Advocacy Journalism of Project Multatuli: A Discourse Analysis of Online Transportation Driver News Reporting

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Abstract

This study aims to discover how the online media Project Multatuli carries out advocacy journalism practices in voicing its support for marginal communities working as online transportation drivers. This study was conducted using a qualitative approach. The unit of analysis used in this study is an article published on the online media Project Multatuli in 2023 in the series rubric #SekrupKecil. Data analysis focuses on macro-micro relationship structures in discourse analysis, which looks for global meanings, topics, or themes and local meanings that form the logic of arguments in discourse. The study results show that the news published by Project Multatuli emphasized the inequality experienced by online transportation drivers and gender discrimination due to implementing a ranking system caused by the power of capitalism. As a result, a social gap emerged among the online transportation drivers. The study results also show that the implementation of gamification is an issue that is often raised and given special attention by Project Multatuli as a practice of advocacy journalism.

INTRODUCTION

Schudson (in Vos, 2018) defines *journalism* as a business or activity that regularly produces and disseminates information about current conditions or problems of public interest. Journalism is a process of collecting, preparing, and distributing news or information to the public. In practice, journalism continues to develop over time. Technological developments in the scope of digitalization provide many conveniences for journalism, so that journalism practices which were previously only performed by relying on conventional media such as television, print media or radio, are now turning to new media in the form of online media because they have advantages in terms of disseminating information.

The main goal of journalism is to convey needed public information to the public. Long & Wall (2012) view the media through three approaches: the media has power, the media makes people have power, and the idea that the media acts as an agent of power. Therefore, journalism has excellent power in influencing the public through opinions conveyed through the media. Journalism is also an arena for

actors who want to show the existence or transformation of their identity. Hence, journalism is also an arena with various parties' interests. However, on the other hand, journalism also has a role as a watchdog that tries to protect society through criticism of government policies and actions or those of parties with power who are seen as cornering or harming the public. The watchdog function encourages journalists to control, correct, and criticize something not following the rules by carrying out advocacy journalism news writing.

Fisher (2016) refers to advocacy as defending other people's goals or arguing in support of an idea, event, or person. Advocacy journalism can be defined as a journalism process related to collecting, verifying, and distributing information on various events and societal problems related to some instances. Advocacy journalism is a force with an attitude to defend or oppose something (Pamungkas & Supriadi, 2022). Advocacy journalism focuses on the position of a journalist who takes a role in helping voice the opinions of certain groups who do not have the power to express their opinions in the media.

Advocacy Journalism

Advocacy journalism is a journalistic practice that emphasizes a journalist's arguments in news based on facts and findings in the field, which aims to shape public opinion (Setiati, in Yusningtyas et al., 2019). Advocacy journalism refers to the active role of media practitioners in interpreting and participating in the voices of marginalized groups and speaking on behalf of the marginalized groups they represent. Advocacy journalism recommends that media coverage include stories to help sustainable development goals that can encourage societal change (ElAlfy et al., 2020). Charles (2013), in his analysis, also concluded that the main emphasis of journalism does not only relies on a balanced news perspective but also requires the ability to tell stories comprehensively to trigger positive change in society. Therefore, the media plays an essential role in the change and development of society through the story process carried out by journalists, which can encourage public participation to be applied to improve human social development (Yousaf et al., 2022). However, apart from shaping public opinion, advocacy journalism can also generate public debate that can influence specific policies and programs (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2019).

Advocacy journalism generally emphasizes reporting related to social problems faced by small communities or groups that do not receive attention but have quite important substance. Advocacy journalism seeks to raise issues that are ignored by mainstream media by presenting news more comprehensively to reveal facts obtained through the results of investigations. More specifically, advocacy journalism has several characteristics that differentiate it from general journalism. First, the emphasis of news in advocacy journalism seeks to reveal problems/threats

against minority groups and emphasizes elements of truth from the results of investigative reports. Second, the issues raised are problems affecting marginalized groups, small communities, human rights violations, and resistance from small people. Third, the primary sources come from victims, small people, minority groups, and eyewitnesses. Fourth, the work priority carried out by advocacy journalism is to raise the issue of state violations against ordinary people who cannot voice their aspirations. Fifth, the principle of legality in news gathering is carried out by disguising when necessary and keeping the identity of the source confidential to avoid threats in the future. Lastly, the hope after news publication in advocacy journalism is the emergence of a societal debate that can strengthen people's rights and improve policies (Setiati, 2005).

Discourse Analysis

Discourse is not only interpreted as the use of language in spoken and written forms but also as a manifestation of social practice. It has a role as a tool closely related to community life that can interact explicitly or implicitly. Through various media that accommodate it and various levels of communication quality produced by discourse, discourse is used to achieve various specific goals (Ratnaningsih, 2019). Cook (in Sukrisno, 2010) defines discourse as the interaction between text and context, perceived as meaningful and coherent by the participants, who are both part of the context and observers of it. Furthermore, discourse is divided into three main categories: everything that goes beyond a sentence, language use, and broader social practices (Schiffrin et al., 2001).

Language is not only used as a means of communication but also as an instrument to implement power strategies and produce meaning in social life. By language, everyone can order, influence, describe, persuade, and manipulate a group to take action (Haryatmoko, 2022). Van Dijk believes that discourse is an abstract theoretical concept, meaning it cannot be seen as a physical form of language. On the other hand, the concrete manifestation of discourse is in the form of text. In Van Dijk's discourse analysis, every word, phrase, clause, sentence, and how they are arranged is considered an element of communication and part of communication politics. Text is an entity that follows a specific pattern so that text can be analyzed comprehensively.

Project Multatuli is an online media that seeks to defend society's interests through advocacy journalism. Project Multatuli is a journalism initiative that carries the concept of public service journalism by raising marginalized voices, neglected communities, and fundamental issues that have been marginalized to impact communities experiencing injustice (Mariani, 2021). Project Multatuli focuses on cases in the community and has produced news articles related to social problems

experienced by marginalized groups or other groups who do not have power in a structural order, including the group of online transportation drivers.

Online transportation is a mode of transportation that is increasingly popular with the public because it offers many conveniences in meeting people's needs in the service sector (Agustin & Khuzaini, 2017). The phenomenon of online transportation has spread so quickly and has been accepted by the public because it is supported by massive reporting in various media. Reports in the media regarding the high income earned by online transportation drivers, coupled with the COVID-19 conditions that have caused many people to lose their jobs, have made working as an online transportation driver a quite promising alternative. However, recently, many complaints have emerged from online transportation drivers due to the high discounts imposed by service provider companies, differences in treatment between fellow drivers referring to the ranking system, and the lack of clarity in regulations in the online transportation sector, causing drivers to experience exploitation by the company and further away from the expected prosperity (Isadiningtyas, 2023).

Research related to journalism tendency is generally carried out by focusing on media practices in defending minorities, which are caused by social construction amidst patriarchal culture or acts of sexual violence that befall minority groups (Astrid, 2019; Maryani & Adiprasetio, 2017; Setiawan et al., 2022), while research on marginal groups formed due to differences in social class has not been carried out much. Therefore, this research aims to find out how the online media Project Multatuli carries out advocacy journalism practices in voicing its support for small communities who work as online motorcycle taxi drivers. Social development and economic development are two vital pillars contained in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2030 (Bappenas, 2023). This study will more specifically examine journalism practices in voicing small groups caused by inequality in social and economic structures.

METHODOLOGY
This study was conducted using a qualitative approach. The constructivist paradigm deeply explores every meaning contained in news articles presented by the online media projectmultatuli.org. The data sources used consist of primary data and secondary data. Primary data was obtained by documenting all news related to the phenomenon of online transportation drivers in Project Multatuli Media. In contrast, secondary data was obtained through literature studies that refer to theoretical and conceptual sources, the results of which can be used as an initial basis for starting research and as a reference in discussing research results. The unit of analysis used in this research is a news article published on the online media

project Multatuli, published in 2023 in the #SekrupKecil series rubric, which specifically reviews marginalized groups who work as online transportation drivers. Biber and Conrad state that discourse context analysis can be conducted by examining the textual environment, which involves analyzing the text's lexical, grammatical, and rhetorical elements. Alternatively, the focus can shift to the extratextual communicative context, referring to the individuals involved, their specific relationships, and their personal motivations for engaging in the interaction.

Furthermore, Martin states that to analyze within a broader framework, it is necessary to conduct cohesion analysis, which is part of the study of texture that considers interactions with other aspects that can form coherence in a text organization (Schiffrin et al., 2001). Based on the above, this study's data analysis focused on macro-micro relationship structures in the context of discourse analysis. Semantic macrostructure analysis is carried out by looking for global meanings, topics, or themes conveyed by the author in a discourse. Microstructure analysis of local meaning is obtained by searching for meaning by terms, metaphors, and grammar to cohesion between sentences that form the logic of arguments in building the basis for the justification of a thesis (Haryatmoko, 2022).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the results of analysis from the news source *projectmultatuli.org*, there are four news stories discussing the marginalized group of online transportation drivers in the *#SekrupKecil* series rubric, which was uploaded in 2023. The first news was uploaded on July 14, 2023, titled "*Di Balik Ambisi Kendaraan Listrik, Ada Mitra Ojol Megap-Megap*". The second news was uploaded on July 20, 2023, titled "*Hari-Hari Lady Ojol: Narik, Kerja Domestik, dan Sulit Sejahtera*". The third news was uploaded on August 2, 2023, with the title "*Rekayasa Gamifikasi Ojol: Memaksa Mitra Bekerja Lebih Lama & Giat, Bikin Sengsara Level Terendah, dan Memecah Solidaritas*". The latest news was uploaded on September 8, 2023, titled "*Bulan Madu Ojol dan Aplikator Sudah Selesai: Bonus Hilang, Ojol Terjerat Dalam Nestapa Panjang*".

The four news stories were taken in different locations to describe each experience of online transportation drivers from various cities. The first news coverage covers online transportation drivers with a background in Depok, Bogor, and the surrounding areas. The second news specifically covers female online motorcycle taxi drivers with a background in the Jakarta and Bekasi areas. The third news story is in Yogyakarta, and the fourth is in Medan. The analysis results are shown in Table 1, Table 2, Table 3, and Table 4.

Table 1. News Text Analysis Framework 1
Title: Di Balik Ambisi Kendaraan Listrik, Ada Mitra Ojol Megap-Megap

Discourse structure	Analysis results
Context	The author describes the context of the conversation with the source in a roadside coffee shop in the Bogor area at 21.30 with quite cold weather. This context is described to give readers an idea of what kind of work patterns partners must do who do not know the time and weather. In addition, each photo in the article is presented in black and white (not colored) to describe the condition of online transportation drivers who are not doing well, are full of complaints, and are far from prosperous. Commonly, black and white images are displayed in a sad atmosphere.
Global Meaning (macrostructure)	The practice of advocacy journalism carried out by Multatuli can be seen from several topics presented, including: - GrabElectric is an implementation of the Electric Vehicle Ecosystem Roadmap initiated by Grab Indonesia together with the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment in December 2019. The roadmap aims to accelerate the adoption of electric transportation in Indonesia. - Grab Indonesia is responsible for all damage to electric motorbikes, but if payment for motorbike rental is delayed for more than 2 days from the specified period, Grab Indonesia will deactivate the partner's account so that the partner cannot operate even though the motorbike can still function. - The electric motorbike battery rental scheme is like buying internet credit. Each

Discourse structure	Analysis results
	- price has a different range of provisions.
	- Some drivers are not renting from Grab Indonesia but from another electric motorbike company with the Volta brand because it is more flexible to use it.
	- The choice to switch from a regular motorbike taxi to GrabElectric does not come with an awareness of supporting government programs or environmental improvements, but rather because the gasoline-fueled vehicle owned is damaged.
	- Becoming a GrabElectric partner has no advantages over regular partners.
	- Grab Indonesia's policy of implementing a level scheme makes partners want to compete and causes gamification.
	- The implementation of a 20% commission/application rental cut increases the burden on partners while the meter rate decreases.
	- The amount of the rate in the combined order system (a system for serving two food orders at once) is equivalent to the rate for serving only one order.
	- The implementation of the combined order system makes partners potentially subject to consumer complaints because the delivery duration increases, which can change the quality of the food ordered. Consumer complaints will affect the level scheme of partners.
	- The incentive policy in the form of converting diamonds into money is no longer attractive to partners because the requirements are too difficult to fulfill.

Discourse structure	Analysis results
	Based on the topic above, the author aims to criticize government policies regarding the implementation of electric vehicles that do not side with the common people. The policies put more pressure on online motorcycle taxi drivers and forced them to submit to the power of capital owners (capitalist ideology).
Local Meaning /microstructure	Since the beginning of the opening sentence, the author has invited readers to find out what meaning they want to convey, namely that becoming an electric motorbike partner does not make the partners' lives more decent. This main idea can be seen in the following sentence: "*Ratusan kilometer jarak tempuh, puluhan jam hidup di jalanan, dan kehidupan mitra motor listrik belum tentu sejahtera. Apa risiko terbesar dari semua ini? Imajinasi mereka tentang kehidupan yang layak perlahan memudar.*" "Hundreds of kilometers of distance traveled, dozens of hours of living on the streets, and the lives of electric motorbike partners are not necessarily prosperous. What is the biggest risk of all this? Their imagination of a decent life is slowly fading." The author used this sentence from the beginning, emphasizing the use of *italics words* so that it becomes the part that is easiest to remember and reproduce by readers, to arouse the opinion that Grab Electric Partners is a group that was harmed by the Grab Indonesia company. In other words, the author represents Grab Indonesia as a party with a negative side while the partners have a positive side.

Discourse structure	Analysis results
	Furthermore, the organization of local meanings carried out by the author can also be seen from the choice of using positive language when associated with partners, such as the use of the language "*penyedia jasa keamanan dan kebersihan*" rather than "*cleaning service* or *tukang sapu*" which has a negative connotation, or the use of the word "beroperasi" rather than "narik". The author uses positive sentences to construct the idea that partners are also workers who deserve respect and treatment equally.
	In addition, the author also tries to provide meaning to readers by presenting a conclusion at the end of the article that partners have no other choice but to survive as hard as they can in doing their jobs as online motorcycle taxi drivers. The author made this conclusion to provide meaning to readers that online motorcycle taxi partners are the ones who are harmed and trapped by the capitalist system.

Source: Results Analysis

Table 2. News Text Analysis Framework 2
Title: Hari-Hari Lady Ojol: Narik, Kerja Domestik, dan Sulit Sejahtera

Discourse structure	Analysis results
Context	The purpose of this article is to describe the various types of work done by female online motorcycle taxi drivers, which are no less difficult than men's. In addition to doing online motorcycle taxi work that cannot meet the needs of life, female drivers also do other jobs, such as catering businesses and becoming domestic workers, which are not done by male drivers.
	The author also conveys the context by presenting photos of female online motorcycle taxi drivers carrying out package delivery services with very

Discourse structure	Analysis results
	large sizes and describing their experiences of carrying refrigerators using motorbikes. Furthermore, the author also discusses the long distances traveled by female online drivers, up to 41 kilometers, in the Jakarta, Depok, and Bogor areas. This aims to illustrate the long distances that female online motorcycle taxi drivers must also travel. In addition, each photo in this article is presented in black-and-white to illustrate concern for the condition of female online motorcycle taxi drivers because black-and-white images generally convey a sad atmosphere.
Global Meaning (macrostructure)	Some of the topics discussed in this article are: - A survey by the Ministry of Transportation's Transportation Policy Agency in September 2022 showed that the increase in fares resulted in a decrease in orders, so companies reduced bonuses, which affected drivers who were increasingly squeezed economically. - The survey also stated that the income earned by drivers was almost the same as the costs incurred per day. - Only high-performing drivers can make more money from the bonus scheme because bonuses are increasingly difficult to obtain with high-order completion targets - Startup companies tend to make large investments through promotions for consumers and bonuses for partners only at the beginning of their operations to achieve growth quickly, but when the network effect has been created, the 'honeymoon phase' ends. - The targets set for partners by the company to get bonuses are very high, making it difficult for drivers to achieve

Discourse structure	Analysis results
	- The emergence of many new delivery applications such as Grab, Gojek, Shopee, and - Maxim, there are also Tetanggaku, Messi Ojol, Suz, and RaRa, making the competition to get customers even tighter. - Online motorcycle taxis are a field of work that women can access because the requirements are easy and do not require special skills. - Grab Indonesia does not directly verify partners when their accounts are hacked; Grab Indonesia will unilaterally terminate the partnership unfairly. - When a customer reports, the app does not pay attention to or consider it from the driver's side. - The company increases the number of drivers but does not think about the welfare of existing drivers. - Female online motorcycle taxi drivers often experience order cancellations when they are going to take male passengers, which reaches 2.7%. Based on the topic above, the author aims to describe the various injustices experienced by online motorcycle taxi driver-partners, which are caused by, among other things, the bonus scheme policy implemented by online transportation companies. In addition, the author of the article illustrates that although female online motorcycle taxi drivers have tried to do their jobs equally with men, they often experience gender-based discrimination by consumers.
Local Meaning /microstructure	In this article, the author builds local meaning for readers by including quotes regarding opinions or study results that show injustice experienced by partners. Quotes from figures from academic circles, namely Lecturers at the Faculty of Law,

Discourse structure	Analysis results
	Gadjah Mada University, highlight the partnership relationship between online motorcycle taxi drivers and platform companies that have not been regulated in labor law in Indonesia, which causes online drivers to not receive protection from the state in terms of work safety to income inequality between male and female drivers will make readers more convinced that partners are the disadvantaged party, and online transportation companies are the disadvantaged party (negative party). The author also describes every complaint felt by a female online driver (Lady Ojol) so that readers can feel what Lady Ojol difficulties.
	Furthermore, the author also tries to provide meaning to readers by using several metaphorical languages , such as "*jalur neraka*" to emphasize that the working conditions experienced by online drivers are very difficult and "*ilusi mitra*" to describe that the welfare expected by online drivers is just a trick from online transportation companies.

Source: Results Analysis

Table 3. News Text Analysis Framework 3
Title: Rekayasa Gamifikasi Ojol: Memaksa Mitra Bekerja Lebih Lama & Giat, Bikin Sengsara Level Terendah, dan Memecah Solidaritas

Discourse structure	Analysis results
Context	This article illustrates that gamification that applies to a level scheme makes it difficult for partners to get orders. The context is presented by mentioning the length of time it took drivers to get orders since activating the application at 09.00, but orders still needed to be received by 10.30. It is also narrated that some only got two orders from 08.00 to 14.00. This sequence is made to illustrate that, currently, it takes work for partners to get orders from consumers.

Discourse structure	Analysis results
	In addition, the author compared the background of online motorcycle taxi activities in Yogyakarta with the city of Jabodetabek, which has been discussed in other articles, to show that drivers in various cities are in a concerning condition. In addition, each photo in this article is presented in black-and-white to illustrate concern for the condition of female online motorcycle taxi drivers because black-and-white images generally convey a sad atmosphere.
Global Meaning (macrostructure)	The topics raised in this article are: - Gamification or online motorcycle taxi levelling system makes drivers divided - Gamification causes injustice to partners at the lowest level because the number of orders depends on each level of online transportation drivers. - The ranking system causes a decrease in income of up to 50% - Gamification requires more time to work up to 10 hours/day to level up. - To level up, drivers must collect thousands of points, while for one trip, it is only around 15-20 points. - The levelling system makes each driver individualistic, competing and not caring about other fellow drivers. - Drivers who get around the lack of orders by becoming *'double agents'* on several platforms change their work concept from being partners to being more like workers. - Fantastic income and bonuses in early 2017 made many people tempted to make the profession of online transportation drivers their primary source of income. - Complaints from drivers submitted to the Gojek office never received a response. From the topic above, the author is trying to uncover all the impacts caused by the

Discourse structure	Analysis results
	implementation of the level system (gamification), which is very detrimental to partners. However, the company never responded to every complaint submitted.
Local Meaning /microstructure	At the beginning of the opening sentence, the author invites readers to find out what meaning he wants to convey that the online motorcycle taxi levelling system (gamification) is very detrimental to partners, as in the following sentence: "*Gamifikasi atau sistem pelevelan ojek online membuat para pengemudi terkotak-kotak. Sistem tersebut juga merusak perekonomian para pengemudi karena pendapatan turun drastis bagi yang berada pada level paling rendah*." "Gamification or the online motorcycle taxi levelling system makes drivers compartmentalized. This system also damages the economy of drivers because income drops drastically for those at the lowest level." The author emphasizes the sentence in italics so that it becomes the part that is easiest to remember and reproduce by readers. The aim is to arouse an opinion that online motorcycle taxi drivers experience oppression in the capitalist system of gig companies due to the implementation of driver rankings. To invite readers to interpret that the income earned by drivers has decreased drastically and has not been able to meet their living needs, the author illustrates by detailing the income and living expenses incurred by Eko, an online driver in Jogja, who sometimes also looks for additional loans from outside. The author does this to convince readers that the gamification system carried out by the company is indeed strangling the economic needs

Discourse structure	Analysis results
	of drivers.
	To further convince readers, the author also quotes statements about the disagreement of various figures regarding the levelling system, which is considered to cause various problems for partners. With the statements from the figures of the association, the Secretary-General of the GoJek Driver Jogjakarta Association (Pagodja) and researchers from the Institute of Government and Public Affairs, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP) Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), it will strengthen the anxiety felt by drivers due to the implementation of the levelling system carried out by online transportation companies. It is also stated that the application service provider cannot be blamed if online drivers do not earn income; drivers are controlled through the system and forced to follow the company's rules. The lure in the gamification system makes drivers not social class but individuals who compete. Moreover, this further reveals the negative side of companies implementing the gamification system.
	Furthermore, to strengthen the local meaning for readers, the author also uses the analogy that the applicator is the referee. In contrast, drivers are the ones who compete. This parable aims to make readers understand gamification's impact, which divides drivers between themselves.

Source: Results Analysis

Table 4. News Text Analysis Framework 4
Title: Bulan Madu Ojol dan Aplikator Sudah Selesai: Bonus Hilang, Ojol Terjerat Dalam Nestapa Panjang

Discourse structure	Analysis results
Context	This article's background is in Medan, North Sumatra. Again, the author takes the background in another city that is different from the three previous

Discourse structure	Analysis results
	articles to show the difficulties drivers face in various cities related to the lack of orders also caused by the gamification system.
Global Meaning (macrostructure)	- Gojek often changed the partnership system related to bonus achievements starting in April 2016 until the implementation of a periodic bonus system with point determination starting from points 10, 22, to 34 in the following year. - Partners are trapped in the point system, making them work more than 8 hours until late at night to chase the total points to get a bonus. - On July 17, 2020, Gojek again changed the partnership system by removing the periodic bonus and replacing it with a blessing program with a driver scheme that only gets IDR 50,000 for seven orders and will get an additional bonus of IDR 20,000 - However, in practice, the blessing bonus does not apply if the driver takes orders above seven orders, which has triggered protests by partners in several cities, including Medan, in March 2020. - The length of time someone has been a Gojek partner does not guarantee a level-up because it is not included in the assessment. The applicant only looks at performance based on the system they create. - Drivers can maintain their priority level if they accept customer orders without rejection, so drivers are forced to work continuously. - Additional costs for each order (such as packaging costs for GoFood services, application usage fees, and shipping protection costs) and a 20% cut from income have reduced partners' income. On the other hand, the use of application fees has also resulted in complaints from customers. - The cooperation contract and system built by the application company cannot be negotiated, so partners must comply with the provisions made unilaterally.

Discourse structure	Analcysis results
	- The gamification system tends to dehumanize humans and creates conditions where there are partners who lose and win, resulting in competition between drivers - Partners must always be ready to receive orders to maintain their level. They are vulnerable to accidents due to fatigue and loss of time that should be used for rest or vacation. - The basis for calculating rates that do not comply with Article 11 of the Minister of Transportation Regulation PM No. 12 of 2019 also contributes to incomes still being far from decent standards. - By recruiting as many drivers as possible, the applicator can pay cheaply and impose sanctions unilaterally. - In the applicable regulations, the deductions to partners have been set at a maximum of 25 per cent, but there are applications that deduct up to 40%. From the topics in the article, the author is trying to present a global theme about changes in the Gojek partnership system that often change, causing suffering for partners. Partners who initially received many bonuses from incoming orders now find it even more difficult to get orders. Inappropriate tariff calculations to additional application fee deductions are increasingly strangling partners, but partners have no choice because the application company made the work contract agreement unilaterally.
Local Meaning /microstructure	At the beginning of the opening sentence, the author invites readers to interpret that Gojek can no longer provide welfare to partners like when it first appeared. The author uses italics as the part that is easiest for readers to remember and reproduce. This goal is stated in the following sentence: *"Pada tahun 2015 ketika Gojek hadir menawarkan kesejahteraan dan fleksibilitas kerja pada mitranya. Para mitra yang sempat mencicipi masa jayanya,*

Discourse structure	Analcysis results
	kini hanya bisa mengenang itu semua sebagai sebuah cerita masa lalu. Bonus kecil yang makin sulit dicapai dan potongan dari aplikator bikin sejumlah mitra terlunta-lunta." "In 2015, Gojek was present offering welfare and work flexibility to its partners. Partners who had tasted its glory days can now only remember it all as a story from the past. Small bonuses that are increasingly difficult to achieve and cuts from the applicator have left a number of partners stranded." In delivering local meaning, the author describes the applicator as a party with a negative side, which can be seen from the quote from a UGM researcher who stated that the cooperation contract made unilaterally by the application company left partners with no choice but to submit to the system. The company's gamification system has trapped and forced partners to work hard and follow the rules made unilaterally. In addition, the author uses the analogy of partner-level ranking with a "*caste system*" to convey that it is difficult for drivers to move up a level.

Source: Results Analysis

Macrostructure
The macrostructure is the global meaning of discourse by describing themes or topics in detail, which are abstracted at a more general level (Surya R et al., 2023). Macrostructure contains general meaning that can be analyzed through themes or topics in news or discourse. In presenting news articles, Project Multatuli covers different topics in each publication. With this specific topic, the Multatuli project can provide a detailed picture of the problems faced by marginalized groups of online transportation drivers in every element that can form a single online motorcycle taxi ecosystem.

The first news from Project Multatuli, "*Di Balik Ambisi Kendaraan Listrik, Ada Mitra Ojol Megap-Megap*", raised the theme of the absence of guarantees regarding welfare and privileges by becoming an electric motorbike-based Grab Indonesia

partner News articles aim to criticize government policies in implementing electric vehicles that do not side with ordinary people. The policies put more pressure on online motorcycle taxi drivers and forced them to submit to the power of capital owners (capitalist ideology). The topic in this news explains that being a partner who uses an electric motorbike is not much different from being a partner who uses a petrol motorbike. Partners with electric motorbikes receive the same treatment regarding the ranking scheme, which affects the number of orders. Discounts of 20% of total income and discounts on application fees are also burdens that must be faced by online drivers based on electric motorbikes. Even partners with electric motorbikes still must face obligations in terms of daily electric motorbike rental payments, which do not include battery rental, which online drivers who use conventional motorbikes do not face.

In the second news article, "*Hari-Hari Lady Ojol: Narik, Kerja Domestik, dan Sulit Sejahtera*", Project Multatuli attempts to raise the theme of various injustices experienced by female online motorcycle taxi driver partners due to the bonus scheme policy. The theme in this news shows that gender inequality also occurs when women become online motorcycle taxi drivers. The public's perception that it is safer to travel with a male driver rather than a female driver makes their position inferior in the online motorcycle taxi contest. Meanwhile, women have the same living needs as men, which means women must work extra hours outside of online motorcycle taxi work.

The third news article, titled "*Rekayasa Gamifikasi Ojol: Memaksa Mitra Bekerja Lebih Lama & Giat, Bikin Sengsara Level Terendah, dan Memecah Solidaritas*", seeks to raise the topic of weaknesses and losses caused by the existence of a ranking system (levels) for online transportation drivers. The topic in this news attempts to provide an overview of the negative impact of the ranking system, which consists of a decrease in drivers' income, work hours exceeding ordinary, which can take more than 10 hours, the high number of points that must be collected to raise the level, causing drivers to become individualistic and not pay attention to other fellow online drivers. This condition causes many drivers to become double agents with other service providers to increase their income, which also increases the driver's burden.

The fourth news in the Multatuli media project entitled "*Bulan Madu Ojol dan Aplikator Sudah Selesai: Bonus Hilang, Ojol Terjerat Dalam Nestapa Panjang*" carries the theme of changes in the Gojek partnership system, which often changes and causes suffering for partners. In addition, the article highlights the differences in the welfare of online drivers from when online motorcycle taxis first appeared to when they are still in use. At the beginning of the emergence of online motorcycle taxis, many people were tempted by the income earned by online motorcycle taxis which

exceeded their primary income and made them make online transportation drivers their main job. However, the longer they pursue this profession, the more changes they experience in the partnership system, starting from a bonus system that requires them to work beyond regular working hours not to have days off, levelling that influences the number of orders so that they compete with fellow drivers. Furthermore, they cannot escape the bonds of the partnership system that has shackled them.

Project Multatuli positions itself in the news by choosing a title that explicitly explains the concerns of the marginalized group of online transportation drivers. Details of the events are also explained in detail to become supporting sentences coherent with the title used. In presenting news, Project Multatuli clearly shows its position in voicing marginalized groups who cannot express their aspirations. Writing news begins with a title that can attract the sympathy of news readers, and narrating the introduction and content of the news by quoting direct statements from online transportation drivers is Project Multatuli's way of expressing facts while still encouraging readers to continue to pay close attention to the content of the news delivered. The news closes with criticism or statements regarding the published news, and some even quote statements from influential figures who support the content of the news being discussed, further strengthening Project Multatuli's point of view. The preparation of the news has been carried out using a plot that forms the text, which can lead the reader to understand every detail of the news.

Microstructure
Microstructure is the meaning of discourse inferred from small text parts such as words, sentences, propositions, clauses, and others (Prihartono & Suharyo, 2022). Microstructure is divided into semantic microstructure, syntactic microstructure, stylistic microstructure and rhetorical microstructure (Ratnaningsih, 2019).

Based on the analysis results, there are differences in the reporting background elements in the four news stories uploaded by Project Multatuli. The first report had the background that the emergence of GrabElectric was an implementation of the Electric Vehicle Ecosystem Roadmap initiated by Grab Indonesia and the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment, giving rise to the existence of electric vehicle partners. The second report is based on the ease of the requirements to become an online transportation driver so that women can also take part in this job. The third report has a background in gamification in online motorcycle taxi accounts with the implementation of a ranking system, giving rise to competition between online drivers. Meanwhile, the fourth report has the background that many online transportation drivers joined because the income tempted them at the beginning of the heyday of online motorcycle taxis. However,

when that glory was over, the drivers were trapped in the partnership system and could not escape the trap.

The four news items have the same elements. The four news stories explain more about the stages in earning points, schemes for increasing driver levels, and the minimal income earned even though working hours are maximum. It shows that most problems online transportation drivers face are the same across all service providers, such as GoJek, Grab, Shopee food, and others. The reporting on the Multatuli project is carried out explicitly by including arguments embedded in the title or through a detailed presentation of the news to provide understanding to the reader. The four news stories direct readers to see the helpless condition of online transportation drivers amidst binding partnership regulations. The microstructure carried out by Project Multatuli shows that critical discourse leads to the disclosure of hegemonic practices and power represented in social contexts. In contrast, discourse contributes to the construction of social power (Ramanathan & Tan, 2015).

Moreover, in the reporting carried out by Project Multatuli, the word usage tends to use soft vocabulary in describing a marginalized group. It can be seen from several uses of words in the four sentences. First, use the word "*penyedia jasa keamanan*" instead of "*satpam*". Then, use the word "*beroperasi*" to replace the word "*ngojek*". Next, use the word "*pekerja lepas*" instead of the word "*buruh*". And then use the word "*diberhentikan*" as a synonym for the word "*dipecat*". Finally, use the word "*pengemudi*" as a substitute for the word "*tukang ojek*". It shows that Project Multatuli is trying to equalize the position of marginalized people in the social strata of society so that they are not seen as lower than other groups. Of course, this is in line with the main aim of the Multatuli project as a media that carries advocacy journalism that has a perspective that supports marginalized groups.

In attracting the reader's attention, it is necessary to use a strategy in using language. A metaphor is a figure of speech to equate something. Based on the analysis results, it was found that the four news stories in Project Multatuli media used metaphors. The use of metaphors is vital so that the target audience wants to continue reading the news presented until the end so that readers can accept the main ideas the journalist wants to convey. Because the story process carried out by journalists can encourage participation and change people's perceptions of a phenomenon (Yousaf et al., 2022).

CONCLUSION

Based on the analysis of the four news articles in Project Multatuli that were published in the #SekrupKecil series, it concluded that Project Multatuli has succeeded in raising the issue of injustice experienced by online transportation

drivers through a series of articles with a robust advocacy journalism approach. Each article explores in detail the dimensions of the problems faced by drivers, ranging from electric vehicle policies and gender discrimination to the implementation of gamification systems and changes in partnership schemes. This approach shows a tendency towards marginalized groups, highlights the impact of capitalist policies that affect the welfare of online transportation drivers, and reveals how partnership systems often benefit capital owners while burdening partners.

Main Themes

Each article is designed to reveal a specific aspect of the experience of online transportation drivers, making each theme unique but complementary. The themes of electric vehicles, gender inequality, gamification, and changes in partnership systems reveal the bitter reality drivers face. The author criticizes government policies and application companies and builds a narrative that this marginalized group is trapped in a structure that further deepens social and economic inequality.

News Packaging Strategy

The selection of article titles that directly invite readers to the essence of the problem strengthens the appeal while providing an overview of the article's contents. Using good language styles in associating online drivers is a form of respect for marginalized groups and helps change the public perception of often underrated jobs. In addition, the metaphors used also help create an emotional appeal that inspires readers to understand and feel the injustice experienced by drivers.

Context and Detail Elements

The diverse settings, ranging from Bogor, Jakarta, and Jogja to Medan, show that this problem is national and not limited to one region. The use of black and white photos in the article also strengthens the message of concern that is being conveyed. In addition, the author packages the article by including quotes from relevant academics and practitioners, providing legitimacy to the arguments presented. The emphasis on data such as distance travelled, working hours, details of income and expenses show seriousness in supporting the narrative with facts.

Local Meaning and Social Criticism

Project Multatuli consistently uses a narrative that sides with online transportation drivers as the disadvantaged group. It can be seen from the depiction of the application company as a capitalist entity that exploits drivers. Criticism of the gamification system, which creates harmful competition among drivers, and the unilateral contract system, which shackles their freedom, emphasizes the structural injustice at the heart of this problem.

The Role of Advocacy Journalism

As a media committed to advocacy journalism, Project Multatuli seeks to voice the concerns of marginalized groups who are often marginalized in mainstream discourse. Through these articles, the media outlet depicts the suffering of online transportation drivers and provides a critical perspective on how government policies and application companies contribute to social inequality.

With a robust narrative approach and in-depth analysis, Project Multatuli has successfully conveyed the issue of injustice comprehensively experienced by online transportation drivers. These articles are journalistic reports and tools to raise public awareness and encourage social change. The macro and microstructures applied in the articles reflect an effort to present a critical discourse that encourages readers to understand and sympathize with the struggles of marginalized groups. Through touching narratives and firm facts, Project Multatuli has demonstrated the potential of journalism as an agent of social change.

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