

Polarization on the Polemic of the Job Creation Law

Sulistya Ningrum

State Polytechnic of Sriwijaya, Indonesia

arum.effendi@gmail.com

Abstract

The Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Law (UU Cipta Kerja) which was authorized in October 2020 amid the COVID-19 outbreak has raised pros and cons among the public, policymakers, investors, and workers in Indonesia. It is considered to be detrimental to the lower middle class while benefiting certain entities. Consequently, there was a polarization of public discourse in cyberspace. Therefore, this study aimed to map polarization trends in the internet community regarding the polemic on the Job Creation Law. This research used mixed methods with the Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study (CADS) framework. The trend amongst the cyber community indicated that there was group polarization in perceiving these issues, where both pro and con groups have different arguments and justifications in addressing the matter. The research data was in the form of tweets corpus totaling 12,224 tokens related to the Job Creation Law. The Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK) package built into Python 3.9.2 was used for tokenization and stopword removal. Lancsbox 6.0 was used to compute keywords and determine concordances. Furthermore, the significance of the keyword frequency was calculated using the Log-Likelihood test. This study identified three main topics in the controversial debate on the Job Creation Law, namely 1) State financial and economic policies; 2) Employment, length of service, and income; and 3) Environment and sustainability.

Keywords: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study (CADS), Cyberspace, Job Creation Law, Omnibus Law, Polarization.



Copyright © 2023 by Author(s)

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License. All writings published in this journal are personal views of the authors and do not represent the views of this journal and the author's affiliated institutions.

HOW TO CITE:

Ningrum, S. (2023). Polarization on the Polemic of the Job Creation Law. *Journal Of Contemporary Sociological Issues*, 3(1), 23-44. doi:10.19184/csi.v3i1.30136

Submitted : February 7, 2022

Revised : January 18, 2023

Accepted : February 20, 2023

Publish : February 28, 2023

I. INTRODUCTION

For over two decades, social and political scholars have researched rising elite, party, and media polarization, particularly in the USA, where a pair of major political parties significantly affects public opinion.¹ Republicans and Democrats in American politics have established tremendous emotional bonds with their fellow partisans while harboring animosity toward their opponents.² This situation is concerning because a healthy democracy encourages individuals and policymakers to engage politely and respectfully with one another on common and contentious issues. In democratic practice, however, partisans with opposing viewpoints can quickly produce hate speech, cynicism, and intolerance in direct and indirect forums.

In addition to the partisanship between political parties, the primary polarization issue in the United States is said to have been tied to abortion, same-sex marriage, and immigration policy.³ Today, topics that divide society into two factions arise in other regions, such as the debates on Brexit in the United Kingdom⁴, LGBT rights in Australia⁵, and nuclear energy in Japan⁶, among others. Clearly, this shows that the issue of polarization occurs almost all over the world with various issues. In Indonesia, polarization results from diverse factors such as social and ethnic conflicts and community tensions.⁷ However, during the political campaign and presidential election, the Indonesian community often splits into two sides.⁸ When two significant parties or leaders dominate the presidential election, the electorate divides into two major groups, although there are also smaller, less influential groups. This condition is similar to what occurred during the presidential general

¹ Sara B. Hobolt, Thomas J. Leeper, and James Tilley, 'Divided by the Vote: Affective Polarization in the Wake of the Brexit Referendum', *British Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 4 (October 2021): 1476–93; Geoffrey C Layman et al., 'Party Polarization, Party Commitment, and Conflict Extension among American Party Activists', *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 2 (2010): 324–46.

² Jeremiah J. Castle and Kyla K. Stepp, 'Partisanship, Religion, and Issue Polarization in the United States: A Reassessment', *Political Behavior* 43, no. 3 (September 2021): 1311–35.

³ Castle and Stepp.

⁴ Hobolt, Leeper, and Tilley, 'Divided by the Vote: Affective Polarization in the Wake of the Brexit Referendum'.

⁵ Gene Lim et al., 'The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual People Accessing Mental Health Crisis Support Helplines in Australia', *Psychology & Sexuality* 13, no. 5 (5 December 2022): 1150–67; Tom Wilson, Fiona Shalley, and Francisco Perales, 'The Geography of Australia's Marriage Law Postal Survey Outcome', *Area* 52, no. 1 (n.d.): 164–75.

⁶ Adrian Rinscheid, 'Crisis, Policy Discourse, and Major Policy Change: Exploring the Role of Subsystem Polarization in Nuclear Energy Policymaking', *European Policy Analysis* 1, no. 2 (2015): 34–70.

⁷ Arip Muttaqien, Denisa. Sologon, & Cathal O'Donoghue, "Earnings Polarization, Ethnicity, and Regional Perspective in Indonesia." (2018) 106 WIDER Working Papers.

⁸ M. N Habibi, 'Analysis of Indonesia Politics Polarization before 2019 President Election Using Sentiment Analysis and Social Network Analysis', *International Journal of Modern Education & Computer Science* 1, no. 11 (2019); Eve Warburton, 'Deepening Polarization and Democratic Decline in Indonesia, In Political Polarization in South and Southeast Asia: Old Division, New Dangers' (Washington DC: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2020), 25–40.

elections of the Joko Widodo-Amin Ma'ruf versus Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno and Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla versus Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa. At that time, the polarization related to the preferences in the choice of parties and candidate leaders among citizens. Along with swiping the presidential election issue, political polarization occurs due to public opinion differences regarding how new laws and regulations are perceived.

More recently, from late 2019 until date, there has been widespread polarization in the community around the Omnibus Law on Job Creation Law No 11 of 2020. The Law was first mentioned in President Jokowi's inauguration speech on October 20, 2019, and was later ratified by the Indonesian House of Representatives on October 5, 2020, and promulgated on November 2, 2020.⁹ Because it is perceived as harmful to the lower-middle-class population while benefiting other parties, this Law generates pros and cons among the public, policymakers, investors, and workers. Following the enactment of the Law, the Constitutional Court ruled that the Job Creation Law was unconstitutional due to its formal flaws. According to the lawsuit, the lack of the Job Creation Law is caused by formal legal issues, mainly since it conflicts with the Legislation Formation (UU P3) Law's provisions. The Omnibus Law method of drafting the Job Creation Law is the subject of the formal review. The Omnibus Law is unknown and is governed by the P3 Law's provisions. Additionally, the Job Creation Law is claimed to be drafted without public participation, making the regulators were directed to make improvements within a two-year window following the decision. The next issue is how to open cumulative data in such a way that results in a Constitutional Court decision.

In this regard, the Minister of Manpower, in consultation with the DPR, determined that Law No. 12 of 2011 on Legislation Formation (UU P3) needed to be revised and was included in the 2022 National Legislation Program (Prolegnas). Otherwise, Law No. 11 of 2020 will be declared permanently unconstitutional. Apart from the Constitutional Court's lawsuit, the Job Creation Law is also fraught with controversies. Several contentious controversies included a lack of transparency in the Law's drafting, rushed ratification of the Law that is assumed to favor certain parties, and problems in several sections, particularly those relating to employment, the environment, and the granting of investor rights. Political elites, parties, and the media continue to spread propaganda that has the potential to polarize public opinion and make it polarized.¹⁰

Public debates on social media, policymakers' responses, and news framing relating to this problem are just a few of the many data sources on political polarization found in cyberspace. These political debates occur both in the real world and on social media. Amid

⁹ Ika Novita, Icha Nur, and Tiara Rose, 'Konstruksi Realitas Media (Analisis Framing Pemberitaan UU Cipta Kerja Omnibus Law Dalam Media Online Vivaneews Dan Tirto.Id)', *Jurnal Syntax Admiration* 2, no. 1 (23 January 2021): 69–84.

¹⁰ Morris P. Fiorina and Samuel J. Abrams, 'Political Polarization in the American Public', *Annual Review of Political Science* 11, no. 1 (2008): 563–88.

current technological breakthroughs, social media provides a platform to exchange thoughts for free, rapidly, and publicly. Twitter is one of the most extensively used platforms and a research material source¹¹ allowing interactive communication among its users in a real-time setting. It is massively adopted by governments and the community, with over two-thirds of its users under 35.¹² It transforms into a microblogging platform with a single tweet containing up to 280 characters (formerly 140 words) that are used to keep track of personal information and comment and discuss national and global topics.¹³ Considering these characteristics, Tweets posted by Indonesian users regarding the issue of the Omnibus Law of the Job Creation Law are researched to map out the topics at stake and the public demands on the problem.

Given that the Job Creation Law has a significant impact on the lives of Indonesians as a law that directly regulates employment, taxation, the environment, and investment, among other aspects, research into the Law's implementation is pertinent to conduct in order to understand how the public perceives the policies and the impact they have on the entities affected. Previous research on this topic has focused on the challenges faced by Indonesian banks¹⁴ and forest sustainability¹⁵ as a result of the Law's implementation. The use of social media to spread the voice and social movement surrounding the contentious issue of the Law was also investigated.¹⁶ However, according to their study, Twitter is widely used to disseminate contrary views. On the other hand, this study intended to highlight the balance of power between the pro and con groups against implementing the Law, notably in the virtual communication interaction setting. Therefore, this study aimed to answer the following research question: How is the internet community polarized in the issue of the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Law?

¹¹ Shaozhi Ye and S. Felix Wu, 'Measuring Message Propagation and Social Influence on Twitter.Com', *Social Informatics* 6430 (2010): 216–31; Bruno Takahashi, Edson Tandoc, and Christine Charmichael, 'Communicating on Twitter during a Disaster: An Analysis of Tweets during Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines', *Computers in Human Behavior* 50 (2015): 392–98.

¹² Luke Sloan et al., 'Who Tweets? Deriving the Demographic Characteristics of Age, Occupation and Social Class from Twitter User Meta-Data', *PLOS ONE* 10, no. 3 (2 March 2015): e0115545.

¹³ Axel Bruns et al., *Crisis Communication on Twitter in the 2011 South East Queensland Floods* (Brisbane: ARC Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation, 2012).

¹⁴ Lastuti Abu Bakar, Tri Handayani, and Citra Sukmadilaga, 'Problems in Practice of Şukūk Issuance as Alternative Financing in Indonesia', *Journal of Shariah Law Research* 6, no. 1 (25 May 2021): 53–66.

¹⁵ Dodik Ridho Nurrochmat et al., 'Transformation of Agro-Forest Management Policy under the Dynamic Circumstances of a Two-Decade Regional Autonomy in Indonesia', *Forests* 12, no. 4 (April 2021): 419.

¹⁶ Arissy Jorgi Sutan et al., 'Using Social Media as Tools of Social Movement and Social Protest in Omnibus Law of Job Creation Bill Policy-Making Process in Indonesia', in *Advances in Digital Science: ICADS* (New York City: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 261–74.

II. METHODOLOGICAL STRATEGIES IN PORTRAYING THE POLEMIC

In this study, two corpora of pro and con groups against the enactment of the Job Creation Law were compared under the Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study (CADS) framework. This section describes in detail the employed method (CADS), research data (corpora of pro and con tweets), and analytical procedures (data cleaning, corpus analysis, and statistical tests) which were used in this study.

A. Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study (CADS)

Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study (CADS) is a methodological approach that integrates Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). While CL detects quantitative lexical and grammatical trends in discourse and shows language patterns, CDA serves as a method of conducting critical discourse analysis that focuses on theoretical ideas like power, dominance, and ideology.¹⁷ Based on the conception of Fairclough, Wodak, and Teun A. van Dijk, CDA, as an approach that analyses discourse, exhibits several characteristics.¹⁸ Discourse is conceived as actions to understanding and considered a form of interaction with a specific purpose, such as announcing, persuading, debating, and reacting. Then, CDA cannot be understood merely as an internal mechanism of linguistics since language is understood in its entirety. The text is also contextualized based on thorough history. In addition, CDA considers power in its analysis such that the text is viewed as a power struggle. Lastly, it emphasizes ideology as a central concept, which is a value system that is a group's firmly held value system.

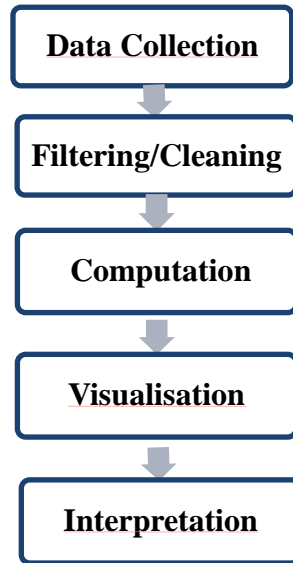
CADS adds objectivity to an investigation by providing verifiable evidence of keyword recurrence and the patterns that shape them, allowing for critical examination based on factual data.¹⁹ In this study, the CADS approach was employed to analyze the public debates on the disadvantages and advantages of enacting the Job Creation Law. Mainly, the CL approach was used to analyze the number of occurrences of keywords in the dataset and its linguistic trends, while CDA was used to interpret the research findings.

¹⁷ Paul Baker et al., 'A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press', *Discourse & Society* 19, no. 3 (1 May 2008): 273–306; Ruth Wodak, *Critical Discourse Analysis, In Qualitative Research Practice* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2004).

¹⁸ Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Group, 2001).

¹⁹ Baker et al., 'A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press'; Alan Partington, 'Corpora and Discourse, a Most Congruous Beast', *Linguistic Insights - Studies in Language and Communication* 9, no. C (2004): 11–20; Alan Partington, 'Modern Diachronic Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (MD-CADS) on UK Newspapers: An Overview of the Project', *Corpora* 5, no. 2 (2010): 83–108.

Integrating CL and CDA into CADS is a valuable tool for providing thorough analysis supported by accurate data. The following are the stages of the use of the CADS approach.



Source: Proceed by the author (2022)

Figure 1. Stages of research analysis using the CADS approach

Figure 1 depicts the six stages in carrying out this study using the CADS approach. The first five stages are part of the CL, while the last is contained within the CDA. The first stage taken by the researcher was data collection, followed by data filtering and cleaning to ensure that the data obtained were free of non-essential components for analysis. Next, the computation was done to calculate the frequency of occurrence of keywords found in the research data. Those stages are described in greater detail in the section below. Visualization is an additional step that makes it easier for readers to understand the presented results. Interpretation is critical for presenting the meaning and point of view on the topic raised, i.e., polarization on the critique of the Job Creation Law, which is conducted by employing CDA.

B. Dataset Construction

The data used in this study was public tweets surrounding the issue of The Job Creation Law (collected via Twitter API between October 20, 2019, and July 31, 2021, when the term first appeared in President Jokowi's inaugural speech until the start of research writing. At the initial stage, the researcher used the keyword 'UU Cipta Kerja' to collect tweets. Next, manual filtering was carried out to eliminate tweets that do not use hashtags because only tweets with hashtags were included in this study. The remaining tweets were then divided into two categories, the pro and con groups. The filtering results depict that the tweets are highly polarized, with two opposing groupings or sets of viewpoints or beliefs. The two groups of tweets constructed two subsets of corpora with the overall number of tweets, tokens, and token types shown in Table 1. Meanwhile, the list of the top ten hashtags used by pro and contra groups is presented in Table 2.

Table 1. Corpus Datasets

Corpora	Tweets	Tokens	Token Types
Pro	1,979	43,958	5,855
Contra	1,369	36,952	6,369
Total	3,348	80,910	12,224

Source: proceed by the author (2022)

Table 2. Lists of pro and contra hashtags on the polemic of the Job Creation Law used by Twitter users

Pro Hashtags			Contra Hashtags		
Original hashtags	Translation	Freq.	Original hashtags	Translation	Freq.
#DukungOmnibusLaw	#SupportOmnibusLaw	597	#TolakOmnibusLaw	#RejectOmnibusLaw	570
#OmnibusLawUntukRakyat	#OmnibusLawForThePeople	301	#GagalkanOmnibusLaw	#CancelOmnibusLaw	298
#CiptaKerjaUntukSemua	#JobCreationForAll	207	#TidakJujurCilaka	#JobCreationLawIsDishonest	275
#CiptakerCegahPHK	#JobCreationPreventsLayoffs	204	#JegalOmnibusLaw	#ThwartOmnibusLaw	107
#OmnibusLawUntukNegeri	#OmnibusLawForTheCountry	180	#OmnibusLawHabisPribumi	#OmnibusLawKillsNatives	58
#CiptaKerjaUntukPekerja	#JobCreationForTheWorkers	90	#BandungTolakOmnibusLaw	#BandungRejectsOmnibusLaw	39

#RUUCiptaKerjaLindungiPekerja	#JobCreationBillProtectsWorkers	82	#OmnibusLawSampah	#OmnibusLawisRubbish	38
#CiptakerPerluasLapanganKerja	#JobCreationExpandsEmployment	75	#TolakRUUCiptaKerja	#RejectJobCreationBill	34
#DukungRUUCiptaKerja	#SupportJobCreationBill	74	#BatalkanUUCiptaKerja	#CancelJobCreationLaw	33

Source: proceed by the author (2022)

C. Analytical Procedures

This study employed a mixed method, which consisted of quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative method emphasizes data calculation, categorization, objectivity, rational thought, representation, and generalizability of findings.²⁰ The quantitative method assists researchers in processing and presenting results based on more precise data backed up by logical explanations. This study used the Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study (CADS), a hybrid approach of Corpus Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), to compare the two subsets of corpora. The corpus data were cleaned using the Python 3.9.2 application, equipped with the Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK) platform for filtering stopwords. The ready-to-use corpora were processed using the corpus processing software of Lancsbox 6.0 to calculate the frequency of occurrence of keywords and collocations. Finally, the Log-Likelihood (LL) test²¹ was used to evaluate if the frequency between the occurrences of keywords in each corpus is significantly different, with a threshold value of LL starting at 3.84 ($p < 0.05$). The LL statistic was calculated by creating a contingency table, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Contingency table for calculating word frequencies

Frequency	Pro Corpus	Con Corpus	Total
Frequency of word	a	b	a+b
Frequency of other words	c-a	d-b	c+d-a-b
Total	c	d	c+d

Source: Rayson and Garside (2020)²²

²⁰ Erica Scharrer and Srividya Ramasubramanian, *Quantitative Research Methods in Communication: The Power of Numbers for Social Justice* (New York: Routledge, 2021).

²¹ Paul Rayson and Roger Garside, 'Comparing Corpora Using Frequency Profiling', in *The Workshop on Comparing Corpora* (Hong Kong, China: Association for Computational Linguistics, 2000), 1-6.

²² Rayson and Garside.

Observed frequency refers to the absolute calculation, i.e., how many instances of the keywords there are in each corpus, while expected frequency is the normalized frequency for each corpus, calculated using the following formula:

$$E_i = \frac{N_i \sum_i O_i}{\sum_i N_i}$$

In which:

$N_1 = c$ and $N_2 = d$.

$E_1 = c*(a+b) / (c+d)$ and $E_2 = d*(a+b) / (c+d)$.

III. POLARIZATION SURROUNDING THE POLEMIC OF THE JOB CREATION LAW

A population can be divided into "clusters" based on criteria. As a result, while each cluster's members have highly "similar" features, various clusters include individuals with incredibly "dissimilar" attributes. In that circumstance, society is said to be polarized.²³ Polarization can occur in society due to the emergence of disagreements, the potential for insurgency and rebellion, and societal displeasure. Often, disagreements within a group in society result in two very distinct viewpoints, both having solid arguments for the veracity of the viewpoint they hold. This condition puts them in opposed positions, and they frequently criticize the other group's viewpoint. In addition, political conflict and competition are deeply rooted in everyday democratic life. The traditional concept of democracy is not a tension-free community but the readiness of the nation's leaders to overcome a conflict so that society is not harmed in the process.²⁴ The sustainability of democracy is jeopardized when conflict divides the community into polarized blocs.

The following essential characteristics must be present in the polarization²⁵:

Characteristic 1: A high degree of homogeneity within each group.

Characteristic 2: A high degree of heterogeneity across groups.

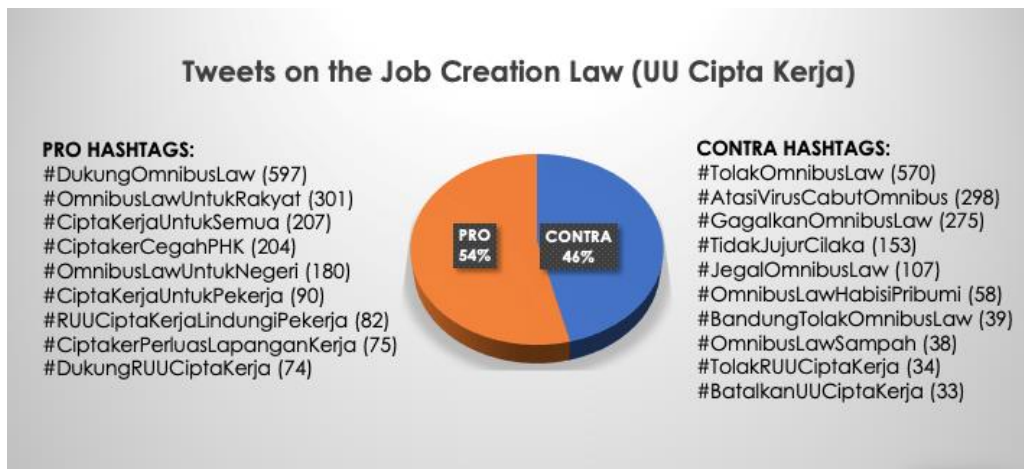
Characteristic 3: A small number of groupings with considerable sizes. Notably, small groupings (like lone individuals) have minimal significance.

²³ Joan-María Esteban and Debraj Ray, 'On the Measurement of Polarization', *Econometrica* 62, no. 4 (1994): 819–51; Hobolt, Leeper, and Tilley, 'Divided by the Vote: Affective Polarization in the Wake of the Brexit Referendum'.

²⁴ Robert A. Dahl, *Pluralist Democracy in the United States: Conflict and Consent* (New York: Rand McNally, 1967).

²⁵ Esteban and Ray, 'On the Measurement of Polarization'.

With "intra-group homogeneity and inter-group heterogeneity"²⁶ in opinion about a subject, polarization is dichotomous. However, amid these massive groupings, one or smaller groups may take a different viewpoint or be neutral on the debated matter. The strong social identity of community groups is often a differentiator between them and other groups.²⁷ They described three mental processes, including 1) form of social identity) social categorization by distinguishing 'us' versus 'them'; 2) social identification, where we take on the identity of our group; and 3) social comparison, where we favorably compare our group to others. Often, but not always, the need to compare oneself with someone outside one's group leads to competitive and adversarial relationships between groups. This group is also demonstrated by the fact that two major groupings divide during the discussion over the Job Creation Law. This fact is demonstrated by the highly polarized tweets on this subject, as shown in Figure 2.



Source: Proceed by the author (2022)

Figure 2. The percentage of pro and con tweets from the research sample on the Job Creation Law was divided based on the hashtags used

Based on the classification results of the overall data findings, the researcher divided the classification into three major polarization topics: 1) Financial policy and state economy, 2) Employment, working life, and earning, and 3) Environment and sustainability. Each topic consists of several keywords, as indicated in Table 4. The table also presents the number of the observed and expected frequency of occurrence for each keyword in both pro and con corpora and the Log-Likelihood (LL) value.

²⁶ Rayson and Garside, 'Comparing Corpora Using Frequency Profiling'.

²⁷ H Tajfel and JC Turner, *An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict*, In *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (California: Brooks/Cole, 1979).

The pros and cons observed in the corpora data in the tweets from Twitter users are grouped into three topics: financial policy and state economy; employment, working life, and earning; and environment and sustainability based on the trends. Each of these topics has a list of keywords that are relevant to the given subject. Keywords are sorted by the number of observed frequencies (the number found in the corpora) and the expected frequency (the number normalized); then, the observed and expected frequencies are used to calculate the LL value using the method proposed by Rayson and Garside.²⁸ The principle of using the LL value is that the greater the value, the more significant the occurrence of these keywords on the topic they are associated with the categories.

Table 4. Topic groupings and examples of the highest-ranking keywords in the pro and contra groups against the Job Creation Law

Topic	Keywords	PRO		CONTRA		LL Value
		Observed Freq.	Expected Freq.	Observed Freq.	Expected Freq.	
Financial Policy and State Economy	MSME	259	140.71	0	118.29	316.03*
	Economy	208	132.02	35	110.98	108.33*
	Cooperative	30	16.30	0	13.70	36.61*
	Investment	160	121.70	64	102.30	27.52*
	Industry	37	22.82	5	19.18	22.32*
	Employers	110	85.84	48	72.16	15.42*
	Company	36	24.99	10	21.01	11.43*
	Taxation	13	7.61	1	6.39	10.23*
	Market	16	10.87	4	9.13	5.78*
	Investor	58	47.27	29	39.73	5.47*
Business	19	14.13	7	11.87	3.87*	
Employment, Working Life and Earning	Worker	362	265.13	126	222.87	81.76*
	Job	94	54.87	7	46.13	74.80*
	Unemployment	62	34.77	2	29.23	60.99*
	Wages	142	105.94	53	89.06	28.18*
	Overtime	16	8.69	0	7.31	19.52*

²⁸ Rayson and Garside, 'Comparing Corpora Using Frequency Profiling'.

	Severance Pay	39	26.08	9	21.92	15.37*
	Layoffs	78	58.68	30	49.32	14.58*
	Foreign Workers	27	19.02	8	15.98	7.86*
	Vacancy	259	233.07	170	195.93	6.38*
	Laborer	129	199.93	239	168.07	55.26**
	Indonesian Trade Union Confederation (KSPI)	5	20.10	32	16.90	26.95**
	Employee	14	11.95	8	10.05	0.78
	Paid Leave	24	25.53	23	21.47	0.20
	The Indonesian Forum for Environment (WALHI)	0	7.06	13	5.94	20.38**
Environment and Sustainability	Environment	31	48.90	59	41.10	14.40**
	Agrarian	4	12.50	19	10.50	13.41**
	Land	4	10.32	15	8.68	8.84**
	Nature	3	7.06	10	5.94	5.29**
	Soil	11	16.84	20	14.16	4.45**
	Land Bank	4	7.06	9	5.94	2.94

Source: proceed by the author (2022)

Note: $p < 0.0001$; critical value = 15.13

$p < 0.01$; critical value = 6.63

$p < 0.001$; critical value = 10.83

$p < 0.05$; critical value = 3.84

*The keywords are significantly discussed in the pro group

** The keywords are significantly discussed in the contra group

LL value below 3.84 shows that the keywords are discussed equally in both the pro and contra group

A. *Financial Policy and State Economy*

Economic concerns are essential issues that a nation must address since they impact every aspect of the community's life. Economic problems intertwined with social issues will impact the long-term development of individuals, communities, and states and the interconnectedness of human development on a global scale.²⁹ Moreover, worldwide challenges to economic problems have encouraged policymakers to adopt more proactive approaches, such as comprehensive regulation, policy, and strategy.³⁰ Such approaches are needed for the government to achieve the development targets outlined in the country and provide citizens with solutions to challenges arising in various areas.

In Indonesia, one of the recent moves taken by the government to create a quality business and investment climate is the issuance and ratification of the Job Creation Law. The Law is claimed to provide convenience for the community, including employees, Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSME) businessmen, and investors.³¹ The government believes that the Job Creation Law will make it easier for investors to invest in Indonesia due to the simplicity of investment requirements, resulting in a more evolved Indonesian economy.³² Furthermore, the community will benefit from a variety of work prospects. However, the public, both business people and workers, have various responses in perceiving the Job Creation Law. The responses are highly diverse, either neutral, negative, or positive.³³ In this study, people's opposed responses, i.e., the pros and cons of the Law, are analyzed to determine the trends of the responses. This study focuses on social media users because mass media has evolved speedily and impacted social life.

As seen in Table 4, proponents of the Job Creation Law dominate the conversation over the topic of Financial Policy and the State Economy. Financial-related terms such as MSME, economy, cooperative, investment, industry, employers, company, taxation, market, investor, and business are more discussed by the pro group than the contra group—the high number of occurrences in absolute and expected frequencies in the pro group shreds of evidence. The results of the comparison based on the Log-likelihood test also show that the difference in occurrence is statistically significant at the level of $p < 0.0001$ for the keywords MSME, economy, cooperative, investment, industry, and employers; $p < 0.001$ for the

²⁹ Crystal Tremblay, 'Advancing the Social Economy for Socio-Economic Development: International Perspectives', *The Canadian Social Economy Research Partnerships (CSERP)* 1 (2009): 1–54.

³⁰ Oana Ailenei and Frank Moulaert, 'Social Economy, Third Sector and Solidarity Relations: A Conceptual Synthesis from History to Present', *Urban Studies* 42, no. 11 (2005): 2037–53; Yves Vaillancourt, 'Social Economy in the Co-Construction of Public Policy', *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics* 80, no. 2 (2009).

³¹ Agus Machfud Fauzi, 'Resistensi Masyarakat Terhadap Pengesahan UU Cipta Kerja Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi Hukum', *Reformasi Hukum* 25, no. 1 (2021): 77–91; Sutan et al., 'Using Social Media as Tools of Social Movement and Social Protest in Omnibus Law of Job Creation Bill Policy-Making Process in Indonesia'.

³² Fauzi, 'Resistensi Masyarakat Terhadap Pengesahan UU Cipta Kerja Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi Hukum'.

³³ Novita, Nur, and Rose, 'Konstruksi Realitas Media (Analisis Framing Pemberitaan UU Cipta Kerja Omnibus Law Dalam Media Online Vivanews Dan Tirta.Id)'.

keyword company; $p < 0.01$ for the keyword taxation; and $p < 0.05$ for the keywords market, investor, and business. This data demonstrates that the proponents believe the Job Creation Law will benefit the Indonesian financial sector at the local, regional, and national levels. Meanwhile, the opposition considers that the impediment to implementing the Job Creation Law could harm the financial sector. Nonetheless, they believe that this is not the primary issue. This fact is evidenced by their lack of enthusiasm in discussing financial policy and the state economy in cyberspace compared to the proponents.

In addition to defending the enactment of the Job Creation Law for the benefit of the nation's economy, the proponents believe that the Law offers numerous advantages for MSME entrepreneurs and small enterprises. According to the group, the presence of the Job Creation Law can make it easier for investors to invest in Indonesia and shorten existing regulations. This data is expected to accelerate Indonesia's economic growth.

Table 5. The concordance of the keywords *employers* and *investor* in the pro and contra groups

Keyword	Group	Concordance
<i>Employers</i>	Pro	Article 88F, paragraph 2 of the Job Creation Law explains that <u>employers</u> are disallowed to pay workers' wages below the minimum wage. #JobCreationBillProtectsWorkers
	Contra	The Job Creation Law regulates 40 hours/week, causing <u>employers</u> to set working hours at will. Whereas Law 13/2003 stipulates maximum working hours of 7 hours every day for six and 8 hours every day for five working days. #RejectOmnibusLaw
<i>Investors</i>	Pro	The Omnibus Law on Job Creation Law and MSMEs are directed to fix licensing in Indonesia to attract <u>investment investors</u> , which will expand employment opportunities. #OmnibusLawForThePeople
	Contra	The Omnibus Law on Job Creation Law destroys the environment, harms the people, benefits <u>investors</u> , and supports the oligarchs. #CancelOmnibusLaw

Source: proceed by the author (2022)

The proponents argue that based on article 88F paragraph 2, employers are disallowed to pay far less than minimum wage. However, the opponents fear implementing the Job Creation Law will continue to affect workers because it mandates at least forty hours of work every week. As a result, employers can arbitrarily determine working hours and may even exceed the maximum working hours. In contrast, Law 13 of 2003 stipulates that the maximum working hours are seven hours daily for six and eight hours daily for five working days. Sample concordances for the keywords employers and investors are shown in Table 5.

Regarding the ease of investment offered by the Job Creation Law, the proponents see that this will have at least three positive impacts, including developing MSMEs, improving and reducing business permits, and expanding employment opportunities. Meanwhile, opponents see this kind of policy as only fulfilling investors' interests and

supporting the oligarchy, where political power is only in the hands of a small group of community members. This polemic is consistent with the previous study, demonstrating that society is opposed to the Job Creation Law because it is perceived as harmful to employees.³⁴ According to this study, people believe that the Job Creation Law will boost competition, reduce the minimum pay, make it easier for companies to terminate employees, and have the potential to create exploitative working hours.

B. *Employment, Working Life, and Earning*

The employment cluster is among the most contentious in the Job Creation Law debate. The controversy and conflict around this topic arise from adopting the Job Creation Law. The government regarded as the model for protecting the community is partial and does not prioritize the interests of the community.³⁵ Because the data shows that this topic is a big part of the Job Creation Law debate, the author provides a section that discusses employment, working life, and earnings to show the trend of controversy that occurs in society.

Employee and paid leave are not topics dominated by a particular party, meaning they are discussed equally in both groups. Both pro and contra factions are concerned about the consequence of the Job Creation Law on employment, working life, and earning sectors, as shown by the statistic results in Table 4. Statistically, discussions on this topic were dominated by the contra group on the issues of worker, job, unemployment, wages, overtime, and severance pay at the significance level of $p < 0.0001$, layoffs at the significance level of $p < 0.001$, foreign workers at the significance level of $p < 0.01$, and vacancy at significance the level of $p < 0.05$. Meanwhile, the topic with keywords laborer and the Indonesian Trade Union Confederation (KSPI) became the major topic in the statements issued by the pro group with a significance level of $p < 0.0001$.

Regarding workers' welfare, the pro group views that permanent workers will be given their rights, such as decent wages, social security, work protection, safety, and compensation for layoffs. Furthermore, Article 88G of Job Creation Law stipulates that a province's governor will be sanctioned for not determining a minimum salary. The contra group, on the other hand, believes that the ratification of the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Law will allow city or district wages to decrease because the province determines the minimum wage standard. This debate has resulted in the absence of a Decent Living Needs (KHL) component in determining the minimum wage of the Job Creation Law and the abolition of Article 89 of Law No. 13 of 2003. The opposing faction considers the Law to be detrimental and exploits workers. In the Job Creation Law, groups, positions, years of

³⁴ Fauzi, 'Resistensi Masyarakat Terhadap Pengesahan UU Cipta Kerja Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi Hukum'.

³⁵ Mohammad Fandrian Adhiantanto, 'Politik Hukum Pembentukan Rancangan Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja (Studi Klaster Ketenagakerjaan)', *Pamulang Law Review* 3, no. 1 (2020): 1-10.

service, education, and competencies are no longer considered when determining the structure and amount of salaries.

Table 6. The concordance of the keywords *wages* and *severance pays* in the pro and contra groups

Keyword	Group	Concordance
<i>Wages</i>	Pro	Article 88G: A governor who does not set minimum <u>wages</u> will be penalized. Now, what are you waiting for? Let's support Job Creation Law. #JobCreationExpandsEmployment
	Contra	In the Job Creation Law, there is a term called <u>wages</u> per unit time and unit result. The wage per time unit is hourly, so it automatically eliminates the minimum wage. #OmnibusLawKillsNatives
<i>Severance pay</i>	Pro	The Omnibus Law on Job Creation Law does not remove <u>severance pay</u> . Job Creation Law stipulates that the maximum value of severance pay is 19 times wages, plus a Job Loss Guarantee benefit for six months. #SupportOmnibusLaw
	Contra	Omnibus Law on Job Creation Law: 1. The city or district minimum wage is in danger of being lost. 2. The amount of <u>severance pay</u> for layoffs is reduced. 3. Remove menstrual leave for women. 4. The fate of outsourcing is increasingly unclear. 5. Workers can be contracted for life. #OmnibusLawIsRubbish

Source: proceed by the author (2022)

Table 6 shows the sample concordance for the keywords *wages* and *severance pays*. The pro group believes that the Job Creation Law supports employees because a provision requires the governor to set the minimum wage for persons in a province. They will face a penalty for not deciding on the minimum salary. The opposing group, on the other hand, believes that the phrase "minimum wage" will be meaningless because wages per unit are regulated. For this reason, workers disagree with the wage regulations because it will negatively impact them. This is also demonstrated by the previous study, which shows that setting wages based on time units obviously does not provide security for workers to earn a fair living, disguising the principle of 'no work, no pay' without clear conditions.

Regarding severance pay, the trend also demonstrates a polarization in the viewpoints of social media users, which is publicly disclosed and creates endless debate. The pro group believes that the Job Creation Law does not eliminate severance pay. There is also a Job Loss Guarantee regulation that will provide benefits for workers who lose their jobs. On the other hand, the contra group claims that severance pay for layoffs would be lowered to the point where workers will not be treated fairly. This polemic is in line with the previous study³⁶, which found that reduced severance pay and social security cause people to express opposition and resistance to the government because they want to get their rights, which is a fair and not detrimental work environment.

³⁶ Fauzi, 'Resistensi Masyarakat Terhadap Pengesahan UU Cipta Kerja Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi Hukum'.

C. Environment and Sustainability

In addition to economy and employment, another major topic that received much attention in public debate regarding Job Creation Law is the environment and sustainability. Previous studies³⁷ also suggest that environmental and sustainability issues concern people now paying attention to future development. Today's society is not only concerned with the spiritual and physical needs of each individual but also with the planet's survival, particularly the issue of environmental challenges. Regarding the Job Creation Law, most believe that the ease of investing will destroy Indonesian nature because investors will compete in expanding businesses and building a property. However, this is not accompanied by strengthening environmental regulations that can prevent environmental devastation.³⁸

Compared to the two prior subjects of economy and employment, the discussion of the Job Creation Law on environment and sustainability indicates an inverse trend. The discourse of this topic is significantly dominated by the contra group, as shown by the statistical computations in Table 4. Based on the keywords identified, the keyword The Indonesian Forum for Environment (WALHI) occurred significantly in the contra group at the level of $p < 0.0001$, followed by environment and agrarian at the level of $p < 0.001$, land and nature at the level of $p < 0.01$, and soil at the level of $p < 0.05$. Meanwhile, the keyword land bank is equally debated by both groups. This analysis shows that environmental issues are a significant concern for the cons group in confronting the ratification of the Job Creation Law.

Table 7. The concordance of the keywords *environment* and *land bank* in the pro and contra groups

Keyword	Group	Concordance
<i>Environment</i>	Pro	The standard basis of <u>environmental licensing</u> is maintained to support investment entry through the Job Creation Law. The concept of licensing is changed to a risk-based business approach. #JobCreationPreventsLayoffs
	Contra	The Omnibus Law of the Job Creation Law, besides being able to cause ecological disasters, also strengthens the impunity of corporations that destroy the <u>environment</u> . #CancelOmnibusLaw
<i>Land Bank</i>	Pro	The Job Creation Law accelerates land acquisition. Then a <u>Land Bank</u> will be formed to ensure land availability to create new jobs. #JobCreationPreventsLayoffs

³⁷ Nurrochmat et al., 'Transformation of Agro-Forest Management Policy under the Dynamic Circumstances of a Two-Decade Regional Autonomy in Indonesia'; Sutan et al., 'Using Social Media as Tools of Social Movement and Social Protest in Omnibus Law of Job Creation Bill Policy-Making Process in Indonesia'.

³⁸ Nurrochmat et al., 'Transformation of Agro-Forest Management Policy under the Dynamic Circumstances of a Two-Decade Regional Autonomy in Indonesia'.

Contra Do not call it the "Ease of Investment Bill" or Job Creation Law. The Job Creation Law also rides agrarian reform through the Land Bank to make it easier for investors to get land. #RejectJobCreationLaw

Source: proceed by the author (2022)

The ease of investment and the acceleration of job creation will certainly have an impact on environmental sustainability and management. Table 7 illustrates the concordance for the keywords environment and land bank in the pro and con groups of the Job Creation Law. In this case, the pro group argues that the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) licensing remains part of the Job Creation Law implementation. As a result, licensing has been transformed into a risk-based business strategy. According to this group, the Ministry of Environment and Finance affirms that the Job Creation Law does not compromise environmental rules. However, the opponents claim that streamlining the permission procedure also means streamlining environmental permits. In one tweet, the opponent claims that this will cause ecological disasters and corporate impunity, allowing them to avoid sanctions or fines for environmental harm.

D. The Social Consequences of the Friction of the Job Creation Law

An argument or act of violence frequently characterizes friction. It is mainly seen negatively in society, although it is a natural part of human life. It is because friction, conflict, or dispute is nearly impossible to avoid and quite challenging. Friction caused by the enactment of the Job Creation Law has raised some positive and negative social consequences. According to Wirawan³⁹, generally, one of the positive consequences include increased group cohesion. When one group clashes with another, the solidarity of the residents and groups usually grows stronger. Meanwhile, the negative impacts include the destruction or breakdown of group unity, changes in individual personality, property destruction and loss of life, and a party's accommodation, dominance, and submission.

According to Baskerville⁴⁰, conflict management includes avoiding, accommodating, compromising, competing, collaborating, and conglomeration. In the first type of management, avoiding sensitive things that could lead to conflict is avoided as much as possible. This idea is the most effective method of defending the environment from open conflict. The second type, accommodating, is a gathering of various points of view from various parties involved in the conflict. The organization can find a solution by gathering opinions while prioritizing one of the conflicting parties' interests. Unfortunately, this method can still result in new conflicts and must be evaluated regularly. Compromising

³⁹ Wirawan, *Konflik Dan Manajemen Konflik: Teori, Aplikasi, Dan Penelitian* (Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 2010).

⁴⁰ Richard Baskerville, 'Information Security: Adapting to Survive', *Information Systems Security* 2, no. 1 (1993): 40-47.

considers the opinions and interests of all parties. It is a method of conflict resolution in which conflicting parties negotiate and seek a middle path for the common good.

They were competing in resolving conflicts by directing the disputing parties to compete for their respective interests. Ultimately, one party will lose and succumb to the other party's interests. When one side is stronger than the other, this is a backup strategy that is less effective. Collaborating is a method of resolving conflicts by working together to achieve satisfactory results because all parties synergize in solving problems while considering all parties' interests. Finally, conglomeration (mixed type) is a conflict resolution that combines the five types of conflict resolution discussed above. This type of conflict resolution necessitates a significant investment of time and effort. The friction caused by the enactment of the Job Creation Law also raises social consequences, such as increased individual and intergroup solidarity, social disintegration due to broken group relations, group dominance, and the emergence of vengeful acts. Although the friction discussed in this study occurs virtually, the consequences are just as harmful as they are in reality.

IV. CONCLUSION

The ratification of the Job Creation Law drew much debate in the actual and virtual communities. The pro and con groups both have justifications for rejecting or supporting the implementation of the Law. There are three topics of concern based on data processing utilizing statistical tests conducted on the tweets of the two groups, including 1) Financial policy and state economy, 2) Employment, working life, and earnings, and 3) Environment and sustainability. The discussion on the first topic was dominated by the pro group, while the con group dominated the third topic. However, the two groups take a balanced stance when it comes to the second topic. The subjects identified in the first topic include MSME, economy, cooperative, investment, industry, employers, company, taxation, market, investor, and business. Meanwhile, the second topic covers worker, job, unemployment, wages, overtime, severance pays, layoffs, foreign workers, vacancy, laborer, Indonesian Trade Union Confederation (KSPI), employee, and paid leave. The Indonesian Forum for Environment (WALHI), agrarian, land, nature, soil, and land bank are all included in the third topic. This study expects that further research can examine each topic specifically to better grasp the public's perspective on the implementation of the Job Creation Law.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author would like to thank the panel chair, presenters, and participants at the 5th Conference on Human Rights for their constructive feedback, which was co-hosted by the University of Jember's Center for Human Rights, Multiculturalism, and Migration (CHRM2) and the University of Sydney's Southeast Asia Center (SSEAC).

FUNDING

None

CONFLICTING INTEREST

None

REFERENCES

- Adhianto, Mohammad Fandrian. 'Politik Hukum Pembentukan Rancangan Undang-Undang Cipta Kerja (Studi Klaster Ketenagakerjaan)'. *Pamulang Law Review* 3, no. 1 (2020): 1–10.
- Ailenei, Oana, and Frank Moulaert. 'Social Economy, Third Sector and Solidarity Relations: A Conceptual Synthesis from History to Present'. *Urban Studies* 42, no. 11 (2005): 2037–53.
- Bakar, Lastuti Abu, Tri Handayani, and Citra Sukmadilaga. 'Problems in Practice of Şukūk Issuance as Alternative Financing in Indonesia'. *Journal of Shariah Law Research* 6, no. 1 (25 May 2021): 53–66.
- Baker, Paul, Costas Gabrielatos, Majid KhosraviNik, Michał Krzyżanowski, Tony McEnery, and Ruth Wodak. 'A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press'. *Discourse & Society* 19, no. 3 (1 May 2008): 273–306.
- Baskerville, Richard. 'Information Security: Adapting to Survive'. *Information Systems Security* 2, no. 1 (1993): 40–47.
- Bruns, Axel, Jean Burgess, Kate Crawford, and Frances Shaw. *Crisis Communication on Twitter in the 2011 South East Queensland Floods*. Brisbane: ARC Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation, 2012.
- Castle, Jeremiah J., and Kyla K. Stepp. 'Partisanship, Religion, and Issue Polarization in the United States: A Reassessment'. *Political Behavior* 43, no. 3 (September 2021): 1311–35.
- Dahl, Robert A. *Pluralist Democracy in the United States: Conflict and Consent*. New York: Rand McNally, 1967.
- Eriyanto. *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*. Yogyakarta: LKiS Group, 2001.
- Esteban, Joan-Maria, and Debraj Ray. 'On the Measurement of Polarization'. *Econometrica* 62, no. 4 (1994): 819–51.
- Fauzi, Agus Machfud. 'Resistensi Masyarakat Terhadap Pengesahan UU Cipta Kerja Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi Hukum'. *Reformasi Hukum* 25, no. 1 (2021): 77–91.
- Fiorina, Morris P., and Samuel J. Abrams. 'Political Polarization in the American Public'. *Annual Review of Political Science* 11, no. 1 (2008): 563–88.
- Habibi, M. N. 'Analysis of Indonesia Politics Polarization before 2019 President Election Using Sentiment Analysis and Social Network Analysis'. *International Journal of Modern Education & Computer Science* 1, no. 11 (2019).

- Hobolt, Sara B., Thomas J. Leeper, and James Tilley. 'Divided by the Vote: Affective Polarization in the Wake of the Brexit Referendum'. *British Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 4 (October 2021): 1476–93.
- Layman, Geoffrey C., Thomas M Carsey, John C Green, Richard Herrera, and Rosalyn Cooperman. 'Party Polarization, Party Commitment, and Conflict Extension among American Party Activists'. *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 2 (2010): 324–46.
- Lim, Gene, Andrea Waling, Anthony Lyons, Christopher A. Pepping, Anna Brooks, and Adam Bourne. 'The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual People Accessing Mental Health Crisis Support Helplines in Australia'. *Psychology & Sexuality* 13, no. 5 (5 December 2022): 1150–67.
- Novita, Ika, Icha Nur, and Tiara Rose. 'Konstruksi Realitas Media (Analisis Framing Pemberitaan UU Cipta Kerja Omnibus Law Dalam Media Online Vivanews Dan Tirto.Id)'. *Jurnal Syntax Admiration* 2, no. 1 (23 January 2021): 69–84.
- Nurrochmat, Dodik Ridho, Ristianto Pribadi, Hermanto Siregar, Agus Justianto, and Mi Sun Park. 'Transformation of Agro-Forest Management Policy under the Dynamic Circumstances of a Two-Decade Regional Autonomy in Indonesia'. *Forests* 12, no. 4 (April 2021): 419.
- Partington, Alan. 'Corpora and Discourse, a Most Congruous Beast'. *Linguistic Insights - Studies in Language and Communication* 9, no. C (2004): 11–20.
- . 'Modern Diachronic Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (MD-CADS) on UK Newspapers: An Overview of the Project'. *Corpora* 5, no. 2 (2010): 83–108.
- Rayson, Paul, and Roger Garside. 'Comparing Corpora Using Frequency Profiling'. In *The Workshop on Comparing Corpora*, 1–6. Hong Kong, China: Association for Computational Linguistics, 2000.
- Rinscheid, Adrian. 'Crisis, Policy Discourse, and Major Policy Change: Exploring the Role of Subsystem Polarization in Nuclear Energy Policymaking'. *European Policy Analysis* 1, no. 2 (2015): 34–70.
- Scharrer, Erica, and Srividya Ramasubramanian. *Quantitative Research Methods in Communication: The Power of Numbers for Social Justice*. New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Sloan, Luke, Jeffrey Morgan, Pete Burnap, and Matthew Williams. 'Who Tweets? Deriving the Demographic Characteristics of Age, Occupation and Social Class from Twitter User Meta-Data'. *PLOS ONE* 10, no. 3 (2 March 2015): e0115545.
- Sutan, Arissy Jorgi, Achmad Nurmandi, Dyah Mutiarin, and Salahudin. 'Using Social Media as Tools of Social Movement and Social Protest in Omnibus Law of Job Creation Bill Policy-Making Process in Indonesia'. In *Advances in Digital Science: ICADS*, 261–74. New York City: Springer International Publishing, 2021.
- Tajfel, H., and JC Turner. *An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict, In The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. California: Brooks/Cole, 1979.
- Takahashi, Bruno, Edson Tandoc, and Christine Charmichael. 'Communicating on Twitter during a Disaster: An Analysis of Tweets during Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines'. *Computers in Human Behavior* 50 (2015): 392–98.

- Tremblay, Crystal. 'Advancing the Social Economy for Socio-Economic Development: International Perspectives'. *The Canadian Social Economy Research Partnerships (CSERP) 1* (2009): 1-54.
- Vaillancourt, Yves. 'Social Economy in the Co-Construction of Public Policy'. *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics* 80, no. 2 (2009).
- Warburton, Eve. 'Deepening Polarization and Democratic Decline in Indonesia, In Political Polarization in South and Southeast Asia: Old Division, New Dangers', 25-40. Washington DC: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2020.
- Wilson, Tom, Fiona Shalley, and Francisco Perales. 'The Geography of Australia's Marriage Law Postal Survey Outcome'. *Area* 52, no. 1 (n.d.): 164-75.
- Wirawan. *Konflik Dan Manajemen Konflik: Teori, Aplikasi, Dan Penelitian*. Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 2010.
- Wodak, Ruth. *Critical Discourse Analysis, In Qualitative Research Practice*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2004.
- Ye, Shaozhi, and S. Felix Wu. 'Measuring Message Propagation and Social Influence on Twitter.Com'. *Social Informatics* 6430 (2010): 216-31.