. However, at the HOW point there is no concrete solution offered, there is only hope from the teachers to get clear information from the central government. Afterward, there was no statement from the Samarinda City government regarding the results of the planned meeting. The lack of clarity made the news dangling and seemed to be just an effort to convey a message without a clear purpose.

Thematically, the theme of the news only describes the planned meeting with the central government and seems to be a solution to the wave of protests against the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City. The sentences in the news were written quite politely and there was no criticism of the Samarinda City government and tended to convey the seriousness of the Samarinda City government in responding to the protests by the teachers.

The sentences in the news revolve around the planned meeting with the central government which focuses on efforts to confirm the rules regarding the adjustment of allowances for teachers, instead of asking for the best advice from higher power holders, this has caused the resolution of the polemic to be quite protracted because there is no assertiveness from the Samarinda City government. The media should have been able to criticize this so that the polemic could be resolved more quickly.

The relationship between written sentences is quite organized so that readers can more easily understand the news that conveys statements from the Samarinda Teacher Care Forum.

Koran Kaltim presents the news using the Straight News type, which is direct news written as it is and delivered briefly and straightforwardly.

Koran Kaltim conveyed the rhetorical aspect through news photos showing the meeting between teachers and the Samarinda City government. This emphasized the fact that the meeting had taken place. However, the question arises as to why the results of the meeting were not explained in the news. Of course, the results of the meeting between the teachers and the government of Samarinda City are very important and should be immediately known by the public as well as the teachers.

teachers who were directly affected by the allowance adjustment regulation. The only result of the meeting that was made public was the Samarinda City government's plan to invite teacher representatives to meet with the central government.

The details presented by Koran Kaltim were also limited to the number of teacher representatives who went to Jakarta and attended the meeting. The space in the news should have been used to answer questions in the public's mind.

News 5

In terms of syntax, Koran Kaltim wrote the title "PEMKOT BAHAS INDICATOR TUNJANGAN GURU" This title implies the conclusion of a series of news stories that raise the polemics related to the protests over the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City. To conclude the news, Koran kaltim gave more portion to the government of Samarinda City, by taking the source of information from the Head of the Samarinda City Education and Culture Office.

The lead that was written concluded that the polemic had found a bright spot after a meeting between the teachers and the Samarinda City government with the Ministry of Education, Research and Technology and the Ministry of Home Affairs was successfully carried out.

"The polemic over the provision of additional allowances for teachers has found a bright spot, after the Samarinda City Government and teacher representatives consulted the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) and the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri)."

The background information in paragraph 1 emphasizes that consultations with the central government were carried out after a polemic at the regional level.

"The consultation was carried out after the plan to adjust the allowance for teachers in the city sparked protests from the teaching staff."

Then in the next paragraph, the Head of the Education and Culture Office clarified that the cause of the polemic was due to multiple interpretations of the rules made by the central government, so direct confirmation was needed as a solution offered.

"The Head of the Samarinda City Education and Culture Office, Asli Nuryadi, said that originally the city government was based on the Regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture (Permendikbud) Number 04 of 2022 concerning Technical Guidelines for Providing Professional Allowances, Special Allowances and Additional Income for Teachers, State Civil Apparatus in Provinces, City Districts. However, due to multiple interpretations, the city government and teacher representatives sought clarity directly from the central government on October 11-12, 2022."

The next background information, Koran Kaltim provides space for clarification from the Head of the Samarinda City Education and Culture Office who said that additional income allowances for teachers can be done, of course this contradicts the previous statement in news 2 which said that there should be no double allowances received by teachers. This difference of opinion was not the focus of Kaltim Newspaper, which illustrates the media's partiality.

"The results of the consultation confirmed that the provision of additional income for teachers, especially those who have received Additional Teacher Profession (TPG), can actually be given, but there must be indicators. "Because what is not allowed is

receiving additional income from the same funding source. But if there are indicators, it is fine," said Asli, at Anjungan Karang Mumus, Samarinda City Hall."

Meanwhile, the statement from the Samarinda Teacher Care Forum was placed as a cover and seemed only as a complement. Of course, this was done to emphasize cover both sides or balance in the news. However, the statement from the Samarinda Teachers' Concern Forum quoted was limited to agreeing with the statement from the power holder. Furthermore, the teachers are said to only be able to wait for the results of the discussion of these rules.

"The head of the Samarinda Teachers Care Forum, Agus Muhammad Iqro, said that he basically agreed with Asli's explanation. However, for more details regarding the indicators will be discussed further by the Samarinda City Government. "Now we are just waiting, because there are still a few months, meaning that we are still using the mandate of Perwali Number 8 of 2022 regarding our incentives. We hope that it can be disbursed soon, because until now it has only been three months,"

In terms of Script, the journalist has quite completely written the important points based on the 5W+1H aspects that have been described by the source of information. However, at the "HOW" point, there is no concrete solution offered by the government, only that it will conduct future discussions regarding the current polemic. Of course, this contradicts the "WHAT" point which states that the problems that occur have found a bright spot.

In terms of news rhetoric, especially in the unit of observation of content affirmation, Koran Kaltim displays words from the government that imply that the Samarinda City government is not the party that caused the polemic among the ranks of teachers, because the Samarinda City government is only limited to following the existing rules. In fact, the polemics that arose were caused by rules from the central government that had multiple interpretations.

DISCUSSION

News 1

When associated with news framing theory, which is a technique used to produce discourse that will be captured by the audience (Scheufele 1999), at least this news includes three news framing techniques. Koran Kaltim attempts to define the problem through the side of the people who are directly affected by the policies of the policy holders. This can be seen from the use of headlines that focus on the protests submitted by the teachers, namely.

"Teacher Care Forum Says It's Objectionable"

In addition, Koran Kaltim chose the head of the Samarinda Teachers Care Forum as a source in the news which emphasized the news from the side of the general public.

Koran Kaltim also defines the problems that occur by considering the general values applied, this can be seen in the use of the diction "issue" which can be judged that the policies taken can still change considering the protests that continue to roll from all teachers.

In the first news from a series of five news stories, Koran Kaltim attempts to describe the problems that are rolling in the community, it can be seen that the purpose of the framing is to try to involve and give space to the community in determining the direction of the conflict that arises. This is in accordance with dependency theory (Sandra Ball Rokeach and Melvin L. DeFleur, 1976), namely the media refers to the social structure of society. This concept is based on the modern nature of society, where mass media is considered an information system that has a central role in maintaining, changing and causing conflict in society. So that people can determine the attitudes or steps taken.

In analyzing the root causes (Diagnosing Causes), Koran Kaltim also uses the perceptions of the lower layers or the community as the point of view of those directly affected by the policies made by the Samarinda City government. This can be seen from the news quotation in paragraph 4

"We reflect on East Kalimantan regulations that provide TPP to ASN and non-ASN, and we will fight for non-ASN teachers in Samarinda to receive Additional Employee Income (TPP),"

And the delivery of conflict resolution objectives in paragraph 5.

"The teachers' demands to the municipal government to revoke the circular letter and revise Perwali number 5 of 2021, which in its points excludes teachers from receiving TPP".

From the background information contained in the news, Koran Kaltim tries to highlight the side of the news that criticizes a public policy, by taking the point of view of the protests submitted by the teachers to the Samarinda City government about the elimination of the teacher's allowance. The determination of the news angle carried out by Koran Kaltim aims to attract readers and make it easier for readers to understand the news topic (Musman Asti, & Mulyandi Nadi, 2017).

Making Judgement is very visible in the news, Koran Kaltim tries to invite readers to feel that not all policies made by the government can be well received by the community. With the many spaces for delivery by the Samarinda Teacher Care Forum, this can provide a moral judgment on a policy taken by power holders. This is emphasized in the quotation in paragraph 5 showing the efforts in protesting the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City.

"We will hold an audience at City Hall on Monday with the teachers and hope to have a direct dialog with the Mayor of Samarinda, in the sense that the welfare of the teachers can be considered".

News 2

Viewed using the news frame theory expressed by Scheufele 1999, the media has a role in selecting and processing information that will be presented to the audience. News published by Koran Kaltim contains 4 types of framing, namely Defining Problems, Diagnosing Causes, Making Judgement, and Suggesting Remedies. In the news, in defining the problem, Koran Kaltim tries to describe responses related to the

polemic that occurred from the government side, namely by using the source of information from the Head of the Samarinda City Education and Culture Office.

The selection of the source was aimed at responding to the statement made by the chairman of the Samarinda Teacher Care Forum in the previous news. Because the news source is part of the policy makers, the news produced is certainly in favor of the Samarinda City government. Full space is given to the government to explain the government's version of the problem, this is emphasized by the selection of the headline used.

"Disdikbud Responds to Teacher Allowance Alignment Chaos"

Koran Kaltim's partiality to the government in this news is also shown by using the diction "alignment" despite using the diction "deletion/removal" as expressed by the teachers. With the use of refined language, it can be interpreted that there is a tendency for mass media to favor power holders. The diction used will certainly affect the community's perspective in seeing a case and which will lead to different impacts. It seems that the framing of the news is done so that readers do not conclude negative things about the Samarinda City government, which will reduce the level of trust in power holders and have an impact on the positive image of the government. At the same time, power holders have also provided a budget to the media to assist in improving and maintaining the image of the government. This, of course, can cause bias in the news issued by the mass media.

The selection of sources of information from the Head of the Education and Culture Office of Kota Samarinda is of course aimed at diagnosing the root causes of ongoing problems. Framing theory (Entman 1993) states that framing is often used by the media to shape public views by providing context to an issue and expanding it. Koran Kaltim tries to present the root cause that teachers should not receive more than one allowance from the same funding source. By writing a quote from the Head of the Education and Culture Office related to this matter, Koran Kaltim implies that receiving more than one allowance is wrong.

"For example, there are teachers who get TPG and Tamsil, which both come from the center."

In paragraph 4, Koran Kaltim provides a moral judgment (Making Judgement) by displaying out loud the government's desire that educators should not receive more than one type of allowance because they think it is in accordance with applicable regulations.

"Those who already get TPG, Employee Income Allowance (TPP), Additional Income (Tamsil), and incentives should not get other benefits".

Of course, this statement could lead to the potential for the polemic between the Samarinda City government and the teachers to escalate. This contradicts the theory of peaceful journalism put forward by Johan Galtung (1970), in which the media should be oriented towards the peace of a conflict. Peaceful journalism is journalism that has an interest in reducing the situation when a conflict occurs. Journalists are required not to add heat to conflict situations (Johan Galtung, 1970).

On the other hand, the wave of rejection from the teachers was also displayed by Koran Kaltim in the lead, paragraphs 1 and 2. This is a direct impact produced by a policy.

Koran Kaltim wrapped a solution that might be applied to resolve the polemic (Suggesting Remedies) that occurred between the Samarinda City government and educators under the auspices of the Samarinda City Government through the government side with less maturity because it was only a plan to review the policy that had been issued through a circular letter. It can be seen in this news that the media is only a muzzle of the ruler or a spokesperson who conveys discourse to the public.

"next year, rules will be proposed so that there is no multi-interpretation, so that teachers are no longer confused in obtaining allowances".

The background information in the closing section reaffirms the provision of solutions that are not final and unclear because it is only limited to informing that the problem solving will be discussed again later.

"For next year, it will still be discussed in the future".

News 3

Koran Kaltim tried to define the problem from two sides, namely by describing the five points of the teachers' demands in full and on the other hand by giving space to the authority to convey the legal risks that might be accepted by policy makers and teachers if they did not adjust the incentives, thus creating the impression that the Samarinda City government was at fault and a victim of the prevailing rules.

By outlining the points of the teachers' demands, Koran Kaltim wanted to show that the proportion of space given to both parties seemed to be equal, but Koran Kaltim only inserted a few statements from the teachers that mentioned the goals and expectations of the protests carried out by educators in Samarinda City.

"They came to the city hall with one purpose, namely the welfare of teachers".

Meanwhile, the hopes of the teachers were written in paragraph 9 in a fairly short and concise manner.

"He hopes that the Samarinda City Government will revoke the provision regarding the adjustment of the incentives".

The rest of Kaltim Newspaper gave space to the Samarinda City Government, namely Mayor Andi Harun, to describe the problems that occurred in paragraphs 9 to 11. The statements taken are the defense made by the power holder, the consequences that could potentially occur and the efforts to provide temporary solutions offered by Andi Harun.

"the provision of incentive adjustment is a regulation from the Central Government".

"If enforced, there will be legal consequences, both for the policy makers and the recipients. It is not only the teachers who can be punished but the city government can also be affected,".

"The government invites teacher representatives to go to Jakarta to have a dialog with the Minister of Home Affairs for the sake of transparency of information to teachers, so that nothing is felt to be covered up by the city government."

The protests that arose were based on teachers' disappointment with the policies taken by power holders, which they felt could have a negative impact on teachers. In addition, the media's failure to explore options for solutions also contributed to the protests. Ewoldsen (2009) mentions that priming can be explained as an effect that arises due to a trigger or previous event that affects the way a person or group of people thinks, acts, or evaluates. In the field of communication, priming theory refers to the media's ability to create certain thought assumptions in audiences, which affect the way they evaluate or perceive certain issues or subjects (Guier, 2014).

By analyzing the delivery of both parties, in this news, Koran Kaltim succeeded in analyzing the root of the problem (Diagnosing Causes) and wrapping news that seemed balanced from various sides, and identifying that there were forces above the two polemic parties, namely the central government which seemed to be the mastermind of this problem because it made ambiguous and multi-interpretive rules. At the same time, the reporting also seemed to be an attempt to save the image of the Samarinda City government over the polemics that occurred among teachers, because it tried to convey that the Samarinda City government was also a party affected by the decision by saying.

"It is not only teachers who can be punished, but the city government can also be affected,".

Koran Kaltim is very good at framing to maintain the image of the government, as mentioned by Scheufele (1999) News framing is a technique used to produce discourse that will be captured by the audience. Practically, news framing can be seen from the way journalists select and sort out parts of reality and make them an important part of the news. By looking at every statement quoted by Koran Kaltim, the framing will be easily read, the media should be able to criticize public policy more, because journalists must maintain loyalty to the community and the interests of the public above other interests.

By presenting the consequences that can be accepted by both parties to the conflict and placing the Samarinda City government as a victim of the rules made by the central government, Koran Kaltim tries to build an opinion that the Samarinda City government is a vulnerable party and cannot do much, so the hope is that it will generate sympathy for the Samarinda City government. The protests by teachers also portrayed the community as putting pressure on power holders at the regional level, while at the same time the government was unable to act and make decisions. In the end, the root of the problem that emerged from the polemics that took place was the ambiguous and multi-interpretive rules from the central government, which caused problems at the regional level.

In the concluding sentence, Koran Kaltim clearly wrote about the efforts to resolve the polemic (Suggesting Remedies) by meeting with the central government. Although the purpose of the meeting was only to confirm the ambiguous regulations

made by the central government, Koran Kaltim did not delve further into what concrete steps the Samarinda City government would take after the meeting took place.

"Andi Harun invites teacher representatives to fly to Jakarta to meet the central government"

In this section, the Samarinda City government appears to be a hero who solves problems in the community. The impression of being a spokesperson for the government is clearly visible because the delivery of solutions gets more space when compared to the problems that occur.

News 4

When associated with the news framing theory proposed by Scheufele (1999), at least this news includes three news framing techniques, namely Diagnosing Causes, Making Judgement, and Suggesting Remedies. Koran Kaltim identifies the central government as the strongest party causing the polemics as well as providing solutions. As the highest policymaker, Koran Kaltim places the central government that makes multi-interpretive rules as the root of the problem. This is shown in the closing sentence of the news.

"With teacher representatives meeting directly with the central government, it is clear that there is no prohibition on giving TPP to teachers. So that the teachers do not feel restless and upon the return of the representatives from Jakarta get clear and accurate information".

Although the source of the information taken by Koran Kaltim was teacher representatives, there was no critical statement and instead they tended to support the steps taken by the Samarinda City government and leave the resolution of this problem to the government.

Koran Kaltim attempted to provide a moral judgment (Making Judgement) by defining that every problem that occurs in society can only be resolved by the holder of power, so the news focused on the planned meeting of teacher representatives and the Samarinda City government with the ministry.

"The main objective is to find out the truth about the rules regarding the allowance, whether it is allowed or there is no prohibition on giving TPP to teachers".

Meanwhile, the teachers are shown to be able to follow the advice of those in power while hoping that the decisions taken later do not have a negative impact and threaten the welfare of the teachers. In the principles of journalism, one of the important points that should be the focus of the media is that journalists must keep the news proportional and comprehensive, of course this is contrary to what Koran Kaltim has done. The media should not report conflicts in favor of one party, the portion given to the community is only a validation of the solutions offered by the Samarinda City government.

"Jati hopes that with teacher representatives meeting directly with the central government, it will be clear that there is no prohibition on giving TPP to teachers".

Suggesting remedies for the conflicts that occurred were limited to what had been conveyed by the Samarinda City government, without any criticism from the media or

efforts to find solutions that the teachers actually wanted. The teachers were shown only following what had been planned by the Samarinda City government.

"In an effort to fight for the welfare of teachers, five teacher representatives from Samarinda traveled to Jakarta on Monday (10/10). Their departure was to confirm and clarify the rules regarding additional employee income (TPP) for the state civil apparatus (ASN)."

Koran Kaltim does not seem to have a specific conflict resolution agenda, by only reporting on the meeting plan of the teachers with the central government without finding out more about the purpose of the meeting other than getting an explanation from the central government, this is emphasized in paragraph 5 of the news.

"The main purpose is to find out the truth about the rules regarding the allowance, whether it is allowed or there is no prohibition on giving TPP to teachers".

News 5

Koran Kaltim presents the news using the Straight News type, which is direct news written as it is and delivered briefly and straightforwardly.

Koran Kaltim tries to define the problem (Defining roblem) by pointing to a misunderstanding in the application of rules from the central government to local regulations, this of course aims to maintain the image of power holders by not directly making harsh judgments, and trying to filter more subtle diction.

"Originally, the city government was based on the Regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture (Permendikbud) Number 04 of 2022 concerning Technical Guidelines for Providing Professional Allowances, Special Allowances and Additional Income for Teachers, State Civil Apparatus in Provinces, City Districts. However, due to multiple interpretations, the city government and teacher representatives sought clarity directly from the central government on October 11-12, 2022."

The hope is that with the prevailing community culture, the government's image will be maintained. This contradicts the theory of peace journalism (Johan Galtung, 1970) which is oriented towards the general public in an effort to find solutions to the polemics that occur.

The framing of the news was also carried out by emphasizing the root of the problem (Diagnosing Causes) not from the Samarinda City government, the responsibility was delegated to the central government which made multi-interpretation rules, thus causing chaos at the regional level.

"Because of the multiple interpretations, the city government and teacher representatives sought clarity directly from the central government".

Koran Kaltim did not mention that the Samarinda City government also made a mistake when interpreting a regulation from the central government into a circular letter that applies in the region. Thus, the Samarinda City government also contributed to the polemics in the community. So that there is an impression of Koran Kaltim's partiality in writing the news. This contradicts the principle of journalism, which is that journalists should have freedom from the sources they cover, meaning that journalism must run based on credible sources, have accuracy, intellectual honesty, and the ability

to convey information, not based on loyalty to certain groups or rewards, which in this news Koran Kaltim seems to side with the Samarinda City government.

Making Judgement is implied in the lack of criticism of Koran Kaltim as a media to the Samarinda City government. It is as if Koran Kaltim does not want to cause social punishment from the community to the Samarinda City government. Power holders are presented as heroes who accommodate the search for solutions to problems that occur.

"The polemics over the provision of additional employee income allowances (TPP) for teachers are increasingly finding a bright spot"

Although the solution offered is not a concrete solution that can be a way out of the disappointment felt by teachers.

Suggesting remedies are also not presented clearly and concretely. The media often forgets that the solutions offered by the government are often only temporary solutions and tend to be just a step to ease the conflict. It is written that the re-discussion of the rules related to teacher allowances is the bright spot and resolution of a conflict, even though the results of the rules have not been obtained and no official decision has been issued. The use of the title emphasizes that the solution has not yet been finalized.

"City Government discusses teacher allowance indicators"

If there is no further information regarding the exact solution taken by the Samarinda City government, it is not impossible that the protest movement will occur again. In terms of peace journalism theory (Johan Galtung, 1970), Koran Kaltim very clearly gives excessive space to power holders in providing solutions, that the best solution is the one that has been taken by the power holders. However, it fails to criticize concrete solutions to resolve the polemics that occur, so it can be seen that Kaltim Newspaper does not apply peaceful journalism that is oriented towards resolution.

In order to guarantee press freedom and fulfill the public's right to accurate information, journalists in Indonesia need moral principles and professional ethics as a guide in maintaining public trust, as well as upholding integrity and professionalism. So it is only fitting that East Kalimantan newspapers apply the journalistic code of ethics in every published news. Such as being independent, reporting in a balanced, accurate and non-bad faith manner, and not mixing facts and judgmental opinions.

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis conducted on five news articles published by Koran Kaltim related to the protests over the elimination of teacher allowances in Samarinda City, it can be concluded that Koran Kaltim has used four framing techniques proposed by Scheufele. The framing shows the mass media's partiality towards the power holders, which in this study is the government of Samarinda City. The media should not take sides against certain groups and should only be oriented towards the public interest.

Defining the Problem

When framing the news with the defining problem technique, Koran Kaltim gave more portion of the explanation from the side of the Samarinda City government. Of the

five news articles published, there were two news articles that took the explanation from the side of the teaching staff, but only one news article actually placed the teacher as the party explaining the polemic that occurred, while the other three news articles used the explanation of the problem from the perspective of the Samarinda City government. This unbalanced portion can be concluded as Koran Kaltim's bias towards the power holders.

Diagnosing Causes

Koran Kaltim tried to explain the root causes of the protests by teachers in Samarinda City as a misunderstanding by the Samarinda City government in interpreting the rules made by the central government. Thus, Koran Kaltim indirectly tried to shift the source of the problem from the circular letter issued by the Samarinda city government to the multi-interpretation rules of the central government. Of course, the purpose of this transfer of responsibility is to protect the good image of the Samarinda City government.

Making Judgement

Making Judgement, which should be a media tool in criticizing public policy, is not well utilized by Koran Kaltim, the media that should criticize the policies of power holders and be oriented towards the interests of the community are not carried out properly by Koran Kaltim. Changing the diction used to be more subtle interprets that Koran Kaltim does not want to give proper moral judgment to the government on the root of the problems and polemics caused.

Suggesting Remedies

The solution provided by Koran Kaltim is only limited to conveying what has become the decision of the Samarinda City government. Although the solution provided was only a short-term solution, Koran Kaltim seemed to close its eyes and tried to become the government's spokesperson. By not delving into the problem and looking for alternative solutions that might be a long-term solution, of course, the media has the power and ability to dig deeper information from various parties so that it will add to the public's insight and help resolve the polemics that occur. The media budget owned by the Samarinda City government certainly plays a role in blunting the critical attitude of the mass media. In order to continue the sustainability of media companies, the independence of the media is often sold to obtain media budgets, which of course makes it easier for power holders to control what information can be received by the public, especially those directly related to the government's image.

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