

Content Analysis and Framing of Online News Regarding Social Identity and Participation in the Kendeng Peasant Resistance Movement

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Abstract. This study aims to analyze how social identity and participation in the Kendeng peasant resistance movement are described by the online news from Kompas.com, Antaranews.com, and Mongabay.co.id, as well as the correlation with framing stages. The research method in this study is using quantitative content analysis and qualitative framing by Gamson. The result showed that social identity message has a significant correlation with participation message ($r_s = 0.667$, $p < 0.01$), as well as with framing stages ($r_s = 0.418$, $p < 0.05$), so that it can be said social identity message plays a role in encouraging participation message and enhancing collective action as the final stage of framing. However, participation message have a weak and insignificant correlation to the framing stages ($r_s = 0.239$, $p > 0.05$) which means that participation message in online news only plays a role in raising awareness of social problem issues.

Keywords: Framing, Peasant, Social Identity, Social Movement

1 Introduction

The Consortium for Agrarian Reform (KPA) reported that there were 659 agrarian conflicts in 2017 which have continued to increase since 2010 and only decreased in 2015. One of the most striking conflicts was the Kendeng peasant that caused by the plan to establish PT Semen Gresik (2016) and PT Semen Indonesia (2017) factories in Pati Regency, the southern part of Rembang which is the largest water recharge area, or known as the Watuputih karst mountain area. Because of that, Kendeng farmers did a peasant resistance movement, an effort made by a group of people to make changes or maintain conditions concerning social, economic, and political life in people's lives [14]. On the other hand, social movements are also carried out to regain lost identities or find new identities as replacements for old identities that can no longer be owned [12][13]. The identity that exists in social movements is called collective identity, namely a person's cognitive, moral, and emotional relationship with a group, category, culture, or institution [12]. This collective identity is part of social identity theory [2].

In the context of online news, the description of the social identity of Kendeng farmers is manifested in social identity message. If it is associated with theory in general, that social identity encourages motivation to do something in the form of participation, participation in

the peasant resistance movement can also be realized in the form of participation message. However, the existence of social identity and participation message does not necessarily describe the actual condition of the Kendeng farmers, because according to Fishman (1982), one of the news production processes consists of news selection, namely how journalists in the field will choose what is important and what is not. Related to this research, reporting on the peasant resistance movement allows for selection or emphasis on issues that highlight or obscure the social identity and participation of Kendeng farmers.

Another aspect that influences participation in the peasant resistance movement is the public discourse that is raised and understood together. According to Eriyanto [3] framing is related to public discourse, because certain issues are packaged with certain frames which can lead to different audiences' understanding of an issue. Framing on issues is generally widely used in social movement literature, because in a social movement there is a strategy for how an audience has the same view on an issue [10]. Based on the description above, the formulation of the research problem can be stated as follows: (1) how is the message of social identity in the online news of the Kendeng peasant resistance movement?; (2) what is the message of participation in the peasant resistance movement on the online news of the Kendeng peasant resistance movement?; (3) how is the relationship between messages of social identity and messages of participation in the online news of the Kendeng peasant resistance movement?; (4) how to frame the online news of the peasant resistance movement, and; (5) how is the relationship between messages of social identity and messages of participation with the framing stage of online news about the Kendeng peasant resistance movement?

2 Theoretical Approach

2.1 Social Identity and Its Influence on Individual Motivation

Social identity was first proposed by Tajfel [15], which is part of a person's self-concept to become a member of one or several groups by embracing the concept of the value and emotional significance of the group. Knippenberg [8] explains that several things cause a person to join a social identity, namely (1) identification that encourages individuals to have a target to claim themselves; and (2) the level of group salience, namely how the group has certain prominent attributes/characteristics. Ashfort & Mael [1] explained that humans have a tendency to classify themselves and others in social categories, such as membership in certain groups and believing that they are part of certain groups. The existence of social identity can not only be seen directly, but news as a means of indirect communication can also describe social identity. In this study, social identity and its influence on individual motivation are described through the messages contained in the online news of the peasant resistance movement, namely group salience messages, social identification messages, and social categorization messages. The prosocial message is also added because these traits can lead to loyalty and a strong desire to achieve group goals. This is evidenced in the research of Ramadhan [8] which explains that the peasant resistance movement failed because of the tendency of participants to prioritize the individual.

2.2 Participation of the Peasant Resistance Movement

Social movement according to Giddens [7] is a collective effort to pursue a common interest, or achieve a common goal through collective action, namely to make changes or maintain

conditions concerning social, economic, and political life in a society. One form of social movement is the peasant resistance movement, which is an attempt by farmers to return the situation to its original state by protesting the government or the parties involved. The peasant resistance movement and participation are inseparable parts. In this study, participation in the Kendeng peasant resistance movement is the participation of farmers described by online news to restore an undesirable situation. This participation is due to physical conflicts, namely the reduction of agricultural land and the potential for drought due to cement factory operations, as well as non-physical conflicts, namely the shift in the fulfillment of attributes attached to identity (such as the Samin community or Sedulur Sikep) due to environmental damage. The participation can be based on expecting rewards or based on loyalty.

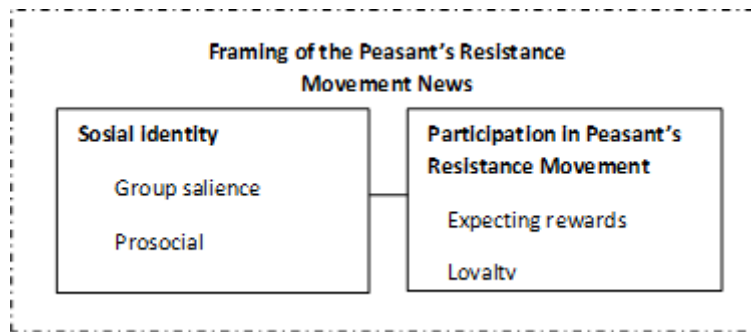
2.3 News of the Peasant Resistance Movement and Framing

According to Kusumaningrat & Kusumaningrat [9], news is actual information about facts and opinions that attract people's attention. If equated with the function of newspapers according to Suwardi dalam Hidayat [6], online news has a function; (1) broadcasting information; (2) educating, and; (3) affecting. The function of influencing online news is mainly found in editorials and articles that can have a direct influence on their readers. The role of journalists will greatly determine how news is written, otherwise known as framing. Presentation of news containing framing is done by emphasizing certain parts, highlighting certain aspects, and bringing up certain ways of telling stories from a reality/event [3]. When connected with reporting on the peasant resistance movement which is part of a social movement, Gamson in Eriyanto [3] states that social movement lies in how events are framed to give rise to a collective movement. Framing is done by selecting or using certain symbols, values, and rhetoric to win the sympathy of the audience so that they are widely known and can mobilize the audience to do something. In this study, framing is a collection of sentences or words in online news containing messages of the framing stages; (1) aggregate frame, namely the process of defining agricultural issues as a common problem indicated by messages in the news; (2) consensus frame, namely the process of defining agricultural issues in the Kendeng mountains must be resolved through collective action indicated by messages in the news, and; (3) collective action frame, namely the process of defining which is related to why collective action is needed and what actions must be taken.

3 Framework

Based on Figure 1, group salience is an indicator of social identity because in the news of the Kendeng peasant resistance movement there are messages that contain similar attributes, such as goals, even clothing, namely by wearing hats, batik, or black clothes (Sedulur Sikep community). Second, there is prosocial because it can build loyalty and a strong desire to achieve group goals. Third, the identification message, the messages that describe the psychological processes in a person so that unconsciously they imagined themselves as others they admire, then mimics the behavior of people they admired. Fourth, there is a social categorization message that describes a person having a *sense of belonging* to his own group. Message identification is accompanied by high social categorization message causes the separation of a strong group, that are supportive of the social identity of the farmer Kendeng in the news.

Basically, a person's participation is reflected in two things; expecting a reward and without expecting anything in return (loyalty). Therefore, participation in the peasant resistance movement can be seen from the messages in the news of the peasant resistance movement which describe expecting rewards and/or loyalty.



Information
 _____ : connected
 - - - - - : framing analysis

Fig 1 Theoretical framework

The social identity message variable is thought to be related to the participation message variable because in a strong social identity there is motivation to do something, one of it is the desire to support group goals through participation. In the online news, the existence of social identity and participation is often not only based on events in the field, but there is *framing* that can encourage social identity and participation to appear stronger or weaker. *Framing* in this study is illustrated by a dotted line which includes the variables of social identity and participation because the framing stages coincide with these two variables, which then encourages how the media constructs participation in the peasant resistance movement.

4 Research Hypothesis

1. It is suspected that the message of social identity is related to the message of participation in the peasant resistance movement on the news of the Kendeng peasant resistance, and;
2. It is suspected that there is a relationship between the message of social identity and the message of participation in the peasant resistance movement with the *framing* stage of reporting on the Kendeng peasant resistance movement.

5 Field Approach

5.1 Research Method

The method used in this research is quantitative content analysis combined with the analysis of *framing* qualitatively. Content analysis technique is one of quantitative research by utilizing

written information or content as material symbols. The data source of this research is in the form of online news of the Kendeng peasant resistance movement.

5.2 Population and Sample

Population in this study is online news about the Kendeng peasant resistance movement in various sites, while the sample is 33 online news of the Kendeng peasant resistance movement from Antaranews.com, Kompas.com, and Mongabay.co.id in March 2017. Samples were selected by *purposive sampling*. Reason for choosing this three sites is because the different characteristics they have, that is; (1) Antaranews.com is one of the news agencies that has been established for a long time, since 1937 and is now part of the Ministry of SOEs based on Government Regulation No. 40 of 2007; (2) Kompas.com is one of the largest independent and business-oriented private news agencies in Indonesia [11][5], and; (3) Mongabay.co.id is news site that focuses on forests and the environment, and aims to increase interest in nature and public awareness of environmental issues in Indonesia.

5.3 Data Collection Techniques and Data Sources

Data collection techniques in this study used documentation studies and literature studies. The literature used in this study were books, journals, or other sites that contain the results of other research as reference material. The data collected in the form of online news is then tested for validity and reliability. The validity test is obtained through the operationalization of the conceptual definition, namely formulating the concept definition so that it becomes more operational and concrete. Meanwhile, the reliability test was carried out with reproducibility/*intercoder reliability* using the Holsti formula in Eriyanto [4] as follows.

$$CR = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2} \quad (1)$$

Information:

CR = *Coefficient Reliability* (Coefficient of Reliability)

M = Number of questions agreed by two coders

N1 + N2 = Number of questions coded by the coder

In this study, the test requires three repetitions until the coding sheet reaches 73.33%, which means that it exceeds the minimum limit of *intercoder reliability*. The percentage of similarity of each news on each site has a fluctuating value, but at the end of the coding, the similarity of all news on each site is 82.14%, which means it also exceeds the minimum Holsti limit.

6 Results and Discussion

6.1 Overview of Social Identity Message in the Online News of the Kendeng Peasant Resistance Movement

Table 4 shows that Kompas.com contains a higher number of social identity messages in reporting on the peasant resistance movement than the other two

sites. Meanwhile, Mongabay.co.id contains a largest percentage of saliency message and social categorization (28.6% and 61.7%), while Antaranews.com has the lowest social identity message, because the reporting of the peasant resistance movement in Antaranews.com tends to be from the government's point of view.

Table 4 Number and percentage of social identity message in Kendeng peasant resistance movement based on news' sites

Social identity message	News site					
	Mongabay.co.id		Compass.com		Antaranews.com	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Saliency	56	28.6	55	27.9	37	30.6
Prosocial	12	6.1	27	13.7	15	12.4
Social identification	7	3.6	10	5.1	7	5.8
Social categorization	121	61.7	105	53.3	62	51.2
Amount	196	100	197	100	121	100

6.2 Overview of the Participation Message in the Online News of the Kendeng Peasant Resistance Movement

Table 6 shows that the largest amount of loyalty message found in Kompas.com, while largest amount of expecting reward message found in Antaranews.com. It can be concluded that Kompas.com illustrates Kendeng peasant resistance movement as a movement that based on loyalty, while Antaranews.com based on expecting reward. Mongabay.co.id only has one message of participation (loyalty message), that can be concluded it also illustrates Kendeng peasant resistance movement as a movement based on loyalty.

Table 6 Number and percentage of participation message in Kendeng peasant resistance movement based on news' sites

Message participation in the peasant resistance movement	News site					
	Mongabay.co.id		Kompas.com		Antaranews.com	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Expecting reward	0	0	1	25	2	66.7
Loyalty	1	100	3	75	1	33.3
Amount	100	100	4	100	3	100

6.3 The Relationship between Social Identity Message and Participation Message in the Online News of Kendeng Peasant Resistance Movement

The relationship between social identity message and participation message in the online news of Kendeng Peasant Resistance Movement is presented in Table 7.

Table 7 Number and percentage of participation message in the peasant resistance movement based on social identity message

Social identity message	Message of participation in the peasant resistance movement				Total	
	There is not any		There is			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
A few	22	100	0	0	22	100
Many	5	45.5	6	54.5	11	100

Total	27	81.8	6	18.2	33	100
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Table 7 shows that there is a difference in the percentage of messages of participation in the peasant resistance movement between messages of social identity in the few and many categories. In the social identity message for few category, there is no message of participation in the peasant resistance movement, while there is a participation message for social identity message in many category. Results in Table 7 supported by *Rank Spearman* statistic test, that there is a significant and strong positive relationship between social identity message and participation message in the peasant resistance movement ($rs = 0.667, p < 0.01$). It can be concluded that the first hypothesis is proven so that it can be stated if participation message in online news of Kendeng peasant resistance movement are likely accompanied by social identity message. An example is found in the following news quotation .

"We got casting this leg, this hurt, to balance Java. We hope Mr. Jokowi, the government should not *nggawe dolanan* (toying) the farmer," he said (Gunretno) during the afternoon when it was accepted into the Palace in Jakarta by the Chief of Presidential Staff, Teten Masduki .

In that quotation, social identity that encourages participation is illustrated in (1) the message of salience, for example in the sentence "casting the feet" which shows the characteristics of Kendeng farmers in carrying out resistance, and "*nggawe dolanan*" which shows other characteristics of Kendeng farmers, that is speaking Javanese. ; (2) the existence of an identification message using the word "we" instead of "I", and; (3) there is a social categorization message "government" which also shows competition because Gunretno considers the government to have "*nggawe dolanan* " farmers.

6.4 Framing Analysis on the News Online of Kendeng Peasant Resistance Movement

Table 8 shows that Mongabay.co.id has more messages at the *framing* stage than Kompas.com and Antaranews.com; Mongabay.co.id and Kompas.com tend to report Kendeng peasant resistance movement as a *collective action frame* stage (53.3% and 46.2%). Meanwhile, Antaranews.com in reporting the Kendeng peasant resistance movement tends to be at the *aggregate frame* stage, where the Kendeng peasant resistance movement is interpreted as a mere social issue.

Table 8 Number and percentage of movement coverage Kendeng peasant resistance by site news and types of *framing* stages

Types of <i>framing</i> stages	News Site					
	Mongabay.co.id		Kompas.com		Antaranews.com	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Aggregate frames</i>	9	30	2	15.4	7	53.8
<i>Consensus frame</i>	5	16.7	5	38.5	4	30.8
<i>Collective action frame</i>	16	53.3	6	46.2	2	15.4
Total	30	100	13	100	13	100

Mongabay.co.id has the highest percentage of *framing* stages message because it has *framing* in wider perspective, i.e. linking the peasant resistance movement with the ecofeminism movement, several theories and many expert statements that strengthen the positive image of the Kendeng peasant resistance movement. If news sites are being compared, Mongabay.co.id tends to describe framing stage as collective action frame. In general, the three sites already have the same construction, namely the Kendeng farmer conflict which is considered a social problem, thus building a consensus frame and strengthening it with an injustice frame in the form of a permit from the Central Java Provincial Government which is considered to have bypassed the Supreme Court and President Jokowi.

6.5 The Relationship Between Social Identity Message and Participation Message with Framing Stages in Online News of Kendeng Peasant Resistance Movement

Table 10 Number and percentage of *framing* stages based on social identity message

Social identity message	Framing stages in Online News of Kendeng Peasant Resistance Movement				Total	
	Negative		Positive		N	%
	N	%	N	%		
A few	21	95.5	1	4.5	22	100
Many	7	63.6	4	36.4	11	100
Total	28	84.8	5	15.2	33	100

Based on Table 10, it can be seen that there is a difference between few and many social identity message, where few social identity message tend to produce negative framing from news online about Kendeng peasant resistance movement (95.5%). This means that the reporting of the peasant resistance movement does not have a framing stage or is still limited to the aggregate frame (only defining issues as social problems). Meanwhile, a lot of social identity messages tend to produce positive framing from news online (36.4%). This means that the reporting of the peasant resistance movement has reached the stage of the collective action frame (defining why collective action is needed).

This supported by Spearman correlation analysis which shows that there is a significant correlation between social identity message and the framing stages from online news of the peasant resistance movement ($rs = 0.418, p < 0.05$). This result indicate that social identity message is the basis for constructing framing in the online news of Kendeng peasant

resistance movement. The more social identity message, the more positive framing stages to collective action in the news online of Kendeng peasant resistance movement, vice versa. Meanwhile, the relationship between participation message and the framing stages can be seen in Table 11. Based on the table, in the category where there is no participation message in the peasant resistance movement, it tends to produce negative stage of framing (88.9%), means it does not have a framing or still limited to aggregate frame (defining issues as social problems). This supported by Spearman Rank correlation test that showed there was no significant relationship between the message of participation and the stage of framing in the news of peasant resistance movement ($r_s = 0.239, p > 0.05$). This indicate that the message of participation in the Kendeng peasant resistance movement is not sufficient to support framing in the news, so it does not become the basis for the formation of the peasant resistance movement.

Table 11 Number and percentage of framing stages news of the peasant resistance movement Kendeng by participation message.

Message of participation in the peasant resistance movement	Framing stages in online news of Kendeng peasant resistance movement				Total	
	Negative		Positive		N	%
	N	%	N	%		
There is not any	24	88.9	3	11.1	27	100
There is	4	66.7	2	33.3	6	100
Total	28	84.8	5	15.2	33	100

If the social identity message and participation message is compared, social identity message is stronger in encouraging the framing stages in reporting the Kendeng peasant resistance movement. Basically, what media writes allows to influence the behavior of its readers/users. The Antaranews.com journalist also stated that the news in the media about the peasant resistance movement could expand the resistance movement.

When related to the results of this study, the weak relationship between the *framing* stages and the participation message can also be caused by the weak *framing* stages to reach the participation stage, so that critical awareness that reaches news readers is not fully formed and only forms up to the stage of social identity. Based on the results of the interview with “G”, the Seduler Sikep Community, which is incorporated in the social identity of the Kendeng farmers, does have special ways of doing *framing* that distinguishes it from other farmers and cannot be imitated by the media, namely; (1) exemplify, not just talk; (2) has a sincere goal, namely to encourage the participation of the Kendeng peasant resistance movement based on environmental sustainability; (3) convey in a polite manner, and; (4) convey logically and rationally accompanied by data.

7 Conclusion

Messages of social identity proved to be strongly and significantly related to messages of participation in online news about the Kendeng peasant resistance movement. This means that the more social identity messages that are displayed, the more participation messages tend to

be. This is proof of the truth that a strong social identity encourages motivation to participate in the peasant resistance movement. In addition, the overall online news regarding the Kendeng peasant resistance movement tends to be framed at the negative framing stage, namely only at the aggregate frame stage or contains no framing at all. However, each site has its tendency, where Mongabay.co.id and Kompas.com are the sites with the most dominant messages in the collective action frame stage, while Antaranews.com is dominated by messages in the aggregate frame stage. If the social identity message is associated with the framing stage, then the relationship is positive and significant, while the relationship between the participation message and the framing stage is weak and insignificant. This proves that the messages of participation in the peasant resistance movement are not strong enough to frame online news about the peasant resistance movement at the stage of collective action or positive framing, but only at the aggregate frame stage, namely raising an issue as a social problem.

This research can be developed with more samples or news sites, to get a more complete picture of social identity and participation. Based on this research, the government should listen to the aspirations of farmers before determining policies because a stronger social identity and embracing many parties massively will encourage participation in the peasant resistance movement so that it has the potential to cause a commotion in the community. In addition, the public as an audience who receives a lot of news from the media should become more critical and know that every news report has its framing so that it can affect the closeness of the social identity of the group. News sites as a source of information even though they have agenda-setting and framing are reasonable, they must maintain neutrality so that information that reaches the public does not cause misconceptions. Farmers should be members of farmer groups because they can strengthen motivation to achieve group goals. When it comes to community development, methods that can strengthen social identity are important so that they can encourage the participation of participants in empowerment programs.

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