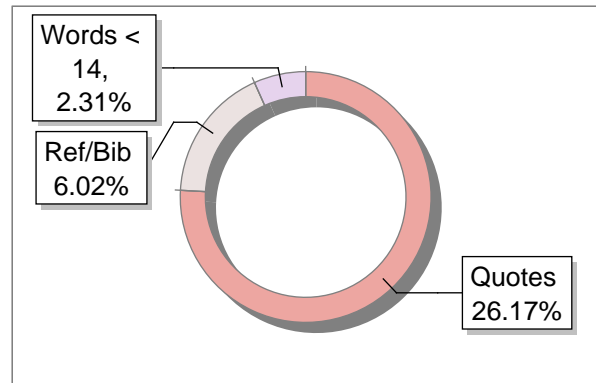
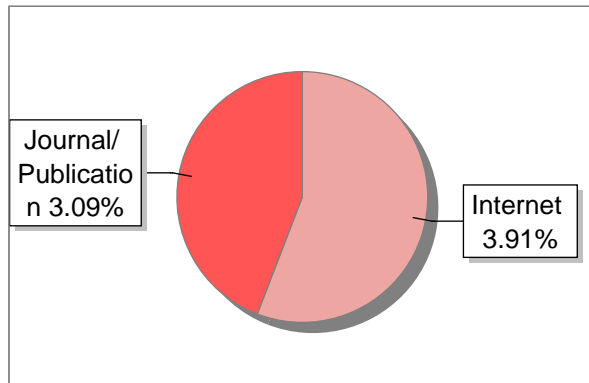
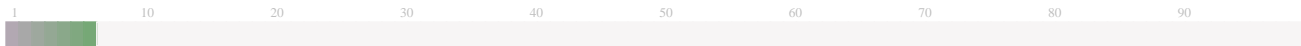


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Media views in Indonesia on the belt and road initiative policy : a study of Indonesian new media reports to the BRI project of China in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The pros and cons of the project of BRI in Indonesia cannot be separated from mainstream and online mass media coverage in Indonesia. In the coverage, there is a framing to build a story so that the influence of journalists is so great that the news is read by the public. In addition, the informant factor as well as ideology influence the news statements that appeared in the media. This research focuses on how the construction of the mass media coverage in Indonesia, especially the new media (online news) related to the cooperation between Indonesian and Chinese government in the BRI project. The research uses a qualitative descriptive approach and framing analysis. The research object is the official portal of online news such as Media Indonesia.com, Republika.com Kompas.com, and Jawapos.com. Based on the results of research and discussion, it can be concluded that the framing of online media coverage Kompas.com, mediaindonesia.com, jawapos.com and Republika.com have differences. Kompas.com and jawapos.com put more emphasis on scientific and intellectual language because both of their readers have a better level of education and economics. Whereas republika.com and mediaindonesia.com tend to use straightforward and simple language. Kompas.com and jawapos.com lead opinions to think critically with data while republika.com and mediaindonesia.com leads the public to see the implementation of Indonesia's and China economic cooperation programs in the BRI project

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1. Introduction

Indonesia has a strategic geographical location, is in Southeast Asia and is a crossroads for world trade. Located between the continents of Australia, East Asia and South Asia. So that many countries have an interest in securing the economic routes that cross the Malacca Strait and the South China Sea. Considering the importance of the economy in the development of a country, it certainly has an impact on securing other related interests. Namely politics and defense. So these three things, for any country would have an interest to secure it.

On the other hand, the strengthening of Chinese influence at the level of global politics makes its main competitor, America, increasingly worried if American interests in the Asia Pacific region are disturbed. It has become a hot news that in the last twenty years China has high economic growth,

so it has high foreign exchange reserves. China's foreign exchange reserves were only initially reached US\$ 291 billion in 2002 to US \$ 987.9 billion in 2006. IMF data in 2014 also noted that China managed to surpass America in its contribution to world GDP which reached 17 percent, while America could only reach 16 percent, [1]. The Chinese economy with relatively high annual GDP growth: 9.6% in 2008, 9.2% in 2009, 10.4% in 2010, and 9.3% in 2011. However, it has an impact in the following years where China experienced a slowdown in exports and excess capacity in several sectors, especially steel. The GDP growth in each year continued to decline to 7.6%, 7.7%, and 7.4% respectively in 2012, 2013, and 2014 [2]. With foreign exchange reserves and high economic growth, many countries are worried that their dominance will be displaced, including America. So that there was a trade war between America and China. Even with the trade war, no country will benefit, the opposite happened.

To continue strengthening its influence and developing its economy, China initiated One Belt One Road or Belt Road Initiative (BRI) program. It was proclaimed by President Xi Jinping during his visit to Nazarbayev University, Kazakhstan in 2013. At that time, Xi Jinping proposed to strengthen the cooperation between China and central Asia to revive the silk road that had once succeeded, to advance the economy, [3],[8]. With the existence of a modern Silk Road or known as BRI is expected to be a new milestone in the level of geopolitics and the world economy. Many countries welcome this program happily to improve infrastructure and the economy in the region traversed by this route, but not a few countries that welcome the opposite. Those who are welcome negatively for fear of economic and trade domination will be displaced, their interests will be disrupted, as well as concerns about the hidden agenda behind the policy, especially the debt trap. Considering the construction of the Silk Road was financed with debts poured out by China. [9].

The Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) survey which conducted research in the ASEAN region in January 2019, shows that there are concerns about China's growing influence with the BRI program. There are 1,008 respondents from ten ASEAN countries surveyed, showing 73% of respondents rated China as having the greatest economic influence in ASEAN. In fact, it is stronger than America's influences in the ASEAN region. However, most respondents have concerns about China's geographical and geopolitical ambitions. Moreover, as many as 70% of respondents consider the government in their country to be careful in negotiating BRI infrastructure projects. Respondents from Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand, as quoted by Reuters, said that this is important so that the government is not trapped in debt or experiencing economic dependence which will affect political dependence.

China's BRI policy also targets Indonesia. Given Indonesia's strategic geographical location at the crossroads of world trade. It certainly attracted China's interest in establishing cooperation with Indonesia. This was warmly welcomed by Joko Widodo, the elected president. China was the first country to be visited on 8 November 2014. This visit coincides with the APEC Summit in Beijing China. Chinese investment in the BRI project continues to increase from year to year. From 28 collaborations between Indonesia and China in this framework, the value reaches US \$ 91 billion, or more than Rp.1,288 trillion.

Indonesia's proximity to China is a hot topic in Indonesia. There are pros and cons. Those who agree are open-minded that Indonesia needs investors to invest so that it can improve the people's economy. Also, some Indonesians understand that working together in public welfare can be done with anyone. Those who disagree as in the news media that there are fears of debt bondage that wraps in the future, a large number of Chinese workers in Indonesia while the Indonesian themselves are still unemployed and need a lot of jobs, and then environmental damage caused by the project.

Many criticisms are aimed at Jokowi's government which has close proximity to China. Where the massive development of infrastructures, starting from highways, airports, ports, and other infrastructures, do not affect Indonesia's competitiveness at the level of the global economy. Indonesia's ranking in the 2019 Global Competitiveness Index report released by the World Economic Forum dropped five places from the previous year to 50th in the world. In Southeast Asia, Indonesia is also lagging behind Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand. Although it dropped in terms of rankings, Indonesia's score only drops by 0.3 points with a total score of 64.6 points.

However, there are many people who praise the development of the massive infrastructure conducted by the Indonesian Government. The highway that connects the island of Java certainly

facilitates the transportation of goods and services. So there is not much traffic, especially at Eid Mubarak and Eid al-Adha where many people go home. In addition, highways that are also built on the islands of Kalimantan, Sumatra and Sulawesi certainly helps speed in transportation. No less important is the construction of several airports, ports, power plants, and reservoirs that are very helpful to the community in accessing the economy, education, and also equitable development. So the development is not only focused on Java Island. Moreover, for the next 5 years, Indonesia will move the capital from Java to the island of Kalimantan. This is certainly strategic for the equitable development and even distribution of the population.

The pros and cons of the BRI project in Indonesia are inseparable from the mainstream and online mass media in Indonesia. In the news, there is framing to construct a report so that the influence of journalists, editors, and editorial is very large until the news is read by the community. In addition, the figure factor is also used as an interviewee. The views and ideology of the figure are very influential in the news statements that appear in the media.

This research will focus on how the construction of mass media coverage in Indonesia is related to the cooperation of the Indonesian Government with China in the BRI project. This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach with framing analysis. Object research is the official portal of online news from *Media Indonesia.com*, *Republika.com*, *Kompas.com*, and *Jawapos.com*. This type of media is researched because the media is a credible, popular, and mainstream media that is used as a reference and source of information by the public. The data taken is only those that contain news related to the BRI project from 2014 to 2020. Because the BRI project is initiated in 2013 and in Indonesia, Joko Widodo's government which led from 2014 has a BRI policy in Indonesia.

2. Literature Review

The literature review will be elaborated on BRI's policy or the Belt Road Initiative. This policy is a new thing because BRI itself was announced in 2013. However, given that there are many interests surrounding this policy, from economic, geographical to geopolitical, so that there are many studies that make BRI as an object of study. We find many journals or research reports that review BRI's policy.

To help the grouping of studies related to BRI, this research will be divided into several themes, namely the history of BRI, the economic impact of BRI, BRI's geopolitical impact, and the BRI project in Indonesia. The first literature review related to BRI's history is the journal "One Belt, One Road: China's Great Leap Outward", that explains about the BRI initiative used by President Xi Jinping to describe his economic strategy. The main goal of the BRI project according to China in the journal is to promote the improvement of China's economy and open economic development opportunities for other countries, especially in the eastern region. BRI becomes an international economic strategy with a time estimate of about 35 years. This Silk Road project is dealing with doubts for the neighboring countries of China. China must avoid the perception of the challenges of Russia's position in Central Asia, where it is targeted at the Maritime Silk Road project which is involved in territorial disputes with China. To reduce this sense of doubt or distrust, China must use the power of its economic growth to invite neighboring countries to set aside disputes and invite for joint development. China hopes that this will be carried out peacefully so that BRI's implementation is evidence of China's commitment. BRI as an international strategy will be measured by its influence in rebalancing China's domestic economy. China will send technology and management experience and promote development and welfare to neighboring countries. Economic inequality in neighboring countries is caused by conflicts and China is willing to help to reduce economic inequality. China will drive its economic transformation and make itself the center of the region's economy [10].

Then, in a journal by Simeon Djankov titled "The Rationale behind China's Belt and Road Initiative", it is said that China has specific reasons and goals. Among them, as a nation with the largest trade in the world, China has an interest to reduce the cost of transportation of goods. Both export and import. In addition to reducing trading costs, there are four motivations and objectives in the BRI initiative. *First*, China strives to reduce economic dependence on domestic infrastructure investments and should start to seek investment opportunities abroad. *Second*, infrastructure development focuses on helping China make its currency reach the status of a global reserve currency. *Third*, securing China's energy supply through new pipelines in central Asia, Russia, and

the countries' ports in ASEAN. Fourth, infrastructure development in the country along with BRI will increase their economic growth and contribute to the growth of demand for goods and services from China [11].

The study related to the economic impact of BRI, including the literature review written by Zhao Minghao entitled "China's New Silk Road Initiative". That explains the purpose of BRI is connecting networks, expanding connectivity, and improving synergy with other participants. BRI has a wide range of domestic and overseas policy challenges faced by China. *First*, BRI will help China's economy grow rapidly, considering that the transportation of goods and services is easy if the project is realized. *Second*, through BRI, China is able to implement the international policy of 'Go West' which used to focus solely on China domestic, are now able to reach other countries with a wide territory by reaching hundreds of countries. *Third*, BRI strengthens China's status as the largest developing country and promotes South-South cooperation. *Fourth*, China and other countries can unite to deal with instability in the land and sea routes in Eurasian related to transnational crime and terrorism [12].

The research related to the geopolitical impacts of BRI including the literature review of M Najeri Al Syahrin under the title "*China Versus the United States: interpretation of the superpower security rivalry in the Asia-Pacific region*". Published in the journal *Global & Strategic*, Th. 12, No. 1, January-June 2018. It is said that the finished political and security contestation between the Americas and the Soviet Union with the end of the cold war, has not made America a 'single' superpower. There is a threat from China that provides alternatives in regional security interactions, especially in the Asia Pacific. This can trigger a contemporary debate on how to manage conflicts and hegemony between the two powers. The strategy of the New Type of Great Power Relations and Asian Harmonious has been a positive signal about Chinese behavior. China has shifted into great power which is a challenge in the interests of the political, military, economic, and American trade. So many researchers have concluded that the rise of China could 'threaten' American security interests in the region. The rivalry between China and America was somewhat unique, unlike the American rivalry and the Soviet Union in the past which tends to lead to military power. Chinese and American rivalries have more concerns about the economy. However, it does not cover the possibility of its potential to lead to the competition of military domination in the Asia-Pacific region. It will be better if Americans want to collaborate and accept China as a partner in the economy, politics. So that the security and stability of the area can be created properly.

The last study related to the BRI project in Indonesia is the literature review used is an article written by Christine Sri Marnani, Freddy Johannes Rumambi, Haposan Simatupang in the *Journal of Defense* under the title "*Connectivity Indonesia's Maritime Global Axis Policy*". It is stated that Indonesia has a great opportunity to work together in realizing the state development and improving its economy with the concept of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road to appear as a global player. BRI's concept includes the construction of the maritime Silk Road, not merely based on economic interests but also part of China's political strategy to get out of American domination and its allies. Indonesia can use the economic progress of China and not always depend on America. In addition, China is interested in building political influences in countries included in the construction of the maritime Silk Road. So that it can be used as a symbiosis of mutualism to advance the Indonesian economy. Indonesia needs substantial funds to build infrastructure, while on the other hand, China has funds to lend [13].

In the literature study above, some researchers focus on four aspects of research. Namely *first*, the history of BRI. That includes the chronological and background that cause the emergence of the BRI project. *Secondly*, much research focuses on the economic impact of BRI. Easy access to transportation on sea, land, and air automatically facilitates the distribution of goods and services. Thus, it has an impact on economic growth occurring in various countries that run the BRI policy. *Thirdly*, researchers also highlight the geopolitical impacts of BRI. The most significant impact that researchers focus on is the occurrence of new superpowers. That is China. Thus it has the potential to create new tension with the United States, which has been the only superpower. In addition, it is also certain that there will be a shift in policy direction in each country that has relied on America to start looking at China as a strategic partner. Especially in Indonesia, researchers focus on economic impacts and bilateral relations between China and Indonesia. Researchers see a lot of economic growth will increase if the infrastructure in the BRI scheme is successful. However, on the other

hand, there are many who remind Indonesia not to be too dependent on other countries. Because it is feared that it will disturb the sovereignty of the country.

The research will complement the various existing studies. That is to see the communication side in geopolitical and economic relations between Indonesia and China. More specifically on new media coverage, especially media online. This research is important to reveal the whole opinion of the government, intellectuals, and society as a whole in responding to Indonesian and Chinese cooperation in the BRI project.

3. Method

According to the research question, this method of study uses a qualitative descriptive approach. Because the research attempts to explore and understand the meaning ascribed to social or humanitarian issues. Qualitative research is Creswell "Qualitative research is a research procedure that generates descriptive, speech or written data, and observable behavior from the subject itself. This approach shows right from the setting as a whole. A stack of either an organization, an institution, or an individual is not narrowed into a separate variable or hypothesized, but is viewed as part of a whole" [14].

On the other hand, the reason this research uses a qualitative approach is because the data used are qualitative (data that does not form numbers). Where the research strategy is done empirically, which investigates a phenomenon in real life by utilizing various sources of evidence, to answer the questions "What and how". This is due to study in the scientific situations (naturalistic inquiry), using deductive analysis techniques, direct contact researcher with the object, holistic and dynamic, and researchers position as the key instrument of research.

The paradigm used is a critical paradigm. The paradigm itself refers to the idea of Thomas Kuhn which is interpreted as a set of fundamental beliefs that guide action, both daily action and scientific Action [15]. The critical paradigm is an effort to define social sciences as a critical process to uncover "the real structure" behind the false illusions and needs of the material world to develop social awareness to improve the condition better.

There are several factors why a critical paradigm is used in this study. First, this study is not only used to uncover and unravel the meaning of reality, but rather to produce new values. Second, social science is a study of history. This is particularly relevant to this study, which was conducted to observe the 2009 election process. Third, the logic that continues to evolve in line with the political development of the Indonesian nation than cannot be approached by the valid scientific standards, but it develops in accordance with the context of Indonesian political historical social development, [16].

Each paradigm in the study Barrat, always has implications, ontologically, epistemologically, axiological, and methodologically [17]. The implications of the critical paradigm are as follows: *First*, The ontological implications of the critical paradigm are "historical realism". That is, the reality observed is a pseudo-reality formed by the process and upstate of long history, whether it is because of social, cultural, economic, and political conditions; *Second*, The epistemological implication of the critical paradigm is "transactional/subjectivist" i.e. the relationship between researchers and those examined bridged by certain values. So it requires objective awareness of a researcher; *Third*, An axiological implication of the critical paradigm is "activist", i.e. a researcher is a transformative intellectual. Where the aims of the research are social criticism, transformation, emancipation. The values, ethics, and morals are part of a study; *Fourth*, Methodological implications in the critical paradigm are "participatory", i.e. research must be carried out comprehensively, contextually by paying attention to the historical context of social, political, economic, and cultural phenomena.

The term *framing* here is widely used to refer to the phenomena that exist in spite of being the same or similar with different points of view. For example, Wicks (1992) uses the term *framing* to designate the categories of cognition present in audiences, Hamili and Lodge (1986) understand that *framing* similar to those often conceptualized with *frames, scripts, or schema*. Iyengar and Kinder (1987) use the same term as *the agenda-setting and priming*. Lately, McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997) said that not only *the agenda-setting and framing*, as the influence of media, which has a relation but also *framing* is actually a continuation of *the agenda-*

setting. That is why Scheufele observes that research on *framing* is often characterized by theoretical and empirical obscurity, due to lack of agreement on theoretical models and the limited tools and research outcomes that can be compared to each other.

Framing performed by the media makes the news can be continuously aired in the media so that it appears as a public agenda. The power of the mass media to regulate when the holders of political interests "upstage" and "downstage" explicitly demonstrate how powerful the media is as the forming of public opinion. Framing is the process of selection of various aspects of reality so that certain parts of the event are more prominent than other aspects, [18].

The framing concept, in Entman's view consistently offers a way to uncover the power of a communication text. Framing essentially refers to the reporting of definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations in discourse to emphasize a particular frame of mind for the event being discussed. To find out how the media is framing, there is a framing device that Entman put forward Entman that can illustrate how an event is interpreted and flagged by reporters [19]. Entman divides the framing device into four elements as follows: *First*, Define problems. The main frame/master frame that emphasizes how events are interpreted differently from publication, then the reality formed will be different; *Second*, Diagnose causes (predicting the cause of the problem). This second element is a framing element used to frame who is considered an actor of an event. The cause here can mean *what*, but it can also mean *who*. How the event is understood, of course determining what and who is regarded as the source of the problem. Therefore, problems are understood differently, so the cause of the problem will be understood differently as well. In other words, defining the source of this problem explains who is considered the perpetrator and who the victim in the case is; *Thirth*, Make Moral Judgment or Moral Evaluation. The framing element is used to justify/argue the definition of a problem that has already been created. Once the problem is defined and the cause of the problem is determined, it takes strong arguments to support the idea. The ideas cited relate to something familiar and known to the public; *Fourth*; Treatment recommendation (emphasizing completion). This fourth element is used to assess what the journalist want. What path selected to resolve the problem is. The completion of course depends heavily on how the event is viewed and who is viewed as the cause of the problem..

The method used in this study is framing analysis which is a research method that is included in the critical paradigm. This type of research is a type of media text analysis research that is often used to examine documents in the form of text, symbols, and images, and so on to understand the culture of a social context. The writing method used is content analysis, which is a scientific analysis of content and messages meaning in communication. To complete this study, the authors sought primary and secondary data sources. The primary data in the form of news texts from *Kompas.com*, *mediaindonesia.com*, *jawapos.com* and *Republika.com*, since the new Silk Road program was launched. That is in 2013. The author choose the newspapers because they have a prominent news ideology and are also a popular online news portal in Indonesia.

4. Results and Discussion

Based on a review of the media's political economy, media institutions are part of an economic system that is closely related to the political system and the quality of the public knowledge produced by the media. Media coverage will be adjusted to the quality of the public knowledge targeted by the media.

Media makes it a social construction tool, therefore mass media represent the reader to imagine himself in an imaginative world, but the reader also has the power to determine the media to be read. In the study of the media, signs, symbols, and language become part of the construction process of reality. Media reality is constructed for society as a reader and affects a persuasive society.

Furthermore, the role of media is in the formation, mobilization, and maintenance of conflicts between groups. The coverage of events, issues, or perpetrators of conflicts shows the distribution of power in the social system, especially the interests of the dominant group (in power). Indonesia and China cooperation projects in BRI presented by the media with objective claims, have a bias in their explanation through writing. Because the language itself also includes the tools that the media uses to convey certain messages.

The social process goes through their actions and interactions. The individual continuously creates a reality that is experienced and shared objectively. Likewise the social reality portrayed by the media [20].

Discussing the sociological reality of the media, historically the sociologists have conducted research, observations of media news texts, languages, poetry/literature, speeches as well as documents as objects of media sociological studies. In addition to presenting reality, the media also constructs reality as part of a life-related human need to interact. Some of the news that emerged can be seen in table 1.

Table 1. News about China-Indonesia cooperation in Indonesian newspaper

Daily name	Title	News Informant	Content of News
Kompas.com	According to observers, whoever the President of Indonesia is, it is impossible not to cooperate with China.	Dinna Wisnu	"China has an undeniable influence throughout the world. Not only in Asia, has it reached the whole world. Any ruler, whoever is president in Indonesia, will not be able to escape from working together or not cooperate with China. That cooperation option becomes realistic rather than not, "
	LSI survey: 39 percent of respondents consider China's most influential country in Asia.	Executive Director of LSI Djayadi Hanan	"So in 2019, China is regarded as Asia's most influential country. Followed by the United States by 18 percent, Japan has 14 percent, India by 1 percent, and Russia by 1 percent. So those are the five largest countries considered influential in Asia".
Republika.com	Village Minister: 100 Villages in Indonesia cooperate with China,	Minister of Villages, development of disadvantaged regions and transmigration (Mendes PDDT) Abdul Halim Iskandar.	"This cooperation is an implementation of the study results of a number of village heads in Indonesia to several villages in China that have successfully developed various SMES products, especially in the agriculture sector that is the mainstay of the Chinese government and Indonesia, "
	How far is RI-China relations? Here's the Chinese Ambassador's Speech.	Chinese ambassador to Indonesia Xiao Qian	He mentioned, during this time, President Xi Jinping had visited Indonesia twice, while President Joko Widodo had visited China five times. "Their strong leadership has become the basis for the continuation of bilateral partnerships between the two countries," "The relationships of our two countries have far-being relevance beyond bilateral, East Asian, and even Asian levels. This collaboration is also globally significant".
Media Indonesia.com	Four points strengthen China-Indonesia relations.	Chinese ambassador to Indonesia Xiao Qian	Firstly, high-level meetings, the President of China and Indonesia have met seven times and reached an important consensus in establishing stronger relationships and promoting synergies between development strategies. Second, grow synergies in the development strategy. Third, in 2018 Chinese-Indonesian bilateral trade reached US \$77,4 billion. This position maintains China's status as Indonesia's largest trading partner for 8 consecutive years. Fourth is the existence of a new chapter in the exchange of people and cultures. In 2018 the number of Chinese tourists visiting Indonesia were more than 2.1 million people.
	RI-China signs three Mega project cooperations.	Indonesia President Joko Widodo	"On this good opportunity I would like to take advantage of the high-conference Belt and Road Forum this week to create a fresh

			momentum especially for the China-Indonesia cooperation in the framework of One Belt One Road, "
Jawapos.com	DPD RI supports the Silk Road cooperation with China.	Deputy chairman of the DPD RI Nono Sampono	"In this context the combination of world maritime vision and axis can be established. Therefore, many things we can collaborate with both China and international, "
	Indonesia-China Trade Relations Increasingly Flutter,	Vice President of DLG Exhibition & Convention Group, Zhou Wei,	"The exhibition aims to strengthen and improve a mutually beneficial cooperative relations for both countries, especially in the field of economic and bilateral trade. Indonesia's trading activities with China, especially with Shanghai, have been long-lasting,

In media connection, vocabulary must be understood as a battle of discourse. Discourse is a communication, both oral and written, delivered by a person or group of people to another person or group. The message in the communication then becomes the subject of much discussion, both in daily conversations and in the media (radio, newspapers, internet and television). It is undeniable that the discourse battle is indeed very much coloring this democratic modern life. Whoever wins the fight wins the competition. On the other hand, discourse is understood as a series of related sentences, which connects propositions to one another into one entity, so that a harmonious meaning is formed between the sentences.

Likewise with the media in reporting an incident or case. Media as a management and industry also has several supporting components. In the midst of the political economy oligarchy, on one side of the media are required to report or convey information that is not only true but also balanced, fair, and independent. But on the other hand, there are political and economic or business interests. That is required to be able to continue to exist or even have a profit and continue to support the interests of capital owners and authorities. This is where the contentious media discourse or media content which in the future sometimes becomes a victim.

The above problems cannot be released from online media in Indonesia in particular, the media portal *mediaindonesia.com*, *jawapos.com*, *kompas.com*, and *republika.com*. In accordance with the analytical techniques described in the methodology, the media coverage in Indonesia will be described here related to economic developments in the Indonesia and China cooperation scheme during the BRI project in the Etman framework.

Problem Identification. This element is the master frame or the mainframe. He emphasized how events are seen and understood by journalists. When there is an issue or event, how the event or issue is understood. The same event will be understood differently. And this different frame will cause different forms of reality.

In *mediaindonesia.com*, *republika.com*, and *jawapos.com*, which take the source of the first person namely policymakers and economic actors in Indonesia and China, the headlines tended to reveal the extent and progress of the implementation of the economic cooperation. Like news of *republika.com* with the title "How far is RI-China relations? Here's the Chinese Ambassador's Speech" and "Minister of Villages: 100 Villages in Indonesia Collaborate with China". Here, it is very clear that *republika.com* wants to describe the process of implementing economic cooperation in the field.

In the same way, *mediaindonesia.com* reporting with the headline "Four points strengthen China-Indonesia relations" and also "RI-China signs three Mega project cooperations". This is in line with the news coverage from *jawapos.com* with the title "Indonesia-China Trade Relations Increasingly Flutter". All of them reported on the implementation process in the field related to cooperation between Indonesia and China.

Slightly different from the news of *jawapos.com* which one of the titles "DPD RI supports the Silk Road cooperation with China." This is reasonable if Indonesia also does the same thing, which emphasizes and provides full support to continue to establish economic cooperation in order to achieve mutual prosperity.

It is obviously different from the point of view reported by *Kompas.com* with the title "According to observers, whoever the President of Indonesia is, it is impossible not to cooperate with China.", and "LSI survey: 39 percent of respondents consider China's most influential country in Asia". The emphasis in taking the news headline on *Kompas.com* wants to point out that with a growing and strong economy owned by China, researchers and academics predict that many countries will always need China as a trading partner. This is reasonable if Indonesia also does the same thing that is to develop more intensive economic relations in the future with China. Moreover, the Chinese project related to BRI will involve and facilitate trade in many countries.

Diagnose Causes or Causal interpretation. That is a technique to estimate the cause of a problem, is a framing element to frame who is considered to be an actor of an event. The cause here can be *what*, but it also can be *who*. How events are understood certainly determines *what* and *who* is considered to be the source of the problem. Therefore, problems that are understood differently, the causes of problems are also indirectly understood differently.

Kompas.com takes the source of an activist who is also a researcher named Dinna Wisnu and LSI Executive Director Djayadi Hanan. Here, *Kompas.com* wants to show neutrality in reporting because it takes speakers who do not represent the Indonesian government or represent China. Framing in the context of selecting news sources that *Kompas.com* wants to build is the value of intellect and data accuracy. In a modern civilization where people have been educated, *Kompas.com* is aware that the data is very important.

Whereas the other three media, *mediaindonesia.com*, *jawapos.com*, and *republika.com* prefer sources from the Indonesian government or the Chinese government. That is the president, members of parliament, Chinese ambassadors and businessmen. Framing that the three media want to show is to give a complete picture of an event that is from the source of the first person. People who are directly involved in policymakers and actors in the policies of economic cooperation between Indonesia and China. Besides that, they also want to emphasize the credibility of the news sources, not just to build opinions.

Make Moral Judgment or Moral Evaluation. It is a news framing that emphasizes the importance of making moral choices. Specifically, the framing element that is used to justify or give an argument on defining the problem that has been made. When the problem has been defined, the cause of the problem has been determined, it needs a strong argument to support the idea. Ideas quoted relate to something familiar or known by the public.

The formation of arguments in this framing component looks different from the four media studied. *Kompas.com* and *jawapos.com* put more emphasis in the context of the main ideas and visions in economic cooperation between Indonesia and China. As the speakers said. As researchers and academics said at *Kompas.com* that cooperation between Indonesia and China is inevitable because besides China is a country with a large economy and continues to grow well, it's also because they both need each other. The same thing with news from *jawapos.com* which conveys a future vision about the importance of cooperation in various fields including maritime. This is important because part of the earth is water. As well as Indonesia, which has more than 17,000 islands with most of its territory being waters. Then of course it will be very beneficial if the collaboration continues to be improved.

The news delivered by *mediaindonesia.com* and *republika.com* is more implementative. Namely the execution of the policy that has been taken. Reporters interview some interviewees and ask how far the development of the collaboration is. Such as small and medium businesses in Indonesia are expected to continue to benefit from the BRI collaboration scheme, then the implementation in increasing sources of income from tourist visits in both countries. Moreover, several conferences are also initiated to finalize the concept of cooperation between the two countries.

Treatment Recommendation. The last part of Etman's framing model is emphasizing completion. The intention is to judge what the journalist wants. What path chosen to solve the problem. The solution depends, of course, on how the incident is seen and who is seen as the cause of the problem.

In reporting on *mediaindonesia.com*, journalists who cover the news and editorials want to show that by delivering the resource person who are the president and ambassador of China to Indonesia is a sign that it is important to establish cooperation in the economic field between the two countries. This is done to ward off some people, especially people who did not elect Joko Widodo as president

in 2014 and 2019. Where they always criticize Joko Widodo's policies which they say tend to be submissive and lenient towards the Chinese government. Journalists want to prove that this is done by the Indonesian president, not without reason.

The same substance is also carried out by *republika.com* journalists in the reporting frame. In its report, *Republika.com* also provides an explanation in the implementation of economic cooperation between the two countries that had been built so far. Whereas the Republic of Indonesia, as is well known by the public, is a media that is close to Muslims, which so far has been reflected as being in opposition to the government of President Joko Widodo. Because it is at odds with Joko Widodo, it is also considered by some people not to be so open and tends to criticize the closeness between Indonesia and China. Even though this group is only a small part of Muslims in Indonesia. So it cannot be considered as a general representation. The carefulness of *republika.com* journalists in framing the news needs to be recognized. That it turns out that there is a large stream behind society which has been considered the mainstream, is apparently false.

Journalists of *Kompas.com* and *jawapos.com* state that the way to solve the main problems in the context of reporting on economic cooperation between Indonesia and China is very different. Both of these media prefer to frame in a moderate way. Namely, providing education for newsreaders by showing data and facts. In writing news, journalists and editors do not directly show the tendency of reporting but convey the data obtained from sources and then accompany the reader to determine the choice of existing information. In this way, the public is expected to have information with accurate data so that they can determine the public discourse. This is done by the media *Kompas.com* and *jawapos.com* which are known to have a group of middle and upper class readers and educated.

In constructing the reality of social media, it is influenced by the ideology of the media concerned and their interactions with the reader, as a media that is in direct contact with the reader. Based on an analysis of Indonesia's economic cooperation policy with China in the BRI scheme constructed by *Kompas.com*, *mediaindonesia.com*, *jawapos.com* and *Republika.com* there are very significant differences. *Kompas.com* and *jawapos.com* consider Indonesia's economic cooperation policy in the BRI project as a reality that cannot be negotiated with data or facts. *Republika.com* and *mediaindonesia.com* see the implementation side of cooperation in a society which confirms that so far the economic cooperation between Indonesia and China has many benefits. This brushed aside some doubtful views and negatively evaluates the collaboration. Herein lies the media discourse battle taking place.

In analyzing social media construction, the media are not only seen as a mere means of conveying information, but many interests are in it. Fairlough N states that the media is a discourse, in which there is an inseparable relationship between the language used and the underlying knowledge, and the forms of power that underlie it [21]. The media also becomes a tool for the operation of certain ideologies that shape and determine the direction of the development of the media itself, determine the language (style, expression, vocabulary) used and the knowledge (truth, reality) in its production. Likewise with the reporting of the four media. On one hand, it wants to strengthen the discourse of economic progress and modernity with cooperation in the economic field to achieve mutual prosperity. On the other hand there is a small group of people who deny it but are denied with data, facts and information data in the four media.

Media news is a reconstruction of the journalist's thoughts about the event described. The physiological condition of journalists often influences the news delivered. The language and knowledge that underlies *Kompas.com*, *mediaindonesia.com*, *jawapos.com*, and *Republika.com* have differences. *Kompas.com* and *jawapos.com* put more emphasis on scientific language and look intellectual because their readership segment has a better level of economic education. Whereas *republika.com* and *mediaindonesia.com* tend to use straightforward and simple languages.

5. Conclusion

Based on the results of research and discussion, it can be concluded that the characteristics of framing news about economic cooperation between Indonesia and China in the BRI project on *Mediaindonesia.com*, *Kompas.com*, *Republika.com* and *Jawapos.com* can be described as follows:

First, with Define the Problem element, in the news media *mediaindonesia.com*, *republika.com* and *jawapos.com* where they take first-person sources, namely policy-makers and economic actors

of Indonesia and China, the headlines tend to reveal the extent of the development and level of implementation of economic cooperation. The news from *jawapos.com*, which is one of the titles, took the deputy chairman of the DPD RI or parliament as the interviewees. Which emphasizes and provides full support to continue to establish economic cooperation in order to achieve mutual prosperity. The emphasis on taking the news headline on *Kompas.com* wants to point out that with a growing and strong economy owned by China, researchers and academics predict that many countries will always need China as a trading partner. This is reasonable if Indonesia also does the same thing that is to develop more intensive economic relations in the future with China. Moreover, the Chinese project related to BRI will involve and facilitate trade in many countries;

Second, about Diagnose Causes, *Kompas.com* wants to show neutrality in reporting because it takes speakers who do not represent the Indonesian government or represent China. Framing in the context of selecting news sources that *Kompas.com* wants to build is the value of intellect and data accuracy. In a modern civilization where people have been educated, *Kompas.com* is aware that the data is very important. Meanwhile *mediaindonesia.com*, *jawapos.com*, and *republika.com* prefer sources from the Indonesian government or the Chinese government. Framing that the three media want to show is to give a complete picture of an event that is from the source of the first person. People who are directly involved as policymakers and actors in the policies of economic cooperation between Indonesia and China;

Third, with Make Moral Judgment, the formation of arguments in this framing component is different from the four media studied. *Kompas.com* and *jawapos.com* put more emphasis in the context of the main ideas and visions in economic cooperation between Indonesia and China. By taking the sources of researchers and academics. *Kompas.com* takes the viewpoint of cooperation between Indonesia and China inevitably because besides China is a country with a large economy and continues to grow well, it is also because they both need each other. *Jawapos.com* conveys the future vision of the importance of cooperation in various fields including maritime. This is important because part of the earth is water. While the news delivered by *mediaindonesia.com* and *republika.com* is more implementative. Namely, to what extent small and medium-sized businesses in Indonesia benefit from the BRI collaboration scheme, then implementation in increasing sources of income from tourist visits in both countries;

Fourth, with Treatment Recommendation, in reporting on *mediaindonesia.com*, the journalist takes the source who are the president and ambassador of China to Indonesia is a sign that it is important to build cooperation in the economic field between the two countries. The same substance is also carried out by *Republika.com* journalists in the reporting frame. In its report, *Republika.com* also provides an explanation in the implementation of economic cooperation between the two countries that has been built so far. Different in *Kompas.com* and *Jawapos.com*. The media prefers to frame in moderate way. Namely providing education for newsreaders by showing data and facts. In writing news, journalists and editors do not directly show the tendency of reporting, but convey the data obtained from sources and then accompany the reader to make choices about existing information.

And the contribution of the research is, in the midst of the debate in public space, both by politicians and intellectuals about the aggressiveness of the BRI project in the state of China, the study explains that the condition of each country is different. Including in Indonesia. It cannot be avoided that as a democracy, the pros or cons the BRI's policy is definitely inevitable. However, the media coverage which clearly quotes speakers from the Indonesian government, representatives of the Chinese government and also researchers and intellectuals, shows the community that Indonesia cannot be separated to not cooperate with the Chinese government. Even these are experienced by other countries. With evidence that more than 70 countries have signed the BRI collaboration.

Since the construction of several infrastructure projects in the BRI scheme, the impact has been much perceived by the community. The highway that connects the island of Java, has proven to facilitate transportation access by taking a significant amount of time. This obviously facilitates human mobilization, goods, and services. In addition, it also definitely saves costs. It will be easier if the highways in Sumatra, Kalimantan, or Sulawesi are already connected. It certainly helps the welfare of the community and to raise economic growth. The news is widely published by the online media in Indonesia to ward off the reporting of some other media, or to dismiss the assumption of

28 some people who are still doubting or criticizing the policy of 5 cooperation between Indonesia and China in the BRI scheme.

So, the implications of the research, from the various explanations above, it is illustrated that Indonesian people, as is the international community have various views on the impact of the BRI project initiated by China. However, from the research of the four media above it is clear that the government and some researchers show an open attitude and even support and also oversee BRI's project policies in Indonesia. This is because many projects in Indonesia can be collaborated with various parties. Indonesia and China cooperation in BRI scheme is a form of symbiotic mutualism. Further research needs to be done so that the understanding of the BRI project in Indonesia can be comprehensively illustrated. That is, seeing the extent of the real response from the community related to the perceived impact after some of the infrastructure has been completed. Then how the media reports the impression perceived by the public.

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