

FRAMING ANALYSIS ON COVID -19 VACCINATION BOYCOTT NEWS ON SUARA.COM AND KOMPAS.COM

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ABSTRACT

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News about the COVID-19 vaccine has raised doubts among society, thus forming a COVID-19 vaccine rejection group. The rejection of the COVID-19 vaccine resulted in a negative portrayal of the COVID-19 vaccine refusers in mass media. This study uses the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing analysis method which is expected to be able to describe the framing of the issue of rejection of the COVID-19 vaccine by *Kompas.com* and *Suara.com*. The results of this study indicate that the two media frame the issue of imposing fines and terminating social security for those who refuse to vaccinate against COVID-19 as imposing citizens' rights and threatening people's freedoms. The conclusion of this study is that the framing of *Kompas.com* and *Suara.com* news is influenced by several things, namely the positioning of journalists, the use of news sources, and the use of words in describing an event.

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1. Introduction

The World Health Organization (WHO) determined the status of COVID-19 as a global epidemic on March 11, 2020 (Dzulfaroh, 2021). COVID-19 disease (Coronavirus 2019) is a novel coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) resulting in acute respiratory syndrome in humans. Spread of COVID-19 progressed quickly around the world, including Indonesia where the first case of COVID-19 was confirmed on 2 March 2020 at Jakarta (Velarosdela, 2021). Meanwhile, until 2022, the confirmed cases of COVID-19 nationally in Indonesia was recorded at 6,421,118 positive cases as of January 21, 2020 (Dinas Kesehatan DKI Jakarta, 2022).

The Indonesian government provides vaccination as a form of medical prevention to minimize the transmission of COVID-19 in Indonesian society. However, based on a survey conducted by the Kaiser Family Foundation, 27% of participants refused the COVID-19 vaccine. The participants explained that the rejection occurred because they were worried about the potential side effects of the COVID-19 vaccine, as well as the government's lack of confidence in the safety and efficacy of the COVID-19 vaccine (Susilo, Putranto, & Navarro, 2021). Furthermore, the participants also said that the emergence of hoaxes regarding the COVID-19 vaccine was also a reason for people to doubt the ongoing COVID-19 vaccination. The existence of hoaxes about the COVID-19 vaccine also creates fear of the side effects of the vaccine (Susilo, Putranto, & Navarro, 2021).

News about COVID-19 vaccine raises doubts among the society, including public figure who actively spreads messages of rejection of the COVID-19 vaccine. This has caused people to be hesitant about getting the COVID-19 vaccine as well (Daniel Susilo, 2021a). One of these public figures is Jerinx, Superman Is Dead (SID)'s drummer. In 2021, Jerinx SID is known strongly rejects the COVID-19 vaccination and says that COVID-19 is not real (Mudassir, 2021).

The narrative in the media seems to describe Jerinx SID as an anti-COVID-19-vaccine. However, Jerinx never said that he was anti against the COVID-19 vaccine. He explained that the reason he previously did not want to be vaccinated was because he had hepatitis and heart disease. Based on this incident, the researcher saw that the act of refusing the COVID-19 vaccine resulted in a negative image of the COVID-19 vaccine refusers, even though the rejection of the vaccine was based on a sense of fear and doubt about the effects of the COVID-19 vaccine (Coritama et al., 2022).

Negative depiction of the COVID-19 vaccine repellent is also carried out by the mass media in framing an event (Susilo, 2021). One example is news from Suara.com which contains how the Vice President of Indonesia, Ma'aruf Amin linked the act of refusing the COVID-19 vaccine with religious views. In this report, the Indonesian people are framed as sinful if they refuse to be vaccinated against COVID-19, because they are considered not to carry out their obligations as religious people. The framing carried out by Suara.com can influence public views regarding COVID-19 vaccine rejection, where the media has an important role in shaping public perceptions of health risks, especially during a pandemic. This is because the media could construct health information through narratives, thereby shaping perceptions of current outbreaks or issues (Wibhisono, 2020).

In addition to the news above, the researchers also found that mass media used exaggerated words in framing the issue of rejecting the COVID-19 vaccine. IDN Times journalists are seen using the words "stubborn" and "tame" in describing the COVID-19 vaccine repellent (Susilo et al., 2022). The excessive use of these words shows as if people who refuse the COVID-19 vaccine are wild and cannot be persuaded. People who refuse to be vaccinated are not as framed by IDN Times and this framing seems to demean COVID-19 vaccine refusers.

Although generally most of the mass media in Indonesia frame the issue of vaccine refusal with a negative value, there are several media that report on this phenomenon in a positive or neutral manner. This was done by Kompas.com who reviewed the opinion of Zubairi Djoerban, Chair of the COVID-19 Task Force at the Indonesian Doctors Association regarding criminal penalties for rejecting the COVID-19 vaccine. In contrast to the framing carried out by Suara.com and IDN Times, Kompas.com used simple words in describing the COVID-19 vaccine repellent. Kompas.com shows that the act of refusing the COVID-19 vaccine is not a crime, even though is not justified (Aditya, 2021). Furthermore, the news also focuses that there are still many persuasive approaches that can be taken by the government to change the views of those who reject the COVID-19 vaccine, such as "creative and educative outreach". Unlike the two previous reports, Kompas.com's framing shows more empathy for people who reject the COVID-19 vaccine.

On the other hand, Suara.com also frames Indonesian government's approach to stop social assistance for people who refuse vaccines as inappropriate. The news also explained that vaccine resistance requires socialization and education to increase public awareness so that they want to be vaccinated voluntarily, since "most of them refuse because they are worried and afraid of vaccines" (Lesmana & Ardiansyah, 2021). Seeing that there are mass media that defend the rights of the Indonesian people who refuse the COVID-19 vaccine, the researcher wants to see how these media frame the issue of rejecting the COVID-19 vaccine in the early days of the pandemic.

2. Method

This research was conducted by utilizing Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's framing analysis method to examine how journalists frame events of rejection of the COVID-19 vaccine. Framing analysis seeing news consists of a set of symbols that need to be interpreted by the reader, so that the resulting meaning comes from the process of construction and audience interpretation (Eriyanto, 2015).

Researchers used Kompas.com and Suara.com news that were published at the beginning of the pandemic in between January – February 2021.

Table 1. Research Analysis Unit

NEWS PORTAL	HEADLINES	PUBLICATION DATE
<i>Kompas.com</i>	Dokter Tirta Tak Setuju Pemberian Sanksi Denda bagi Penolak Vaksinasi Covid-19	January 14, 2021
	BPJS Watch: Sanksi Penghentian Jaminan Sosial	February 15, 2021
<i>Suara.com</i>	Komisi IX DPR Minta Hilangkan Denda Penolak Vaksin Covid-19	January 13, 2021
	Penolak Vaksin Tak Dapat Bansos, Lapor Covid-19: Tak Etis, Itu Hak Rakyat!	February 15, 2021

The researcher analyzes this four news by using four framing device structures by Pan and Kosicki, namely syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical. Syntactic structure is related to the way journalists arrange events (statements, views, and observations of events) to become news. Syntactical elements will help researchers find how journalists interpret events and the direction in which the news is to be carried. The inverted pyramid is a very well-known form of syntax. The inverted pyramid consists of "title, headline, lead, episode, background and cover" where the top position of the pyramid shape has a more important position than the bottom (Fadilah, Haris, & Achmad, 2020).

The script structure looks at "how journalists package an event" (Fadilah, Haris, & Achmad, 2020). News writing is often done like writing a story because it shows the connection between current events with the previous one, as well as to connect the news text with the reader's communal area. Pan & Kosicki (Fadilah, Haris, & Achmad, 2020) added that "the general form of this script structure is 5W+1H, Who, What, When, Where, Why, and How". Meanwhile, the thematic structure relates to how journalists write the facts of an event into a "proposition, sentence, or relationship between sentences that make up the text as a whole" (Fadilah, Haris, & Achmad, 2020).

The last structure, rhetoric, talks about the emphasis on meaning that is carried out by journalists through the choice of style or words by creating images, adding prominence to certain parts, and adding to the picture of a news story. The rhetorical elements consist of "lexicon, selection and use of words to mark or describe events" (Fadilah, Haris, & Achmad, 2020). Emphasis is not only done through words but can also be implemented in the form of "graphics in the form of pictures, tables, photos, etc." (Fadilah, Haris, & Achmad, 2020).

3. Results and Discussion

Based on framing analysis, researcher found that both media outlets view the act of sanctioning vaccination refuses as detrimental, particularly for COVID-19 vaccination refusers. This proves that the construction of media reality does not only focus on events raised by the media, but also news targets. John Hartley (Eriyanto, 2015) says that determining the assumptions about which audience will read the news will result in the construction of how journalists position themselves in a certain ideological way. In this case, Kompas.com and Suara.com took into account the position of vaccination refusers as readers of the news text. The way both media constructed vaccination refusals as a society that is "free" and has "the right to refuse vaccinations", as well as scorning the government, shows where they positioned themselves in this phenomenon.

Furthermore, when viewed from the concept of reality construction, the ideological position produced by the media depends on the framing that the media uses. In this case, the government was constructed to "force the rights of citizens" and "violate the law" by Kompas.com. Meanwhile, Suara.com interpreted sanctions for vaccination refusers as "threatening". On Kompas.com and Suara.com, those who refuse to vaccinate against COVID-19 are defined as groups who are entitled and free to make choices in determining vaccinations for COVID-19 (Hidayat et al., 2021).

Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki argue that framing is the process of highlighting a message and positioning information more than others so that the audience's attention is more focused on the message (Eriyanto, 2015). If it is related to the results of news analysis on Kompas.com and Suara.com, the researchers see that the two media position the coercion of citizens' rights as important information. Although each news has a different level of intensity, each news does not include the government's views. This shows that there is an imbalance of information presented by the media, so that the resulting news narrative does not give rise to objectivity.

Kompas.com Frame: The Indonesian Government Forces Citizen's Rights and Violates the Law

Through the news entitled "Dokter Tirta Tak Setuju Pemberian Sanksi Denda bagi Penolak Vaksinasi Covid-19", Kompas.com sees the imposition of fines for vaccination refusals as imposing citizens' rights. Meanwhile, refusing to vaccinate against COVID-19 is emphasized as a form of individual freedom that cannot be forced with all considerations in conveying his aspirations regarding the risks and consequences for his body. This shows Kompas.com' attempts to criticize the government that there are other approaches that can be used to deal with vaccination refusals without any element of coercion.

Kompas.com is clearly seemed to be in favor of the COVID-19 vaccine rejecters, in a position that is contrary to the actions that the government wants to take. Kompas.com only used Doctor Tirta as a writing source. The partiality of vaccination refusers is also clearly stated in the title and lead of the news which stated that Doctor Tirta disagreed with imposing fines for those who refused the COVID-19 vaccine. Even though the implementation of sanctions was carried out to encourage the implementation of the COVID-19 vaccination program. This proves that mass media tends to present two opposing sides in a report. How a reality is constructed depends on how the media places itself in this different position (Eriyanto, 2015).

Based on the script analysis, the researcher saw Kompas.com emphasis on the "how" element to explain the method that should be taken by the government in tackling COVID-19 vaccination refusers without any element of coercion. There are three ways offered in the "how" element, namely:

1. Choosing an educational approach rather than sanctions in tackling the issue of rejecting the COVID-19 vaccine.
2. Provide education to the public regarding the uses, benefits, and safety of the COVID-19 vaccine.
3. Convince the public that the COVID-19 vaccine is safe to use.

The emphasis on “how” is supported by the “why” element of the news. Through the “why” element, Kompas.com highlight that the reason people refuse vaccines is that they are afraid. This happens because they don't know about the safety of the COVID-19 vaccine. Therefore, repeated education is needed so that vaccine refusers understand and become confident about being vaccinated based on their own volition.

Menurutnya, mereka yang menolak vaksin karena belum mengetahui keamanan dari vaksin tersebut.

"Itu tinggal edukasi saja, mereka itu takut karena belum pernah melihat, jadi wajar saja kalau mereka takut. Tapi kalau edukasi dilakukan secara terus menerus rakyat akan bagus," ungkapnya.

Figure 1. Reasons People Refuse to Vaccinate

Source: (Kusuma, 2021)

Thematically, this news has only one theme: The inaccuracy of handling COVID-19 vaccination rejection. In the news, journalists are clearly seen taking sides against the COVID-19 vaccine by positioning the government's actions as coercion of citizens' rights. This was explained by using a statement from Doctor Tirta to highlight that fines were an inappropriate measure to convince people to take the COVID-19 vaccine. News writing is done in the form of a deductive sentence, in which the journalist first raises the gist of the headline and news lead which states that Doctor Tirta disagrees with imposing fines for those who refuse to vaccinate against COVID-19. Then, the contents of the news are filled with more detailed information regarding other ways that the government should take in tackling the COVID-19 vaccine resistance.

Two lexicons were found in this news, namely the words "educated" and "sentenced to" in the third sentence. The word "sentenced" seems to be contrasted with the word "educated". The use of the word "sentenced" seems to describe a COVID-19 vaccine refuser violating the law by refusing to vaccinate. Vaccination is the right of every citizen; it is not citizen's obligation to receive vaccinations. So, in this case, people who refuse vaccination cannot be said to have violated the law.

Tirta menegaskan, **penolak vaksinasi Covid-19** alangkah baiknya diedukasi ketimbang dijatuhi sanksi.

Figure 2. Lexicons in Sentence Three

Source: (Kusuma, 2021)

The word "sentenced to" sanctions is supported by "knocked hammer" in sentence 7, where Doctor Tirta said that the penalty for vaccine refusal has not been "knocked on hammer". The existence of this parable is a confirmation that fines cannot be applied. So that people who refuse vaccines do not deserve to be "penalized" with fines. Through this statement, this news also wants to lead readers to view that there are other ways to encourage people to voluntarily vaccinate without using coercion.



Figure 3. Doctor Tirta Mandira Huda Vaccinating

Source: (Kusuma, 2021)

Kompas.com used a photo of Doctor Tirta Mandira Huda when vaccinating. Researchers suspect Kompas.com used the photo to increase news credibility. This is due to two things:

1. Doctor Tirta is a health worker who participates in running government programs, but
2. Doctor Tirta criticizes the implementation of sanctions for those who refuse to vaccinate against COVID-19.

This shows that even though Doctor Tirta follows the rules in an orderly manner, he as a doctor as well as a public figure does not turn a blind eye to anything he feels is "not quite right".

**Table 1. *Kompas.com* Frame:
The Indonesian Government Forces Citizen's Rights**

Element	Writing Strategy
Syntax	Only used Doctor Tirta as a writing source who sees the imposition of fines for vaccination refusals as imposing citizens' rights.
Script	Emphasized on the "how" element to explain the method that should be taken by the government in tackling COVID-19 vaccination refusers without any element of coercion.
Thematic	This news has only one theme: The inaccuracy of handling COVID-19 vaccination rejection
Rhetoric	Using the word "sentenced" to describe a COVID-19 vaccine refuser as lawbreaker.

In the second news, *Kompas.com*'s side clearly lies with those who refuse to vaccinate against COVID-19. The level of intensity of this news also looks higher than the previous news. In syntactic analysis, this news interprets sanctions for termination of social security for vaccination refusal as violations of the law. This is also stated clearly in the lead which is in sentence three of the news.

Koordinator Advokasi BPJS Watch Timboel Siregar mengatakan, keputusan pemerintah menghentikan layanan dalam program Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (JKN) bila tak mengikuti vaksinasi, dinilai melanggar Undang-Undang Nomor 40 Tahun 2004 tentang Sistem Jaminan Sosial Nasional (SJSN).

Figure 4. *Kompas.com*'s News Lead

Source: (Uly, 2021)

Kompas.com used the point of view of BPJS Watch Advocacy Coordinator (Timboel Siregar) in looking at the COVID-19 vaccination problem. BPJS Watch functions is to oversee government institutions in carrying out the mandate of the BPJS Law. Therefore, the use of Timboel Siregar as a news source indicates that the government's actions have deviated from the responsibilities set out in the law. Writing the name BPJS Watch in the news title also shows that the statement conveyed is very important to pay attention to.

When compared to the syntactic structure of Pan and Kosicki, *Kompas.com* does not place the lead at the beginning of the news but includes it in the third sentence. *Kompas.com* instead included background information regarding the administrative sanctions imposed by the government in sentences one and two of the news. Through this structure, *Kompas.com* allegedly does not want to corner the government too much.

From the script structure, there are three people who are mentioned as elements of “who” in the news, namely the BPJS Watch advocacy party, health insurance participants, and the government. However, Kompas.com only included BPJS Watch advocacy (Timboel Siregar) statements in the news. The use of Timboel Siregar as the only source of quotations shows that this news wants to discredit the government. The steps taken by the government in tackling COVID-19 vaccination resisters are considered wrong because they contradict with SJSN Law (National Social Security System).

Furthermore, Kompas.com also raised the inequality of rights between people who refuse vaccination and people who are willing to be vaccinated. Vaccination refusers are portrayed as if they are not entitled to obtain National Health Insurance services because they do not follow the recommendations for the COVID-19 vaccine, even though vaccine refusers have paid contributions to obtain national health insurance.

Based on the thematic analysis, this news has only one theme: Administrative sanctions for vaccination refusers is against the National Social Security System (SJSN) law. The Kompas.com' alignment with those who oppose the COVID-19 vaccination looks stronger than the first Kompas.com news. Unlike the previous news which only considered the government's actions to be inappropriate, the government's steps in this news were openly declared to have contravened the law.

In writing, this news is done in the form of a deductive sentence. Journalists have cited the government's action as a violation of the law in the headlines. The news content is then followed by information from Timboel Siregar's point of view. In addition, this news consists of causal coherence (connected with the word “so”) which is stated in sentences 6-7. In this sentence, journalists connected the incident of paying health insurance contributions with the rejection of the COVID-19 vaccine.

Maka, lanjutnya, jaminan sosial merupakan hak masyarakat apabila sudah melakukan pembayaran iuran. Sehingga tidak tepat bagi negara untuk menghentikan layanan JKN bila masyarakat tersebut sudah disiplin dalam melakukan pembayaran iuran.

Figure 5. Causal Coherence on Kompas.com Second News

Source: (Uly, 2021)

Through this coherence, imposing sanctions on termination of social security and assistance for those who refuse the COVID-19 vaccine is considered wrong because social security is a right for Indonesian people who have paid contributions, even if the person refuses the COVID-19 vaccination.

Rhetorically, the use of the phrase “breaking the law” in the title and content of the news shows that journalists are trying to lead public opinion that the government is not consistent with the regulations stipulated in the Social Security Law.

The writing of the sentence “cessation of social security and social assistance” in sentence 1 was also emphasized by the clerk in the incident stipulating administrative sanctions for those who refused the COVID-19 vaccine. This suppression event can be seen at the beginning of the news, which is then mentioned again in sentences 3, 4 and 7. Termination

of social security and social assistance is even included in the news title. So, this shows how important these events are suppressed by Kompas.com.

JAKARTA, KOMPAS.com - Pemerintah menetapkan sanksi administratif, penghentian jaminan sosial dan bantuan sosial bagi setiap orang yang telah ditetapkan sebagai sasaran namun menolak vaksinasi Covid-19.

Figure 6. First Sentence of Kompas.com Second News

Source: (Uly, 2021)

"Untuk masalah sanksi tidak mendapatkan jaminan sosial seperti JKN, bagi yang menolak vaksin, menurut saya itu sudah melanggar UU SJSN," ujarnya Timboel dalam keterangannya, Senin (15/2/2021).

Figure 7. Forth Sentence of Kompas.com Second News

Source: (Uly, 2021)

The phrase "community rights" is also emphasized in this news. "Community rights" is intended to describe social security and social assistance. If researcher link "cessation of social security and social assistance" with "community rights", it can be concluded that the termination of social security and social assistance against the COVID-19 vaccine means the termination of the rights of the Indonesian people.

Table 2. Kompas.com Frame:

The Indonesian Government Violates the Law

Element	Writing Strategy
Syntax	Interprets sanctions for termination of social security for vaccination refusal as violations of the law. Used BPJS Watch Advocacy Coordinator (Timboel Siregar) point of view in looking at the COVID-19 vaccination problem.
Script	Emphasized on the "who" element by only using Timboel Siregar as the only source of quotations which shows that <i>Kompas.com</i> wants to discredit the government.
Thematic	This news has only one theme: Administrative sanctions for vaccination refusers is against the National Social Security System (SJSN) law.
Rhetoric	(1) The government is not consistent with the regulations stipulated in the Social Security Law, (2) The termination of social security and social assistance against the COVID-19 vaccine is the termination of the rights of the Indonesian people.

***Suara.com* Frame: The Indonesian Government Threatens the Freedom of Society and Acts Unethically**

The news title "Komisi IX DPR Minta Hilangkan Denda Penolak Vaksin Covid-19" shows *Suara.com*' partiality towards people who refuse to vaccinate against COVID-19 using the point of view of Deputy Chairman of Commission IX Legislative Assembly (Anshori Siregar). The Legislative Assembly criticized the actions of the central government to abolish regulations that violated people's rights regarding the COVID-19 vaccination. News lead used by *Suara.com* seeks to lead readers to the fact that regulations set by the government threaten people's freedom in terms of determining their own health.

Suara.com - Wakil Ketua **Komisi IX DPR**, Anshori Siregar meminta Menteri Kesehatan Budi Gunadi Sadikin untuk menghilangkan adanya ancaman sanksi ataupun denda bagi masyarakat yang **menolak divaksin Covid-19**. Menurutnya, masyarakat pasti mau divaksin kalau memang produk yang digunakan pemerintah bagus.

Figure 8. *Suara.com* First News's Lead

Source: (Tanjung & Sari, 2021)

In addition to the central government's irrelevant policy in tackling vaccination refusers, the BPOM (Food and Drug Supervisory Agency)'s indecisiveness in issuing distribution permits for the Sinovac COVID-19 vaccine in Indonesia was also highlighted by *Suara.com*.

The background information included by journalists also strengthens the statement that the "threat" of fines needs to be removed. Each background information is also supported by a direct quote from the Deputy Chairman of Commission IX of the Legislative Assembly (Anshori Siregar). This shows that the elimination of fines for vaccination refusal requires special attention from the central government.

The researcher found three elements of "who" in the news: Deputy Chairman of Commission IX of the Legislative Assembly, Minister of Health, and Head of Food and Drug Supervisory Agency (BPOM). Of the three sources, *Suara.com* only used the views of the Deputy Chairman of Commission IX of the Legislative Assembly in seeing the incident of fines for those who refused to vaccinate against COVID-19. This shows that this news fully wants to criticize the government's decisions and performance in carrying out the COVID-19 vaccination program. Therefore, this news is in favor of those who refuse to vaccinate against COVID-19.

Sentences 7-12 frame the Head of BPOM (Penny Lukito) as someone who does not stick to the use of the COVID-19 vaccine. The sentence explains that the Head of BPOM issued a distribution permit for the Sinovac COVID-19 vaccine sooner than planned. Then, it was seen that there was an emphasis that the Head of BPOM's actions were based on someone's "order".

Ashori menganggap Penny seharusnya menjadi kunci utama dalam kesiapan penggunaan vaksin Sinovac. Tapi yang terlihat olehnya justru Penny selaku penanggung jawab dari BPOM justru yang disetir supaya mengeluarkan izin edar.

Figure 9. *Suara.com* Frame on Penny Lukito

Source: (Tanjung & Sari, 2021)

Through thematic analysis, the researcher sees that this news has two themes. The first theme is the elimination of the threat of fines for those who refuse the COVID-19 vaccine, and the second theme discusses the indecisiveness of the Head of BPOM (Penny Lukito) in issuing distribution permits for the Sinovac COVID-19 vaccine. The common thread of these two themes is the coercion of policies implemented by the government in conducting the vaccination program.

The use of explanatory coherence is found in sentence 2 news. The sentence "which is used by the government" serves as an explanation of the product mentioned by Anshori Siregar (Deputy Chair of Commission IX DPR). By using explanatory coherence, *Suara.com* frame that the product (the COVID-19 vaccine) distributed by the Indonesian government is not good. In other words, *Suara.com* emphasized that the government should not impose sanctions on those who refuse the COVID-19 vaccine, because one of the reasons residents refuse to be vaccinated comes from the government's own product.

In a rhetorical analysis, *Suara.com* used the word "threat" in labeling fines for those who refuse the COVID-19 vaccine. The use of the word "threat" places the Indonesian government as an institution that forces citizens to participate in the COVID-19 vaccination program. The government indirectly is also interpreted as undemocratic, where this is inversely proportional to the system of government (democracy) that should be implemented by the current government.

The use of the lexicon is also seen in sentences 9-10, namely the words "main key" and "driven". The two lexicons create different meanings in the image of the Head of BPOM (Penny Lukito). The word "main key" in sentence 9 describes Penny Lukito as someone who is entrusted with and responsible for the success of the COVID-19 vaccination program. However, in the word "driven" in sentence 10, Penny Lukito is seen as a leader who is not assertive in carrying out her duties.

Through the three lexicons above, the researcher sees that there are two meanings that *Suara.com* wants to highlight. First, Indonesia as democratic country is not democratic in running the COVID-19 vaccination program. Second, the government forces Indonesian citizens to take part in the success of the vaccination program. However, the success of the vaccination program also depends on the government's internal performance, where they must firmly follow the previously determined flow of the vaccination program.

**Table 3. *Suara.com* Frame:
The Indonesian Government Threatens the Freedom of Society**

Element	Writing Strategy
Syntax	Using the point of view of Deputy Chairman of Commission IX Legislative Assembly (Anshori Siregar). Regulations set by the government threaten people's freedom in terms of determining their own health.
Script	Emphasized on the “who” element by only using the Deputy Chairman of Commission IX of the Legislative Assembly point of view. <i>Suara.com</i> fully wants to criticize the government's decisions and performance in conducting the COVID-19 vaccination program.
Thematic	(1) The elimination of the threat of fines for those who refuse the COVID-19 vaccine, (2) The indecisiveness of the Head of BPOM (Penny Lukito) in issuing distribution permits for the Sinovac COVID-19 vaccine.
Rhetoric	Using the word “threat” to place the Indonesian government as an institution that forces citizens to participate in the COVID-19 vaccination program.

In the second news, *Suara.com* sided with those who refuse to vaccinate against COVID-19. This can be seen in the headlines where *Suara.com* openly criticize President Joko Widodo's unethical decisions. Apart from that, disapproval of the government was also seen in the lead and background information which stated that the termination of social assistance and public administration services was deemed inappropriate.

Suara.com - Koalisi Warga untuk Lapor COVID-19 menilai ancaman Presiden Joko Widodo menarik bantuan sosial dan layanan administrasi publik bagi **penolak vaksin COVID-19** tidak akan efektif mensukseskan program vaksinasi.

Figure 10. *Suara.com* Second News's Lead

Source: (Lesmana & Aranditio, 2021)

Suara.com used the view of the Initiator of Reporting COVID-19 (Irma Hidayana) as a source of news. The use of these sources shows how important the imprecision of government action is in “embracing” COVID-19 vaccine repellents. The government's decision to stop social assistance was considered coercive and unethical.

"Itu tidak efektif dan tidak etis, karena Bansos itu kewajiban pemerintah, sementara vaksinasi itu hak masyarakat, jadi tidak seharusnya pemerintah begitu, ini bukan *trade off* atau pertukaran," kata Irma saat dihubungi *Suara.com*, Senin (15/2/2021).

Figure 11. Irma Hidayana Point of View

Source: (Lesmana & Aranditio, 2021)

Not only from the government side, but *Suara.com* also frame the image of groups who reject the COVID-19 vaccine. Through this framing, it can be seen how the actions that should be taken by the government. There is an emphasis on sentences 4-5 that the COVID-19 vaccine refusers are a group that lacks knowledge regarding the COVID-19 vaccine, so that this group is reluctant to vaccinate.

Based script analysis, *Suara.com* position themselves as a society that refuses to vaccinate. Of the two elements who were presented (Citizens Coalition to Report COVID-19 and the government), *Suara.com* only used the views of the Initiator to Report COVID-19 in interpreting sanctions for terminating social assistance and public administration services. Overall, the researcher sees that *Suara.com* are trying to criticize the sanctions that will be applied to vaccination refusers because they are contrary to people's rights.

There is an emphasis on the "how" element to explain the steps that the government should take in tackling the COVID-19 vaccine rejection. There are three steps suggested in the "how" element: a) Conducting research on rejection of COVID-19 vaccination b) Evaluate research results. c) Provide education to convince the public that vaccines are safe.

The "how" element is supported by information in the "why" element which plays a role in supporting the view that the approach taken by the Indonesian government is inappropriate in "embracing" the COVID-19 vaccine repellent.

Suara.com's second news consists of one theme: the imposition of people's rights in determining vaccinations. *Suara.com* are seen defending COVID-19 vaccine refusers by pointing out that government action is not the right solution in tackling vaccination refusals. Policy ineffectiveness and imposition of rights for COVID-19 vaccine refusers were also highlighted at the start of the news, followed by explanatory information regarding COVID-19 vaccine refusers and Presidential Regulation Number 14 of 2021.

In writing news, *Suara.com* uses two forms of coherence: explanatory coherence and causal coherence. The explanatory coherence lies in the sentence two which consist of two propositions: a) Coercion of citizens' rights, and b) Not recommended by the world health agency (WHO).

The two propositions are connected by the conjunction "and". The second proposition plays a role in explaining and strengthening the contents of the first proposition. So, from these two propositions, the meaning is created that the termination of social assistance and administrative services for COVID-19 vaccine rejecters is an act of coercing the rights of Indonesian citizens which is not recommended by World Health Organization (WHO).

The statement in sentence 3 also consists of two propositions: a) It is ineffective and unethical, and b) Social Assistance is the government's obligation, while vaccination is the people's right.

The two propositions are connected by the conjunction "because" (causal coherence). Through these two propositions, the meaning is created that the termination of social assistance and administrative services for COVID-19 vaccine rejection is considered ineffective and unethical because the government should provide these services to the community.

Rhetorically, the use of the word "threat" is also found in the second news. Similar with the previous news, *Suara.com* also interpreted President Joko Widodo's decision to withdraw social assistance and public administration services as a threat to rejecting the COVID-19 vaccine.

Using the word "threat", *Suara.com* positioned President Joko Widodo as the leader who used coercion to control the COVID-19 vaccine rejectionists. The coercion here is negative because vaccine refusers are not given administrative service rights even though they have paid contributions to obtain this right. The placement of the word "threat" in sentence 1 of the news also shows that *Suara.com* wants to highlight the meaning of the event to the reader.

The second lexicon is the word "to hold" which is in sentence 4. Through the word "to hold", the researcher suspects that *Suara.com* interpret the COVID-19 vaccine rejection as a group that needs to be guided slowly.

Not only that, those who reject the COVID-19 vaccine are also constructed as citizens who have not been properly educated regarding the COVID-19 vaccine. This creates a feeling of reluctance to vaccinate because they are worried about the side effects of the COVID-19 vaccine. Imposing sanctions on those who refuse the COVID-19 vaccine makes the government seem less empathetic to the psychological condition of those who reject the COVID-19 vaccine.

Table 4. *Suara.com* Frame:

The Indonesian Government Acts Unethically	
Element	Writing Strategy
Syntax	<i>Suara.com</i> openly criticize President Joko Widodo's unethical decisions by stating that the termination of social assistance and public administration services was deemed inappropriate.
Script	Emphasized on the "how" element to explain the steps that the government should take in tackling the COVID-19 vaccine rejection.
Thematic	Consists of one theme: The imposition of people's rights in determining vaccinations.
Rhetoric	(1) Positioned President Joko Widodo as the leader who used coercion to control the COVID-19 vaccine rejectionists by using the word "threat", (2) The COVID-19 vaccine refusers are constructed as citizens who have not been properly educated regarding the COVID-19 vaccine.

4.CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the analysis and discussion of news framing of rejection of the COVID-19 vaccine, Kompas.com and Suara.com framed the issue of imposing fines and terminating social security sanctions for those who refuse to vaccinate against COVID-19 as imposing citizens' rights and threatening people's freedoms. Government action is not a solution in overcoming vaccination refusal in Indonesia.

The media alignment of Kompas.com and Suara.com is clearly in the position of those who refuse the COVID-19 vaccination. Both media seem to have an orientation to criticize the government's actions. The media indirectly helps voice the voices of the people who are "unheard" using authoritative sources.

The news framing on Kompas.com and Suara.com is influenced by several things, namely the positioning of journalists, the use of news sources, and the use of words in describing an event. In addition, the way the media considers the reading audience will reflect the position taken by journalists. The packaging of vaccination refusers as a society that is "free" and has "the right to refuse vaccinations" shows the media's partiality towards vaccination refusers (Daniel Susilo, 2021b).

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