



OMNIBUS LAW CIPTA KERJA IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND PUBLIC OPINION

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Abstract

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The government of Joko Widodo decided that the omnibus law technique would be a new legal breakthrough as one option to accommodate a variety of overlapping multi-sectoral regulations. Law 11 of 2020 is projected to accelerate economic growth and increase national competitiveness by opening the widest space for movement for ease of business and investment climate in facing competition in the digital ecosystem of the world economy and global governance. This regulation raises debate in the public space because is suspected that the political process that occurs in the legislative stages is flawed formally without involving public participation. The dilemma going on between the policy agenda, and public agenda then continues through the communication media. This study aims to reveal the phenomenon of public opinion about the omnibus law copyright work and public participation in determining public affairs with multi-sectoral dimensions. Public opinion in the public space shows the process of political communication that occurs through interaction between the policy agenda, the media agenda, and the public agenda. The theoretical paradigm of phenomenology and research with critical characteristics constructs an analytic description approach with qualitative methods used to find out the relationship between the policy agenda, the media agenda, the public agenda, and the various factors that influence it.

Keywords:

Regulation, Multi-sector, Participation, Public opinion

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INTRODUCTION

In 2022, the Indonesian people will be busy discussing the issue of structuring regulations for ease of doing business rolled out by the President. This discourse became actual in public discourse after the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) held a plenary session to inaugurate Joko Widodo and KH Ma'ruf Amin as President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia for the 2019-2024 period. President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) invited the People's Representative Council (DPR) to make one law (UU) by revising many laws using the omnibus law method. The vision of Joko Widodo and Jusuf Kalla's government for the 2014-2019 period will reorganize the various statutory regulations that hinder the business world. The President's political will in his political speech can be understood as his vision and mission commitment to legal reform policies through structuring regulations considered to be difficult and overlapping.

Obesity and multiple interpretations of existing regulations have potential obstacles to the investment climate since many laws are out of sync. The derivative regulations consist of 107 laws, 452 government regulations, 765 presidential regulations, and 7621 Ministerial Regulations in 15 Ministries. Indonesia cut off regulations that are inefficient, disharmony, and disproportionate in dealing with the world's digital ecosystem and global governance by preparing Regulatory Technology (Reg Tech) and designing an omnibus law for doing business (PSHK Research Team, 2019: 505). It was confirmed and became valid based on the 2019 World Bank report placed Indonesia in 73rd place out of 190 countries under Malaysia (rank 12th) and Thailand (rank 21st) in terms of ease of doing business (EoDB) which has an impact on weak human resources. Investment competitiveness, private sector business growth, and the wide gap in the economy between regions related to the allocation of the economies, resources, and capital are still dominant in Java and Sumatra. As a result, Indonesia experienced a decline in four areas of the ten World Bank assessment indicators from mid-June 2017 to May 2018 dealing with construction permits, protecting minority investors, trading across borders, and enforcing contracts (Mihradi, 2019).

The choice of the omnibus law method is a legal breakthrough in organizing and simplifying overlapping regulations by amending many laws into only one. The omnibus law method originates from the omnibus bill usually, the omnibus accompanied by the follow-up word law or bill means a regulation made. Based on the result of the compilation of several rules with different substances and levels, Black's Law Dictionary defines omnibus as relating to or dealing with numerous objects or items at once, including many things or having various purposes. Garner et.al (2009:186) gives the meaning: A Single bill containing various distinct matters, drafted in this way to force the executive either to accept all unrelated minor provisions or to veto major provisions, while Keyzer (2020) states: Omnibus is a Latin word that means all for everything, an omnibus is a law that covers of diverse or unrelated topics. Through the work copyright omnibus law, the projects that Indonesia will be able to get out of the Middle Income Trap in 2040 with a growth of six percent and an average per capita growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of four percent.

The President submitted an official presidential letter through the Coordinating Minister, which is proof of the government's seriousness in passing the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Bill to the DPR by accommodating the arrangement of medium, small, and micro enterprises (MSMEs) as part of it. The DPR responded quickly by including the government's initiative in the 2020-2024 National Legislation Program as the 2020 Priority Bill. These conditions indicate an agreement has been reached between the DPR and the President, even though two factions, namely the Democrat and PKS, rejected it. In April 2020, DPR discussed the government proposal and approved it to become the Job Creation Bill at the 13th plenary meeting. This meeting was followed by a submission by the DPR's consultative meeting to the Legislative Body (BALEG) to discuss it by forming a Working Committee (PANJA) with a total of 35 members and five leaders of the Legislation Body (BALEG). Working Committee invites stakeholders from academicians,

professional associations, businessmen, and labor unions to discuss and formulate Problem Inventory List (DIM) from May to September 2020. The process of deliberating and drafting legislation went smoothly, but it turned out to be a problem in the planning, preparation, and budgeting (Yudhatama, 2017).

The Job Creation Bill was drafted technocratically and submitted in early February 2020 to be formally flawed because it does not include academic texts and drafts of the bill, so it does not meet the requirements in the Prolegnas Bill and Priority Bill. Public access to the Bill is closed to provide input and criticism of the principles of modern democracy as expressed by Weber (in Magalhaes, 2021:46): The locus of contemporary democracy is not the city, but the Nation-state. Formal rationalization gives more concrete expression to the democratic idea of equal community and provides a strong indication of the lack of political participation as a central theme of democracy. Such as disclosed by Kollipost (2020: 18): political participation is the central issue of democracy and in line with Fishkin's opinion (2009: 1-9) regarding the nature of democracy gives voice and space to the community to find problem solutions, where workers are part of the people who are directly affected.

This polemic has emerged as a discussion in the public space, where the strategic position of communication media can play an important role in opening space for government and community representatives to meet and have a dialogue about their respective agendas (Indrawan, 2017). But the media agenda is sometimes distorted by the bias of political interests by serving and propagating social interests that finance and control the media (Chomsky, 2009). The objectivity and neutrality of the communication media are the key to its existence in the global era (UCLA, 2008) but places it in a dilemma condition due to contradictions in the communication media and public space as a result of the development of democracy with different demands of capitalism (Nainggolan, 2017). Democratic norms and principles are damaged and even betrayed democracy cannot represent in capitalism (Solihin & Janah, 2021) which results in society remaining divided into structures of inequality (Kellner, 2013).

The presence of communication media in the global digital era and modern democracy needed to carry and strengthen the discourse on policy agendas and public agendas (Baum & Potter, 2019). The precondition of maintaining and preserving media is the credo of the media as a citizen forum, government watchdog or public institution, and citizen support mobilization agent towards a political position (Norris, 2011). according to its place and function at the level of democracy, namely public space, where there is space, climate, or atmosphere for citizens to dialogue about public issues freely without restrictions on dominant political, social, and economic forces (Habermas, 2006: 412), thereby contributing to the formation of public opinion through communication and rights associated with regulatory structures of power in the public space (Anas et al, 2019).

Media ownership and sources of media financing are important structural factors determining the form of news and the appearance of the media's face when interacting with the policy agenda and public agenda. the existence of a public space formed from the process of political communication between the government and society will appear at a relatively fast tempo filled with political messages to herding and shape public opinion (Heryanto, 2020). Even the media as an economic entity, public interest discourse can be disguised with the interests of media owners and managers (Syahputra, 2019:33).

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research has novelty and specificity because the discourse on work copyright omnibus laws from a political perspective with public opinion has not been found compared to reviews from a legal perspective. The aspect of public participation in socio-political interaction focused on the stages of setting regulations and discourse between policy agendas, media agendas, and public agendas to become public opinion in communication media object of research being the work copyright omnibus law. The purpose of this study reveals the phenomena and dynamics of public participation that develop in determining public affairs with a multi-sectoral dimension.

this study hoped will contribute relevant thoughts in supporting the government's efforts to facilitate business and investment. It will have an impact on the growth of new jobs and an increase in people's welfare.

Ideology

The concept of ideology first appeared in the public media in 1796 by Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1754-1863) with the spirit of the Renaissance, an enlightened rationalist who claimed to be a new field of science to reveal the origin of ideas objectively which developed as the study and analysis of idea and formations thinking. The contemporary definition of ideology is expressed by Brown (1973:9): other defines ideology as systems of thought and explanations that underlie many forms of social and individual behavior. Some scientists classify ideology to describe economic terms, while others focus on the meaning of ideology, including providing an understanding of reality, strengthening the existence of an ideology, and promoting differences in interests.

The concept of ideology is used in special perspectives such as economics, politics, and religion, including as a discourse in exercising power or giving meaning to rationalization, explaining, and understanding society and its reality. Ideology is a concept of neutral action which hides within it the most basic and interconnected set of thoughts and ideas. Brown argues that ideology is formed by beliefs and attitudes obtained through the process of learning and socialization. there are two functions: first, to show social and individual behavior, and second to affirm and strengthen existence attitudes and beliefs.

Ideology has been placed in various environments such as political, economic, and social. He has four overlapping functions: explanatory, evaluative, orientation, and prescriptive (Ball & Dagger, 2004). Ideology also has a central function as a giver of meaning to the explanation and understanding of the reality of society, including the activities of the state's existence as a subject rooted in historical narratives. Analysis and rationalization of the ideological framework or context can be seen in the state as a subject, including its policies and ideals to show whether the state is just, unjust, and can be defended. Therefore, ideology is the motivation to legitimize attitudes and beliefs as a form of personal identity, communal group association, or society.

Each societal group orientation ideologically develops a set of norms and values to bind those who accept it. It is a method by which ideology can be put in the space place to enhance and control individual and social behavior. Ideology can also is used to promote certain programs and collective social forums or political action. Ideological mobilization involves determining the general agenda of the people by combining several opposing ideologies against one big threat which is expressed in rhetorical slogans to win votes or attract public support. Ideological amalgamation involves the dominant aspect of a crisis, identification of opposing ideology targets, and separation of groups into other differences while the definition of implementation is directed at achieving specific results by identifying three types of contemporary ideological mobilization, namely: mass mobilization through anticipation of fear, a revival of the past, and through exemplary based on other recent realities.

At this point, the use of the terminology of ideology is merely a window curtain hiding deeper political realities. The view of behavioralism, a school of psychology believes that humans are nothing more than biological machines conditioned to act or react to external stimuli. The perspective of dialectical materialism as a crude form of Marxism dominates intellectual inquiry in orthodox communist countries believing that political ideas can only be understood by economic or class interests that express them, without any meaning or significance of their own (Heywood, 2012). The Keynesian perspective sees the world as governed by a handful of economic theorists and political philosophers' ideas. theories and beliefs in human action are ultimately governed by academic writers. This perspective shows the fact that modern capitalism developed from the classical economics of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. Likewise, Soviet communism was shaped significantly by the writings of Karl Marx and Lenin, and the history of Nazi Germany can only be understood by referring to the doctrines of Adolf Hitler. saints formed

all ideologies through social and historical situations and developed the political ambitions that serve them.

The Political Economy of Media and Public Opinion

The policy reforms initiated by civil society, activists, and trade union leaders to join mainstream politics brought Indonesia towards a fully liberal democracy with some challenges to people's aspirations as well as severe institutional obstacles and poor fulfillment of citizens' rights. Opposing political-economic positions since the Soeharto presidency ended, the government is led by a dictator, but by people in the inner circle of power, relatives, and important figures who make up a political cartel (Slater, 2013). The change in the country's political system to decentralization allows a wider circle of business people to gain access to business contracts and concessions through politics. This condition then calls Indonesia an oligarchic democracy with reforms requiring structural changes through the involvement of trade unions and progressive social movements (Lane, 2014). As a result, a more substantive democracy must wait for the development of capitalism beyond accumulation based on looting and cheap labor, as well as the emergence of business groups interested in the transparency of laws and regulations through law enforcement (rule by the law).

The capacity to transform power based on knowledge and participation in public discourse into political authority and legitimacy was essential in the early democratization process but has been reduced by commercialization and the growing interest of dominant actors in influencing media edits. Under liberalism, the owners have turned Indonesia into a bastion of post-modern relativism where factual knowledge is less important than one's subjective interpretation of the right to have lots of money and good relations (Törnquist, 2013).

Liberalization occurred in the economic sector and various other sectors also have an impact on the process of liberalization of the mass media (communication). The dynamics of information flow with the extraordinary growth of media in a climate of media freedom has given rise to public complaints against the media. The public feels that the media no longer pays attention to the public agenda which encourages freedom of expression and strengthens the public agenda, where the media moves according to its internal interests so that the media does not fully represent public aspirations. The conception of public space is the creation of social space between the state and society, which is an exchange of ideas and dialogue to discuss public affairs without having to be under the control and intervention of the state or economic power. The creation of this space is ideally played by the mass media which functions as an institution as well as a medium for circulating information for the state and society to discuss public issues. The realization of public space through the mass media is an important part that can use as a basis for upholding democracy and strengthening civil society. Therefore, controlling and intervening in the mass media the state, and the market in a systematic way controls the public interest. The media should be in a neutral position from various pressures that affect it to carry out its public space functions ideally. However, in practice, it is difficult to implement because the media is part of a business institution that makes profit its main orientation.

The phenomenon that emerges in the legislative process in representative institutions shows that there is a dynamic of the tug-of-war between political powers, owners of capital/entrepreneurs, and elements in the media. Many studies on media are based on an empiric-positivistic approach which is characterized by a quantification patterned approach using sampling techniques and prioritizing generalizations. A critical approach to media studies is influenced by Marxist ideas which see society as a system of class and system domination, of which the media are an important part. The critical approach sees that society is dominated by elite groups as a tool for the dominant group to manipulate and strengthen its existence to marginalize other non-dominant of groups, while the empirical approach believes that community groups can freely fight in an open space. Critical research is sensitive to the practice of domination through acts of communication, and media use is seen as a goal of the dominant group, not a neutral activity to convey messages to the public.

The political economy approach linked the economic aspects of media ownership and control with leadership and other factors that unite the media industry with other industries, such as political, economic, and social elites. The three characteristics of the political economy approach are: first, holistic, the political economy approach looks at the interrelationships between various social, economic, political, and cultural factors around the media and tries to see the various influences of these various factors. Second, historically, political economy analysis links the position of the media with the global capitalistic environment, where the process of change and development of the economic constellation is the most important thing. And third, the philosophy of materialism refers to factual matters in the reality of media life (Golding & Murdock, 1979)

The political economy of the media approach is divided into two parts, namely the liberal political economy approach as the mainstream and the critical political economy approach. The principle difference between the two lies in how the political economy aspect of the media is seen. In the liberal approach, the economic aspect is seen as part of work, practice, and professional instruments in publishing media. On the other hand, a critical approach always sees and interprets the political economy realm as an instrument of control for the dominant group to impose its domination on other non-dominant groups. The structure of the media economy in a liberal approach is also only seen in a professional framework. The advertising section or media owner is one of the various functions in the media. On the other hand, in a critical approach, diversity and unequal positions in media organizations lead to the domination of one group over another.

The critical political economy approach is divided into three variants instrumentalism, structuralism, and constructivism. The difference between one variant and another lies in the basic ideas for reviewing market economic problems and their relation to the economic, political, and cultural environment. The instrumentalist approach sees the element of the economy as a determining factor or variable and determines that the media has no connection or relationship with other factors. The media is seen as an instrument of class domination by the capitalists who use economic power in the market system to ensure that the parallel flow of public information according to their interests and interests is unidirectional and unopposed. Economic factors are considered to directly determine media activity. The assumption of the instrumentalist approach assumes a capitalistic realm, the economy is a crucial factor. Therefore, the working process of the media is determined by economic interests. If using an instrumentalist approach, all individual and media actions are only driven by economic determination alone.

The constructivist approach sees economic factors as an imperfect system so that the media economy is not only influenced by economic aspects, but also by other factors such as cultural and individual factors. In the constructivist approach, it is seen that the state and capital will not always use the media as an instrument to realize their interests. Because these interests operate within a structure that contains many facilities, such as barriers, and a structure that contains many conflicts and conflicts of interests between various elements. The constructivist approach sees the domination of economic or political power not as direct, but through a complicated process that involves mechanisms of justification and hegemony.

Both the instrumentalist and constructivist approaches view external factors outside the media as more determining media behavior. It turns out that development led to criticism, then gave birth to a structuralist approach that tried to criticize the two previous approaches. The structuralist approach focuses more on the relations and struggles of the elements within the internal structure of the media with external factors. In contrast, the instrumentalist approach sees structure as a dynamic form that is constantly reproduced and changed through practical actions. Meanwhile, the structuralist approach sees the structure as solid, permanent, and immovable, whereas the political economy approach of the media must include aspects of media growth, increasing the number of companies, government intervention, and changing the role of the state.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research formulation is of the social humanities type and is carried out to explore the phenomenon of enactment of the work copyright omnibus law which developed into public opinion and appeared in the communication/mass media as a discourse on socio-political interaction. The research approach is a combination of ideology and the critical political economy of media to analyze media behavior in responding to the omnibus law since its discourse rolled out until it was ratified and enacted as Law no. 11 of 2020 concerning work copyright.

An analytic descriptive approach with qualitative methods (Muslim, 2016) was used to find the relationship between the policy agenda, the media agenda, and the public agenda with the various factors that influence it. The theoretical paradigm approach is the phenomenological type with a research paradigm and critical characteristics in the form of communication between humans (Imran, 2013) is carried out through a process of understanding, exploring, and making sense of the phenomenon of the enactment of work copyright regulations by forming them into public opinion which is applied to explore and reveal the similarity of meaning of a concept, or phenomenon universally as the life experience of a group of individuals along with their unique and unique context (Murdiyanto, 2020:28-29).

Preliminary data as a basis for the research design explored articles published in various media through national media news portals. such as Kompas, Republika, Media Indonesia, CNN, and Liputan 6 using a purposive sampling method based on official data registered with the Press Council and Broadcasting Commission. Indonesia (KPI) based on coverage in the form of news, main topics, special themes, investigations, interviews, and various other sections that appeared almost every day for five months from June to October 2020. Data and facts of research obtained through unstructured observation combined with descriptive focused, and selectively describing socio-political interactions are developed with repeated analysis and observation as well as open interviews inward and outward paralysis models (Patten & Newhart, 2018: 18) not limited to oral speech, but also metalinguistic forms that accompany the subject of the leader/manager communication media/mas with the existence and interaction of the social environment.

After the data is collected and classified, then it is processed and analyzed using the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) method. The stages are reading and re-reading, initial noting, developing emergent themes, searching for connections across emergent themes, moving to the next cases, and looking for patterns across cases (Bayir & Lomas, 2016). its validity is tested through triangulation of these sources and methods so that public opinion in various media has a clear impact on an event (Petz, 2015).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Social Political Discourse on Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja

The government decided on the omnibus law technique as the option to accommodate the overlapping of various multi-sector regulations through the work copyright law projected to accelerate economic growth. The political agreement between the President and the DPR led to the passing of Law Number 11 of 2020, which opened up the widest space for business and investment climates to face competition in the digital ecosystem of the world economy and global governance. The political process carried out by factions in the DPR as representatives of political parties is an agreement as well as legitimacy for the President to sign the copyright omnibus law bill into law.

Figure 1. The Journey of the Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja



Source: Indonesiabaik.id (2020)

The World Bank through the 2019 World Development Report measures human resource talent to competitiveness the Global Talent Competitiveness Index (GTCI) places Indonesia's position at 77th worldwide and is in the order of fourth in the Asian region under Singapore (2nd), Malaysia (27th), and Thailand (70th). In this index, the expertise/skills component, which has a skillset of graduates sub-component, digital skills among the population, and the ease of finding skilled employers has experienced a downward trend. Likewise, the labor market component with five sub-components, namely cooperation in labor-employer relations, active labor policies, ease of hiring foreign labor, reliance on professional management, and labor tax rate% experienced the same trend as the skills/skills component. (BNRI No. 814/2021-Permennaker Number 12/2021 concerning the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Manpower for 2020-2024).

Indonesia needs investment flows to recover and accelerate economic improvement due to the prolonged blow from the Covid-19 pandemic storm and this condition is used as an opportunity in the SWOT matrix of the Ministry of Manpower with the presence of the job creation law to be able to encourage increased investment and face challenges in the form of drafting harmonized derivative regulations in the spirit of the job creation law (BNRI No. 794/2021-Permennaker No. 10/2021 concerning the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Manpower for 2020-2024).

The ratification of this regulation is no longer debatable because is suspected that the political process that took place in the legislative stages experienced formal defects without the involvement of the public, where participation is a fundamental concept and a factual embodiment of a democratic country. The dynamics of pros and cons and the spread of sharp differences of opinion have led to various reactions among the public, even groups of workers/laborers and students have staged protests and rejection through demonstrations taking to the streets in various regions against the implementation of the work copyright law triggered by the emergence of labor clusters that violate guarantees protection of workers' normative rights as set out in the 1945 Constitution Article 28 letter D paragraph (2) that "everyone has the right to work and to receive compensation and treatment that is fair and proper in work relations".

The Job Creation Law consists of 11 clusters and one of them regulates unified employment and includes three regulations, namely Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, Law No. 20 of 2004 concerning the Social Security System, and Law No. 24 of 2011 concerning Organizing Bodies Social Security as an effort to harmonize the government provides broad and loose space for investors without the need to worry about overlapping regulations that result in losses for investors. The employment cluster deleted 29 articles (articles 43, 44, 46, 48, 64, 65, 89, 90, 91, 96, 97, 152, 154, 155, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, and 184), inserts 13 new chapters (sections 61A, 88A, 88B, 88C, 88D, 88E, 90A, 90B, 92A, 151A, 154A, 157A, and 191A), as well as amending 31 articles (articles 13, 14, 37, 42, 45, 47, 49, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 66, 77, 78, 79, 88, 92, 94, 95, 98, 151, 153, 156, 157, 160, 185, 186, 187, 188, and 190) differ greatly from the ideal initial idea of planning when it enters the level of execution or the reality of its implementation (Zubi et al, 2021) even the omnibus law as an initial experiment is

assessed disabled by various groups of society, both referring to procedural due process of law and substantive due process of law, both of which are attributive requirements in the formation of a regulation in a rule of law country (Irvan, 2020: 192).

The flaw became a polemic because the process of drafting this law by the Government and the DPR was not participatory, without transparency, and at a relatively fast tempo which was initiated by the government's initiative to propose the work copyright bill included in the DPR's deliberation agenda for February 2020 without drafts and academic papers. Both are known to have been made by a team filled with and dominated by entrepreneurs. The closed process drew a lot of criticism from the public, but the DPR argued that the discussion at the DPR was an open and published process to the public. Law No. 14 of 2008 concerning Public Information Disclosure (KIP) Articles 9 and 10, as well as Law Number. 12 of 2011 as amended by Law Number. 15 of 2019 concerning the Formation of Legislation, where the process of making a law starting from the planning, drafting, discussing, ratifying, and promulgation stages require the involvement of community participation, especially at the drafting stage, not directly at the discussion stage.

The process of drafting the bill is more technocratic and highly technical in designing from the start the text with a technical team initiated by the Ministry of Manpower. This government version of the draft made confederations and trade unions who were members of the technical team withdraw and caused the further rejection. The wider community through various means of repeated demonstrations made the leadership of the DPR and the Working Committee of the DPR Legislative Body opened up space for public participation to form a drafting team for the Job Creation Bill which involves representatives of labor unions. The DPR is led by Deputy Chairperson Sufmi Dasco Ahmad and Deputy Chairperson of the Legislative Body Willy Aditya plus one member from each faction and experts from the Working Committee of the Legislation Body, while workers represented by the Confederation of Indonesian Trade Unions (KSPSI Andi Gani, combined 13 federations), KSPSI Yoris Raweyai (3 federations combined), Confederation of Indonesian Trade Unions (KSPI Said Iqbal, combined 9 federations), Federation of Indonesian Metal Worker Unions (FSPMI), Indonesian Muslim Workers Union '98 (PPMI '98), Teachers' Forum, and honorary staff.

Figure 2. Demonstration of Rejection of the Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja



Source: Antara (2020)

The proposed material emerge for discussion by the joint team of the DPR and labor unions covered nine issues, 1) the potential for the minimum wage to be lost, 2) the potential for severance pay to be lost, 3) all work is done by third parties, 4) without restrictions for contract employees, 5) exploitation of working time, 6) entry of foreign workers, 7) loss of social security potential, 8) unilateral layoffs, 9) criminal sanctions for employers. The results of the team's work were formulated from the input of the workers union and then a meeting was held which agreed on four material substances, namely: 1) material for the Labor Cluster of the Job Creation Bill

which the Constitutional Court had decided on: work agreements for a certain time, wages, severance pay, employment relations, layoffs, dispute resolution industrial relations, social security, and other content material related to the Constitutional Court's decision must be based on the Constitutional Court's decision which is final and binding, 2) the labor criminal sanctions in the Job Creation Bill are returned according to the provisions of Law No. 13 of 2003. Regulations regarding MSME industrial workers and start-ups that have not been regulated in the law will be discussed further to make additional regulations, 3) labor relations that are more adaptive to industrial developments, then the arrangements can be included in the Job Creation Bill and are open to public input, 4) factions will include material points of substance from trade unions/labor unions into the List Faction Inventory of Problems (DIM). The union is represented by Said Iqbal (KSPI), Riden Hatam Azis (FSPMI), Joko Heriono (SPN), Mirah Sumirat (Indonesian Aspects), Sunandar (FSP KEP KSPI), Idris Idham (FARKES), Hermanto Achmad (KSPSI), Jinto (FSP TSK KSPSI), R. Abdullah (FSP KEP KSPSI), Ali Mansur (FSP RTMM), Arif Minardi (FSP LEM KSPSI), Indra Munaswar (FSPI), Didi Supriadi (GURU). Then Abdul Hakim (PPMI), Tugino (FSP RTMM KSPSI), and Helmi Salim (FSP TSK KSPSI).

The four points of agreement resulting from the work of the drafting team summarize around 1,500 total DIM as material for discussion in level I discussions through commission meetings, joint commission meetings, budget agency meetings, and the DPR's Panja Baleg. After that followed by a level II discussion as decision-making in a plenary meeting which contained the process and results of the level I talks, the mini opinion of each faction, the mini opinion of the Regional Representatives Council (DPD), and the approval or rejection of each faction and members verbally. The second level of discussion is a very political process because it is no longer formulating articles, but rather approaches, lobbying, and negotiations between formal political actors who have legitimacy and strong influence through the President and members of the DPR.

Public participation can still be carried out in the discussion stage in the form of negotiations as well, not proposing new formulas. Negotiations that take place can gain recognition and attention depending on the bargaining power and political position that is built up by the accompanying forces and influences behind it in its various forms of manifestation such as the ability of capital, social capital or other powers conveyed through members of the DPR. However, in the plenary session, which was accelerated from the original agenda on October 8 to October 5, 2020, even though it was carried out during the DPR recess, open objections and disagreements from two factions, the Democratic Party (PD) and Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) fractions were not heeded. Likewise, the request for vote counting did not receive a response from the tribal leadership.

The Job Creation Law has extraordinary privileges, especially to the emergence, change, and or replacement of the word Minister in Article 1 number 7, Article 8, Article 9, Article 14 paragraph (4), Article 15 paragraph (2) to become Central government. This means that the central government is synonymous with the President who is given full and absolute authority to control it, it is no longer an authority and is controlled by the Ministry of Manpower. The integration of centralized authority in the hands of the President implies politically and also has political implications that democracy and reform are at a crossroads, backtracking towards a centralization of power which creates special political client actors in the closest circles in the government which paved the way for patrons of power.

The authority mandated by law to the central government includes improving the investment ecosystem and business activities through a risk-based approach. On the one hand, complicated regulations and permits are trimmed and made easy by simplifying the requirements for business and investment permits by keeping costs down for investors or financiers such as capital goods, land, exploitation of natural resources, and environmental impacts. On the other hand, the freedom to invest and do business for investors and financiers is not necessarily accompanied by a fair and equal employment contract relationship between employers and workers, where the position of workers is placed as a subordinate of the employer. The further

impact is causing losses for workers due to the loss of protection of workers' normative rights caused by worker capital, no longer a high-cost risk burden.

The specificity provided by the work copyright law for ease of investment and business in all regions of Indonesia by providing an honorable place under the control and control of the central government project to increase national economic growth, stimulate new creativity and increase the nation's competitiveness in the global area, generate earning national foreign exchange, and accelerating the availability of new jobs.

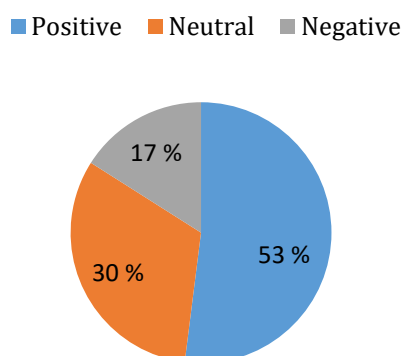
The foundation for the birth of this Law is characterized by an economic nature with investment standards solely inversely proportional to the development and improvement of the quality of human resources for workers. The derivative law adopted by the Ministry of Manpower in the 2020-2024 strategic plan emphasizes that three types of skills that will become increasingly important in the labor market are: advanced cognitive skills such as complex problem solving, socio-behavioral skills such as teamwork, and skills adapt based on the ability to reason (reasoning skills), and self-motivation (self-efficacy) with the fulcrum lies in the speed of development of technology and information that requires highly qualified human resources (BNRI No. 814:19 and 12).

Rejection and ongoing waves of protests from workers/laborers have left controversy and prolonged problems regarding changes or replacements in material content voiced by workers regarding 1) working days and overtime, 2) holidays, 3) minimum wages, 4) calculation of wages, 5) menstrual and maternity leave, 6) sabbatical, 7) unilateral layoffs, 8) severance pay, 9) PKWT or contract workers, 10) wage sanctions are not paid, and 11) the right to apply for layoffs. These points affect the stability of national law due to the orientation of government policies that change according to the will of the governing regime (Busroh, 2017: 247).

Discourse on Public Opinion on the Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja

The reaction of rejection in the affected communities, especially workers towards the application of the work copyright law continues to roll out and become a public agenda. The dilemma between the policy agenda and the public agenda then continues through the communication media (mass media) to develop into public opinion. The crucial role of the media is no longer limited to conveying news and outreach to the government and workers' resistance but goes deeper into the substance of the law as accommodation for bringing together the policy agenda with the public agenda in a healthy and equal dialogue.

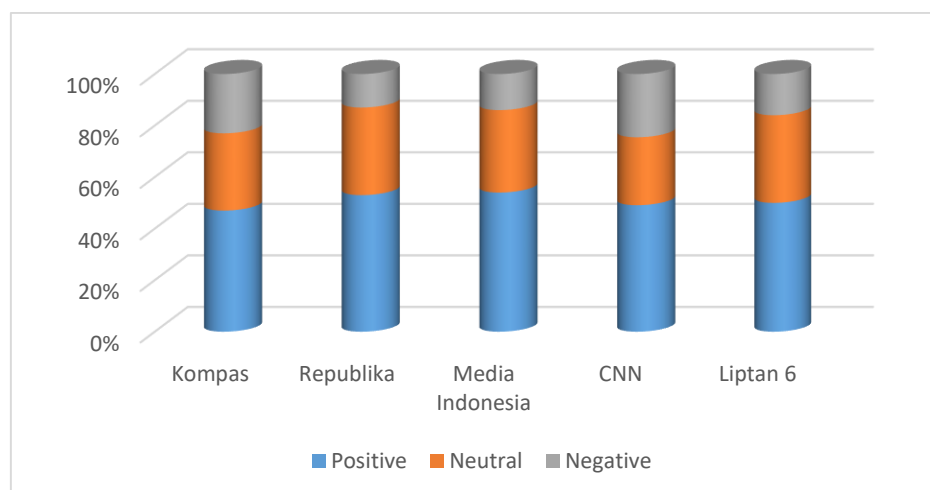
Figure 3. The Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja in Media Reporting



Omnibus work copyright laws tend to be reported positively by the communication media with a greater percentage of neutral discourse than negative discourse indicating that the media

provides more space for discussion of information regarding the administrative process of regulations than for discussions that criticize it. Observations from five media portals show that work copyright *omnibus* laws tend to be reported positively by 53%. When viewed per media, *Kompas.com* provides more space for statements that reject it by 30%, while the other four media provide no more than 17% space.

Figure 4. Negative Discourse Topic



The dominant sources of positive discourse are the government 66%, employers 9%, and parliament 8% indicating that the most contributors to positive discourse are the government as the party most interested in the work copyright *omnibus law* which is correlated with business interests. The large percentage composition of sources from the government, parliament, and businessmen clearly shows the highest discussion topic is the economic sector 55%. Government sources are the most contributing to the positive discourse on job copyright omnibus law news as the party with the most interest in this legislation product because increasing the economy and investment through job creation is strategic rhetoric justifying passing the work copyright omnibus law.

Figure 5. Negative Discourse Topic Resource Person

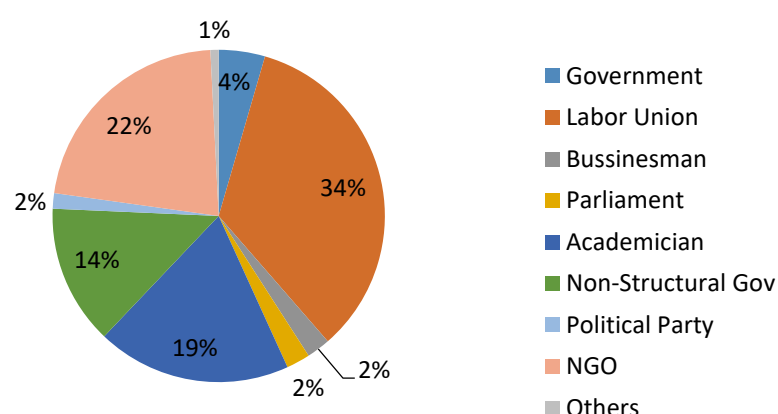
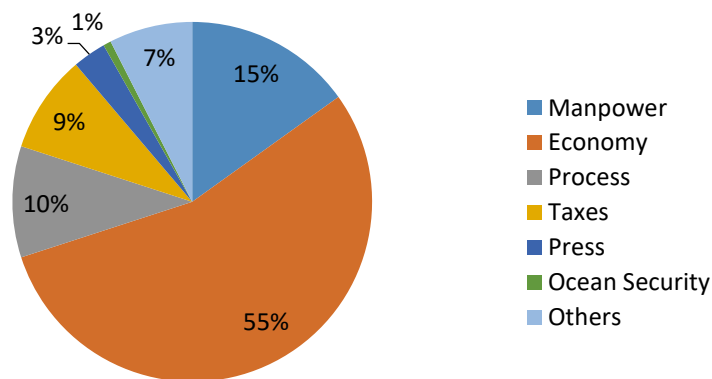
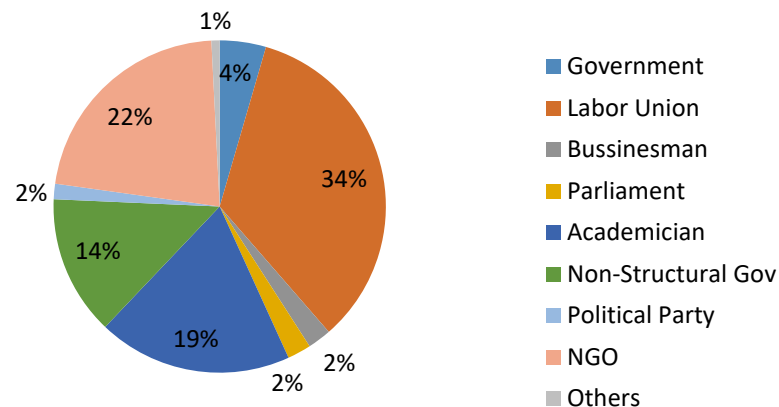
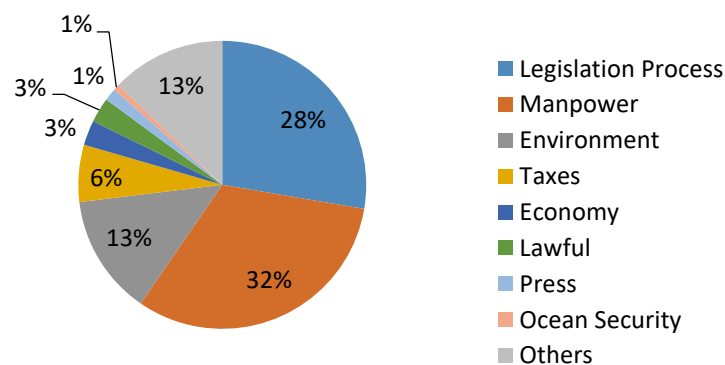


Figure 6. Positive Discourse Topic

The indications are that the composition of the work copyright omnibus support camp is quite homogeneous, while those who oppose it tend to be more heterogeneous. On the other side of the distribution of topics of discussion, each side has aspirations and talks about contrasting things that are far different, thus showing that togetherness and dialogue have not been created between the two camps.

Figure 7. Negative Discourse Topic Resource Person**Figure 8. Negative Discourse Topic**

The role of the media is as a stage owner whose show agenda is determined by the tenant, where the initiative and power of the rent payer have dominant control over what shows and how are shown on the stage. The percentage of the government dominating as sources in the news as much as 51% shows the government's proactive success in taking initiatives and seizing the media scene through the deployment of resource capabilities under its authority. While the percentage of workers' groups as resource persons is much smaller is not due to the media being proactive in visiting workers, but rather workers' initiatives to create momentum, especially through demonstrations that appear in the news of many communication media. It is ironic for the media itself, in reporting on the copyright omnibus law to delegitimize press freedom and journalistic work, the percentage of reporting with the negative discourse on press topics is only 1% of the total negative discourse. This condition implies the meaning that the media (communication/mass) is no longer able to play its vital role in the massive events that are experienced and felt by the public, instead it is distorted by the imbalance of relations and correlations between the public agenda and the policy agenda so that the media can no longer be called representing the public agenda.

CONCLUSION

The media's central role in political discourse and public opinion in the public sphere is to present a menu of enlightening and literate choices about the news that should or should not be presented to the public and how to discuss it in its reporting agenda which is prepared independently and is oriented towards serving the public interest. The reality is different from the omnibus law on copyright work, where the synergy of interests is not built by the interaction of the public agenda and the media agenda, instead, a strong relationship is established between the domination of the policy agenda as a realm of power and the media agenda to persuade, construct, or distort information presented to the public gain sympathy and support in the public sphere.

The creed of the communication media as the fourth pillar in a modern democratic state plays an important role in placing its position in facing this dynamic. The choice could be as a watchdog, a public vehicle for providing support to people with weak political positions, a free and independent public space without the hegemony of certain social, political, and economic forces, or to play a neutral and objective role following developments in the social and political dynamics of society and power.

The data presented are classified in the coverage in the media, the composition of the sources, and the topics of positive and negative discourse, indicating a tendency for the media to be more partial and give far more portions to the government (executive and legislative), and entrepreneurs than to the people who are directly and indirectly affected by the implementation of the work copyright omnibus law policy. This implies that the contents of the interests of the rulers and entrepreneurs use only investment and economic logic, who will benefit and who will be harmed work copyright law loses stamina and energy in media discourse so that the media narrative shifts move closer to becoming pro omnibus work copyright law (LP3ES Study: Cyber Forces, Omnibus Law, and Decline of Democracy, 2021) even the media raises diversion and change of public issues as new media agenda.

Public opinion that is formed from the interaction of the policy agenda and the public agenda in the process of political communication in the public sphere towards the implementation of the copyright omnibus law determines the interests and policies of the media. The position of the media is at stake and becomes the public spotlight on issues that are widely discussed by the public, thereby reinforcing the partisanship of media subjectivity which carries its subjective political-economic interests disguised by the media agenda.

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