

Online News: Media Framing On Indonesia's Capital City Relocation Policy

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Abstract

Objectives: The research aims to describe the position of the media in Indonesia in constructing an event using framing analysis.

Methods: One of the framing analysis forms existing in communications research is that by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, which involves four major structures, namely, syntactic structures, script structures, thematic structures, and rhetorical structures. Framing analysis is a form of qualitative research. It particularly has relevance to the phenomenon of capital city relocation news reporting. Data were collected from online news reports by four media outlets, namely, Metro TV, CNN Indonesia, CNBC Indonesia, and Kompas TV. The news reports analyzed were set within the time frame between April of 2019 and January of 2022. All the online news reports pertaining to the capital city relocation were compared between the four media outlets to draw a conclusion as to how the media outlets positioned themselves in constructing the event under investigation.

Results: The findings indicated that each television media outlet presented news on the capital city relocation policy in their respective fashions: Metro TV showed approval, CNBC Indonesia and CNN Indonesia did an inclination towards disapproval, and Kompas TV did a neutral view regarding the capital city relocation policy.

Conclusions: The four media that were the object of research show that each media has a different agenda regarding events that occurred in Indonesia, especially the relocation of the capital city. These differences come from differences in motives, vision and mission, ideology, political affiliation and goals.

Keywords: Online news, framing, television media, new capital city, Indonesia.

الأخبار عبر الإنترنت: التأطير الإعلامي لسياسة نقل العاصمة الإندونيسية

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ملخص

الأهداف: تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى وصف موقف وسائل الإعلام في إندونيسيا من بناء حدث باستخدام تحليل التأطير. **المنهجية:** إن أحد أشكال تحليل التأطير الموجودة في أبحاث الاتصالات هو ذلك الذي قام به تشونغ دانغ بان وجيرالد م. كوسكي، الذي يتضمن أربعة هياكل رئيسية، وهي الهياكل النحوية، وهياكل النص، والهياكل الموضوعية، والهياكل البلاغية. إن تحليل التأطير هو شكل من أشكال البحث النوعي وله صلة خاصة بظاهرة التقارير الإخبارية المتعلقة بنقل العاصمة. جرى جمع البيانات من التقارير الإخبارية عبر الإنترنت من خلال أربع وسائل إعلام، وهي: Metro TV، و CNN Indonesia، و CNBC Indonesia، و Kompas TV. جرى تحديد التقارير الإخبارية التي حُلّت ضمن الإطار الزمني بين أبريل 2019 ويناير 2022. وجرى مقارنة جميع التقارير الإخبارية عبر الإنترنت المتعلقة بنقل العاصمة بين وسائل الإعلام الأربعة للتوصل إلى نتيجة حول الطريقة التي بينت فيها وسائل الإعلام موقفها من الحدث.

النتائج: أشارت النتائج إلى أن كل وسيلة إعلامية تلفزيونية قدمت أخبارًا عن سياسة نقل العاصمة بأسلوبها الخاص، فمثلاً أظهر تلفزيون مترو الموافقة في حين أبدت قناة سي إن بي سي إندونيسيا وسي إن إن إندونيسيا ميلاً نحو الرفض، أما تلفزيون كومباس فكان له وجهة نظر محايدة فيما يتعلق بسياسة نقل العاصمة.

الخلاصة: أظهرت النتائج أن لكل وسيلة من وسائل الإعلام الأربعة التي شكلت موضوع البحث أجندة مختلفة فيما يتعلق بالأحداث التي وقعت في إندونيسيا، وخاصة نقل العاصمة. وتأتي هذه الاختلافات من الاختلافات في الدوافع والرؤية والرسالة والأيدولوجية والانتماء السياسي والأهداف.

الكلمات الدالة: أخبار الإنترنت، تأطير، وسائل الإعلام التلفزيونية، العاصمة الجديدة، إندونيسيا.



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1. Introduction

Television and the Internet had not been in use as information dissemination media until the 20th century, prior to which print and radio media had been gaining popularity as media for relaying messages and information (Lie, 2002), including political ones, to the public (Ismawani et al., 2019). The emergence of the Internet today has altered the way in which the public search news sites or information (Haythornthwaite & Kendall, 2010). As a result of the introduction of the Internet, active online news and newspapers on the World Wide Web are treated as channels by audiences to read, discuss, and share news content (Kemp, 2023). Although currently other mass media platforms serving the same functions abound, the survey results by Katadata Insight Center (KIC) and the Ministry of Information and Communications of the Republic of Indonesia revealed that the public were more confident in the television media in acquiring information. This survey employed the multistage random sampling method with a margin of error $\pm 0.98\%$ at the 95% confidence interval on 10,000 respondents who were household members aged 13–70 years and accessing the Internet within the last three months across 34 provinces in Indonesia from the 4th to the 24th of October 2021. The results showed that 47% of the respondents preferred the television media as their trusted media, and 22.4% did the social media. Both the television and social media were superior to government sites (17.9%) as trusted media. Following them were online news (8%), print media (1.8%), and radio (0.7%). A total of 0.4% of the respondents did not trust the media, and 1.9% never accessed information at all (Delphia, 2022).

One of the currently heatedly discussed events is the Indonesian government's policy regarding capital city relocation from DKI Jakarta Province to North Penajam Paser Regency and Kutai Kartanegara Regency of East Kalimantan (Kemsetneg, 2023; metrotvnews, 2019b). This Indonesian capital city relocation effort was commenced in 2019 during President Joko Widodo's office as part of the National Medium-Term Development Plan of 2020–2024. The plan of moving a capital city is in fact not unprecedented as previously Indonesia has moved its capital city multiple times, although it never did the designing of its own capital city from scratch (Ayundari, 2022; Riana, 2019). Thus far, the government only does a patch work on a preexisting capital city. This capital city relocation policy has gained pros and cons among the community, which are concerned with the selection of the location of the new capital city, the budgeting plan, the naming of the new capital city, the design of the new capital city, and the passing of a bill that is considered too rushed (Anam, 2022; Mangihot, 2022).

Each television media platform has its own standpoint in delivering news on the capital city relocation policy that suits its own agenda. Using written language, speech, image, and sound, the television media constructs every reality under its coverage in a mechanism called framing, which makes the capital city relocation policy emphasized, exaggerated, disguised, or even left uncovered altogether in its every reality construction (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Scheufele, 1999).

This research sought to analyze how the capital city relocation to East Kalimantan policy was presented by the television media and to see how social reality was framed and constructed by the television media outlets Metro TV, CNN Indonesia, CNBC Indonesia, and Kompas TV from April of 2019 to January of 2022. The four media outlets were selected for comparison to see the television media construction in framing news related to the policy of moving the capital city to Kalimantan. Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's framing concept is composed of four major structures, namely, syntactic structures (how journalists put together words), script structures (how journalists tell stories of facts), thematic structures (how journalists write about facts), and rhetorical structures (how journalists emphasize facts) (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

2. Literature Review

2.1. Social Construction of Reality

Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman first introduced the social construction of reality theory in 1966. They define the social construction of reality theory as theory that describes a social process through actions and interactions, where individuals continuously create a reality that is owned and experienced together subjectively. According to them, a dialectic occurs between society-creating individual and individual-creating society. Berger refers to this dialectical process as moment. This dialectical process goes through three stages. The first of the stages is externalization, which refers to human's attempt to express him/herself into the world, both in mental activity and physical objectivation (Steets, 2015). The attained

result from externalization activity, both mental and physical, underlies individual's and others' understanding, as well as the understanding of the world as something meaningful from social reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Bungin, 2021; Steets, 2015).

The study on the social construction of reality is applied in various fields, among which is framing (Carter, 2013). Framing is media's construction of an event based on the journalist's subjective perspectives. These perspectives are built upon the journalist's motive that is in line with the media's agenda in publishing the event to the public.

2.2. Framing Zhongdang Pan and M. Kosicki

Pan and Kosicki see frame as an idea that is linked up to various different elements in news text, source quotes, information backgrounds, and certain word or sentence usages in the text as a whole. Frame is concerned with giving meaning, interpretation, emphasis (Kornprobst, 2017; Speakman, 2021; Wichgers et al., 2020), and evaluation to an event (Vreese, 2005). According to them, in framing analysis, one gives meaning to an event as can be seen from the marker devices presented in the text by operationalizing four dimensions of news text structures as framing devices, namely, syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures. The four structural dimensions form a sort of theme that links up the semantic elements of a news narration in a global coherence. This model assumes that every piece of news has a frame that functions as a central organizing idea. The framing devices in Pan and Kosicki's approach can be divided into the following four big structures:

First, syntactic structures that assemble facts or events in a news text in the forms of statements, opinions, quotes, and observations of the events and organize them in news generic organization. The framing device is news scheme, and the units observed are headline, lead, information background, source quotes, statements, and closure. Syntactic structures may provide the journalist with useful cues in giving meaning to an event and in knowing where the news is headed (Zottola et al., 2019).

Second, script structures that tell stories of facts in the news text. These structures look at the strategies and methods of telling stories or speaking used by the journalist in packaging an event into a news form. The framing device is news comprehensiveness, and the units are observed through 5Ws + 1H. These elements of news comprehensiveness may serve as important framing markers, but if any of them is missing, then it will lead to emphasis or concealment of facts (Fredheim, 2020).

Third, thematic structures that are concerned with fact writing or the way of expressing views in news text on an event by propositions, sentences, or relations between sentences that compose the text as a whole. The framing devices of thematic structures consist of details, meanings, nominalization, coherence, sentence forms, and relations between sentences. Thematic structures actually are analysis tools that are used to see how facts are written, how sentences are used, and how sources are placed and written in the news text as a whole (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Lastly, rhetorical structures that are concerned with emphasizing facts in the news text. The framing devices used are lexicons, graphics, metaphors, and marking with the analysis units of words, idioms, images, photos, and graphs. Lexicons per se reflect the word choice in a certain sentence. When writing news and stressing meaning on an event, the journalist will use all discursive strategies to convince the public that the news he/she has written is accurate (Eriyanto, 2002).

3. Methods

This qualitative research employed framing analysis. Framing is defined as a process of choosing certain aspects that are emphasized in a media news report that is to be communicated to the public (Alitavoli, 2019; Baran, 2021; Falkheimer & Olsson, 2014; Liu, 2020; West & Turner, 2018; Zottola et al., 2019). This research selected the framing approach by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. Pan and Kosicki see frame as an idea that is linked up to various different elements in news text, source quotes, information backgrounds, and certain word or sentence usages in the text as a whole using four big structures, namely, 1) syntactic, 2) script, 3) thematic, and 4) rhetorical structures (Eriyanto, 2002; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Prawira, 2014).

The object of analysis in this research was online news on the Indonesian capital city relocation policy on four television

media outlets, namely, Metro TV, CNBC Indonesia, CNN Indonesia, and Kompas TV, between April 2019 and January 2022. The four media outlets were set as analysis units using the purposive sampling technique. The four media outlets were selected because they were considered online media outlets most frequently accessed by the Indonesian community (Pahlevi, 2022).

4. Results

4.1. Metro TV

Metro TV is a private television network founded by PT Media Televisi Indonesia which officially broadcast on November 25 2000. Initially it was established as a joint venture between Media Group and Bimantara Citra. Then since October 2003 Metro TV was wholly owned by the Media Group (Rahayu, 2014). Metro TV was founded by two people, namely Surya Paloh as the owner of Media Indonesia Group and Sumita Tobing as a television executive who previously worked at National Television of the Republic of Indonesia and Surya Citra Televisi. However, currently Metro TV is fully owned by Surya Paloh (Nasdem, 2011; Setkom, 2011b; Sunarya et al., 2017).

Surya Paloh as the owner of Metro TV, was initially affiliated with the Golkar party, then on November 11 2011 Surya Paloh founded his own political party with the name *Nasinal Demokrat (Nasdem)*. Based on the background and political affiliation of its founder, Metro TV can be categorized as having a nationalist ideology (Nasdem, 2011). This means that Metro TV was not founded for certain groups, ethnicities and religions. It is on this basis that Metro TV in its agenda will prioritize national and human interests in general.

Metro TV is one of the biggest private television stations in Indonesia with a role in bridging reality and the public. Among the realities covered by Metro TV is the Indonesian capital city relocation policy. Metro TV as mass media has its own authority to construct reality based on its own point of view and inclination. An elaboration of Metro TV's position in reporting on the capital city relocation policy is provided using Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis that involves syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical dimensions as follows (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

- *Syntactic*

The syntactic dimension deals with how the journalist arranges statements, opinions, quotes, and observations of an event into a news script composition. The framing analysis results showed that in presenting news on the Indonesian capital city relocation policy Metro TV takes a syntactic form of an inverted pyramid, the top of which is given more importance than the lower parts.

Headlines such as "Ibu Kota Akan Dipindah ke Kalimantan (Capital City to be Relocated to Kalimantan)", "Untung Rugi Pemindahan Ibu Kota (Costs and Benefits of Capital City Relocation)", "Pengumuman Ibu Kota Baru (Announcement of New Capital City)", "Realisasi Ibu Kota Negara Baru (New State's Capital City Realization)", and "Presiden Tunjuk Kepala Otorita Ibu Kota Negara Baru 'Nusantara' (President Appoints Head of Authority of New Capital City 'Nusantara') use short sentences, in which case it is easy for audiences to remember the news presented and the event constructed by Metro TV journalists through headlines that reflect the event that the journalists intend to deliver through the news. The leads generally provide a point of view regarding the news, reflecting a certain perceptive of the event reported. At large, Indonesia faces imbalances in population. As high as 60 percent of the population on Java Island is concentrated on Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi. According to the Agency for National Planning and development, the capital city is to be moved to Kalimantan (metrotvnews, 2019b). It is imperative that the new capital city must have clean water sources, have adequate infrastructures, and be safe from floods, showing a broad perspective on why the government should relocate the capital city to the audiences.

Background is part of the news that may influence the meaning intended by the journalist. The event covered by Metro TV, that is, the relocation of the capital city, is set against the background that by 2030, or approximately in ten years, Indonesia is predicted to rise as the fourth economic power in the world, which leads the government to take a visionary look forward, directing the audiences into believing that the capital city relocation decision has been thoroughly reviewed to serve a long-term goal. Positive statements regarding the policy by sources, who are experts in their respective fields,

including Basuki Hadimuljono as Minister of Public Works and Housing, are also presented by Metro TV.

The closing statements in the news reports aired by Metro TV tend to take the form of questions, such as those on the government's future steps, which are also among the units observed within the syntactic structures of the news on the capital city policy, reflecting an invitation to advocate the policy. For instance, in a news report dated the 1st of August 2019, the news anchor remarked, "Kita nantikan bersama nanti Provinsi mana yang akan dipilih Presiden Joko Widodo dikatakan pengumumannya pada bulan ini (Let us see which province is to be chosen and announced by President Joko Widodo later this month)." The phrase "kita nantikan bersama (let us see)" contains the meaning that Metro TV approves of the government's policy and invites the audiences to look forward to the government's next steps to relocating the capital city.

- *Script*

Script structures are concerned with what story-telling strategies are used by the journalist in packaging an event. These structures take the general form of 5Ws + 1H (who, what, when, where, why, and how). These elements of comprehensiveness may serve as important framing markers. In Metro TV's coverage, the "what" is the most emphasized element, as shown by the high volume of positive information told or spoken by the journalists in their news reporting, leading the audiences to support the government policy too. The sources used by Metro TV may also influence the quality of the news content. Some of these sources are Basuki Hadimuljono as Minister of Public Works and Housing and Sofyan Djalil as Minister of Agriculture and Spatial Planning. In other words, the figures featured are expert and competent in giving opinions or directions with respect to the capital city relocation. This also affects the news credibility.



Figure 1. The Indonesian Government's Reasons for Relocating the State's Capital City (metrotvnews, 2019c)

- *Thematic*

Thematic structures are related to how the journalist expresses his/her views on an event into propositions, sentences, or linkages between sentences that compose the text as a whole. The general illustrations provided through Metro TV's news videos are about the steps taken and decisions made by the Indonesian government in relation to the capital city relocation. As support for such government steps are also presented opinions from experts who are involved in the capital city relocation.

- *Rhetorical*

The rhetorical structures of news discourse depict the choice of styles or pronouns of the journalist to stress an intended meaning. The elements of rhetorical structures used by Metro TV journalists to place an emphasis on certain meaning are ameliorative, infographic, and photographic in nature. Figure 1, for instance, displays the Indonesian government's reasons

for relocating the capital city.

With the tagline “Knowledge to Elevate”, Metro TV makes a continuous effort to improve the audiences’ insights and knowledge and to become media with credibility, velocity, and accuracy in delivering information. The programs aired by Metro TV consist of 70% news programs and 30% non-news, educative programs for the public. Using some ameliorative words, Metro TV constructs positive news that is in support of the capital city relocation policy.

4.2. CNBC Indonesia

CNBC Indonesia is a digital television media network owned by Trans Media which was launched in 2018. CNBC Indonesia is part of Trans Media, meaning that the owner is Chairul Tanjung like CNN Indonesia. Thus, CNBC and CNN Indonesia have similar ideologies and political affiliations. CNBC Indonesia presents national and international content, with a focus on business, finance, capital markets, stock exchanges and the economy (Setkom, 2011a).

CNBC Indonesia states that they are present to deliver information on macroeconomics, capital market, banking, other financial industries, commodities, manufacturing, international economics, and political, legal, and defense and security affairs that influence the dynamics of national economics comprehensively. Among the events that are highlighted by CNBC Indonesia is the Indonesian capital city relocation policy. In specifics, CNBC Indonesia’s construction in presenting on the capital city relocation policy uses framing as follows:

- *Syntactic*

CNBC Indonesia composes on events, statements, opinions, and observations that influence the dynamics of national economics, summarize its compositions, and presents them from various perspectives. In the headline dimension, the sentences composed are short, e.g., “Siap-siap, Jokowi Pindahkan Ibu Kota (Be Ready, Jokowi Moves Capital City)” (CNBC Indonesia TV, 2019c), “Untung Rugi Pemindahan Ibu Kota RI (Advantages and Disadvantages of Indonesia’s Capital City Relocation)” (Indonesia, 2019a), “Indonesia Pindah Ibu Kota, Ini Hitungannya (Indonesia Moves Capital City, Here Is How It Is Calculated)” (TV & Indonesia, 2019a), and “Pindah Ibu Kota Masuk Prioritas (Capital City Relocation Becomes Priority)” (CNBC Indonesia TV, 2019b). However, some headlines that are unclear in relevance to the news content are found, one of which is “Jokowi Buka Lowongan Kepada Badan, Ini Syaratnya (Jokowi Opens Job for Agency, Here Are the Requirements)”. The news content is concerned with the Indonesian President’s hope for candidates to fill the position of the head of authority in the new capital city (TV & Indonesia, 2019b).

In the lead dimension, CNBC Indonesia stresses the “what” element, with a focus on economic perspectives, such as macroeconomic, international economic, and political, legal, and defense and security points of view. The emphasis on the “what” element in the news leads the public into questioning the government’s policy. Different stressing is given to each piece of news, depending on the motive of the journalist. One of the leads focuses on “the advantages and disadvantages of moving the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia”. Such a lead is presented to indicate which city is most fitting to replace Jakarta as capital city of the Republic of Indonesia.

The journalist also presents the background of the event. Background is part of news that may influence the meaning intended by the journalist. Among the backgrounds of the event reported by CNBC Indonesia is the analysis of information, statements, opinions, and decisions of numerous figures of competence or expertise, such as President Joko Widodo, Bambang Brodjonegoro (Head of the Agency for National Planning and Development), Basoeki Hadimoeljono (Minister of Public Works and Housing), and some other experts. The conclusions of the syntactic structures of CNBC Indonesia news on the capital city relocation policy tend to question the government’s decisions, including those on the location and form of the new capital city.

- *Script*

In script CNBC Indonesia’s news stresses that moving the capital city is a priority in the Medium-Term Development Plan. The news presented uses ameliorative words such as “priority”. The news does not mention the reasons (“why”) for which the government includes the capital city relocation in the Medium-Term Development Plan.

The “what” element stressed by CNBC Indonesia is about the Medium-Term Development Plan. The “how” dimension stressed describes the relocation plan, as well as the budget needed. The “who” (news source) highlighted is President Joko

Widodo, and the “when” refers to the time at which the new capital location is announced.

- *Thematic*

The thematic structures in news that are involved in CNBC Indonesia’s capital city relocation news videos tend to present each event related to the policy through texts, graphics, animated pictures, and graphic videos with an emphasis on the socioeconomic impacts of the policy, along with the economic impacts that potentially occur.

- *Rhetorical*

Infographics, texts, and graphic videos are presented in CNBC Indonesia’s capital city relocation news videos with the intention of helping audiences to understand the news. The rhetorical structure analysis results show that the use of infographics related to the news is aimed to help the audiences understand the messages intended (Figure 2).

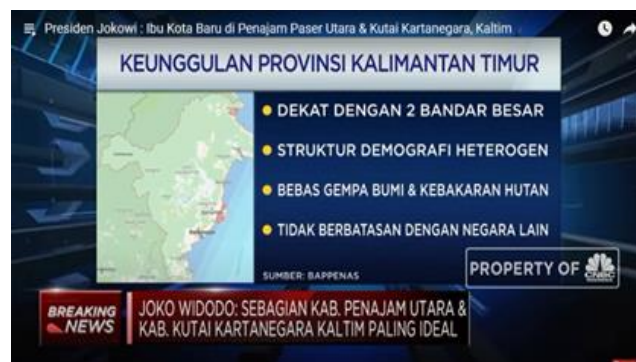


Figure 2. The advantages of East Kalimantan Province as the new capital city location (Indonesia, 2019b)

However, towards the end of the news video on President Joko Widodo’s announcement of the capital city relocation, an infographic of the negative status of state-owned issuing construction companies is shown (Figure 3).



Figure 3. New Capital City State-Owned Developers (CNBC Indonesia TV, 2019a)

4.3. CNN Indonesia

CNN Indonesia is a digital television network founded in collaboration with Chairul Tanjung from Trans Media and Jeff Zukcer from CNN International, at which time CNN was still under the control of a subsidiary of Time Warner in Atlanta, Georgia, United States. Chairul Tanjung as the founder of CNN Indonesia permanently has no trace of any particular political party affiliation. However, Chairul Tanjung served as Minister of Economy in the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono in 2014 (Nandy, 2023). The founder of CNN Indonesia did not explicitly show any particular ideological leanings, so CNN Indonesia has an existence as a nationalist media. Based on this profile, CNN Indonesia has high independence in conveying information to the public.

In its website, CNN Indonesia states its vision and mission as being present to report. CNN Indonesia presents news on the capital city relocation policy using framing as follows:

- *Syntactic*

In composing news on the capital city relocation policy CNN Indonesia presents interview videos, press conferences, and talk shows with experts and parties related to the events reported. The headlines featured are made short and appealing to audiences, e.g., “Presiden Jokowi Mengumumkan Lokasi Ibu Kota Baru (President Jokowi Announces New Capital City Location)” (Indonesia, 2019d), “Potensi Bencana Ibu Kota Baru (New Capital City Potential Disaster)” (Indonesia, 2019c), “Masalah Ketersediaan Air Bersih di Calon Ibu Kota Baru (Clean Water Availability Problem in Prospective New Capital City)” (Indonesia, 2019b), and “Timbang Untung-Rugi Perpindahan Ibu Kota Negara (Profit and Loss Calculation of State’s Capital City Relocation)” (Indonesia, 2019e). CNN Indonesia presents a different perspective of the capital city relocation policy than that presented by the government, e.g., the news on the disaster potential surrounding the new capital city in contrast to the government’s selection of East Kalimantan Province as the location of the new capital city on the grounds that it has minimum disaster risk. The background of the event reporting by CNN Indonesia is various information, statements, opinions, and decisions of competent parties or experts such as President Joko Widodo, Bambang Brodjonegoro (Head of the National Planning and Development), and the general public. The conclusions of the capital city relocation policy news presented by CNN Indonesia tend to be critical and filled with ideas for the government.

- *Script*

In reporting, CNN Indonesia emphasizes a number of news elements and the strategies of narrating with styles that can influence the audiences’ emotions. In the news video entitled “Ketersediaan Air Bersih di Calon Ibu Kota Baru”, CNN Indonesia showcases the lives of a family who have been living in the last dozen years with murky, undrinkable water and have been forced to spend money to acquire clean water to drink.

- *Thematic*

CNN Indonesia’s thematic structures in news on the capital city relocation tend to feature different perspectives than those delivered by the government. One of the aims of moving the capital city to Kalimantan Island is to stimulate equal and fair economic distribution off Java. In a news segment headlined “Timbang Untung-Rugi Perpindahan Ibu Kota Negara”, a researcher from the INDEF (Institute for Development of Economics and Finance) as source stated that the economic effects are insignificant since only the government functions are moved rather than key industries. In addition, the new capital city relocation poses a risk of disasters such as floods and landslides if no excellent management is performed. On the contrary, the government claims that Kalimantan Island has a minimal risk of disasters such as floods.

- *Rhetorical*

The infographics, texts, and graphic videos featured in CNN Indonesia’s capital city relocation news videos are intended to influence the audiences’ emotions. In reporting on the clean water availability problem in the prospective new capital city, a video of a family living with murky ground water is presented.



Figure 4. Residents Using Murky Water for Consumption (Indonesia, 2019a)

4.4. Kompas TV

Kompas TV was founded in 2011, where its name was taken from the leading daily newspaper in Indonesia, namely Kompas. Kompas TV initially emphasized entertainment content, but has now developed into information and news-based television. Kompas TV is an expansion of the Kompas Newspaper business, so its ownership is in the hands of Jacob Oetama. Kompas TV can be ideologically categorized as nationalist, and is not explicitly affiliated with any particular political party in Indonesia. Based on the context of ownership, Kompas TV conveys information or news based on considerations of media freedom and high independence in Indonesia.

In presenting news on the capital city relocation policy, Kompas TV highlights the positive sides of the policy as can be seen from the manner in which Kompas TV sets forth the policy in the news.

- *Syntactic*

The headlines emphasize the government's plans in executing the capital city relocation policy, as in matters such as the urgency of moving the capital city (Farisa, 2021b; Ramadhan, 2021), the funding sources used to develop the new capital city (Nugraheny, 2021), and the infrastructures required to support the policy (Farisa, 2021a). In addition, Kompas TV also reports on states which have seen their capital cities moved. In the lead element, Kompas TV re-emphasizes such plans above, with the involvement of expert sources related to the policy. With the involvement of those experts, Kompas TV indirectly intends to make it a point to the public that the implementation of the capital city relocation policy is well-planned. The backgrounds of Kompas TV's news are reflective of the progress or continuity of the implementation of the government's plans related to the capital city relocation policy. With added quotes and statements from experts and officials who are involved in the policy, Kompas TV presents itself as desiring to provide good quality information for the public.

- *Script*

In script structures, Kompas TV includes all elements of framing (5Ws + 1H) in the news. Representing the "who" element, Kompas TV interviews officials and experts regarding the capital city relocation policy, and representing the "what" element, Kompas TV focuses on the steps the government has taken in implementing the policy. The "why" element is featured in Kompas TV's news by generally confirming the reasons for executing the government's plans on the capital city relocation. The "when" element is shown not only in the mention of when the capital city is moved, but also in the mention of when interviews with officials or related parties to the policy are conducted. Similarly, the "where" element is represented in the mention of where the policy is executed, or where the new capital city is located, and where the interviews are conducted. Lastly, the "how" element concerns with how the capital city relocation policy implementation plans are executed.

- *Thematic*

The thematic structures of Kompas TV's news discuss the plans and the progress/follow-up of the plans in each news report. The facts featured are consistent with recent events and are delivered using a clear, concise, and brief language, as in the headline "Pemerintah Secara Bertahap Mulai Lakukan Pemindahan Terkait Ibu Kota Baru pada 2024 Mendatang (Government Gradually Starts Movement to New Capital City in 2024)" (TV, 2021). Kompas TV airs videos on the design of State Palace that is to be built, the capital city relocation progress, starting from infrastructure construction that has been commenced to State Civil Apparatus relocation preparation, and updated data on the Government's Work Plan (RKP) of 2021, according to which the budget allocation for the relocation purpose amounts to Rp510 trillion.

- *Rhetorical*

In the rhetorical structures of Kompas TV's news, some lexicons are used to support the news plot. Graphically, photographs of the new capital city's landscape and building designs are inserted to illustrate and, at the same time, emphasize the positive sides of the capital city relocation policy. This is evidenced in the headline "Menggapai Masa Depan Indonesia di Ibu Kota Baru (Reaching to Indonesia's Future in New Capital City)" (TV, 2019). The new capital city advocates both "smart city" and "smart economy" concepts, which can drive the public's economy. In an Indonesian language dictionary, the word "smart" is defined as clever, erudite, witty, and adept (at doing or performing something).



Figure 5. Indonesia's New Capital City Concept (KompasTV, 2019)

5. Discussion

The Indonesian government's plan to move the state's capital city has been an enduring discourse since the era of Indonesia's first president, Ir. Soekarno. However, the relocation bill has only been passed by the People's Representative Council (DPR) in President Joko Widodo's era. This event has been garnering attention from various media, including Metro TV, CNN Indonesia, CNBC Indonesia, and Kompas TV.

The news reporting by Metro TV, CNN Indonesia, CNBC Indonesia, and Kompas TV shows how each media outlet interprets the capital city relocation policy. The selection of events of each media outlet should not be construed as merely involving journalistic techniques; it also concerns owner's and even political interests in it (Fredheim, 2020; Zottola et al., 2019). Emphases of messages in the news are also made using graphic elements in the forms of photographs, illustrations, and tables (Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

Based on the framing analysis conducted on 42 pieces of online news on the state's capital city relocation policy from the four television media outlets, it is known that the four media outlets present aspects of the event in a variety of manners of framing, either in support of the policy or not. How an event is delivered by the media to the public is reliant on the media's tendency, whether the media is to emphasize the positive or the negative side. The media has a greater authority to choose which side of a phenomenon is to be emphasized (Evans, 2016).

5.1. Online news media framing that supports the capital city relocation policy

In comparison to the headlines made by CNN Indonesia, CNBC Indonesia, and Kompas TV, the 18 news headlines made by Metro TV are short sentences, which makes it easier for the public to remember them. Metro TV is more focused on the positive sides of the capital city relocation policy and considers that the policy is an appropriate decision for the time being.

Since Metro TV is a media outlet founded by the chief of a political party within President Joko Widodo's coalition, it is its media policy to lead the public into approving or supporting the capital city relocation policy. For instance, the news reports on the reasons for, and the positive impacts of, the capital city relocation, it is stated that the policy encourages population distribution, equal development, improvement of the national investment climate, and strengthening of national unity and integrity. Metro TV also makes mention of several states which have successfully moved their capital cities, e.g., the United States, England, Australia, Brazil, Japan, and Malaysia (metrotvnews, 2019a). In addition, in one of the episodes of Metro TV's program Newsroom, the anchors who were present also expressed their agreement with, and support for, the capital city relocation.

Metro TV utilizes more graphic elements in its news reports than CNBC Indonesia, CNN Indonesia, and Kompas TV. Using those graphic elements, Metro TV stresses the capital city relocation policy as government plan that is worth public's support rather than only a discursive matter through the use data, images, and photographs through the graphic elements presented.

Table 1. Each media outlet's intensity of reporting on the capital city relocation policy

Online Media	Number of News Reports with Graphic Elements	Percentage of News Reports with Graphic Elements	Percentage Calculated from Total Number of News Reports Analysis
Metro TV	13	45%	31%
CNBC Indonesia	7	24%	17%
CNN Indonesia	2	7%	5%
Kompas TV	7	24%	17%

Source: Secondary data processing, 2022

5.2. Online news media framing that does not support the capital city relocation policy

CNBC Indonesia deviates from the rest of the media outlets by highlighting the economic aspect. It is beyond question that moving a capital city will cost considerably. CNBC Indonesia as media outlet that presents recent news, research, and in-depth analyses surrounding economics, business, capital market, banking, investment, tech, and sharia economics highlights the capital city relocation event from the economic perspective.

CNN Indonesia and CNBC Indonesia present fewer graphic elements than Metro TV, with each presenting two and seven news reports containing graphic elements of their combined 36 news reports. One of the graphic elements displayed by CNBC Indonesia during the capital city relocation announcement by President Joko Widodo that concerns the negative state of state-owned issuing construction companies leaves a cognitive effect to control attention and interest in an intensive fashion and to point out that the policy has an adverse effect on the economy. CNBC Indonesia also tends to be critical about the government's analysis findings, as in the news report headlined "Potensi Bencana Ibu Kota (New Capital City Potential Disaster)" where CNBC Indonesia criticizes the claim of minimum disaster risk delivered by President Joko Widodo in his speech on the 26th of August 2019.

In constructing news on the capital city relocation policy, the sources featured by CNBC Indonesia originate from the opposition parties Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and National Mandate Party (PAN). The reasons constructed by CNBC Indonesia that lead to a tendency of disapproving the capital city relocation policy include the allocation of the State Budget (APBN) to efforts of overcoming the COVID-19 pandemic and national economic recovery, the lack of legal power, the high cost that must be incurred to move the capital city relative to present economic growth, borders, and the land area to be occupied.

5.3. Online news media framing that is neutral to the capital city relocation policy

Aside from media outlets showing pros and cons, approval and disapproval, and support and a lack of support, there is a media outlet that demonstrates neutrality to the capital city relocation policy. While Metro TV presents 13 news reports with graphic elements, Kompas TV only does seven news reports out of the 18 news reports analyzed. The headlines, content, and graphic elements contain the current event, both positively and negatively. The sources chosen by Kompas TV are those who have an excellent understanding of the situation and topic discussed.

Based on the tendencies of the four news media which are the objects of this research, it can be assumed that news media in Indonesia have freedom in constructing and interpreting the policies and behavior of the Indonesian government. This fact shows that the media in Indonesia have a position as a means of control over the planning and implementation of government policies. Then the Indonesian media has become an instrument and pillar of democracy, where the media has freedom based on their respective agendas without being restrained by the government.

6. Conclusion

Not only does it contain facts, but news also constructs reality by emphasizing facts through choice of words, sentences, rhetoric, images, and certain graphics. The aim is to convince the public that what is presented by the media is correct. From the results of the framing analysis on online news media regarding Indonesia's capital city relocation policy, it is concluded that each television media outlet presents news on the policy from a unique point of view, in which case Metro

TV shows approval, CNBC Indonesia and CNN Indonesia tend to disapprove, and Kompas TV shows neutrality to the policy. This research's findings confirm that the four media outlets carry different agendas against the events taking place in Indonesia, especially the capital city relocation. The differences come from different motives, visions and missions, ideologies, political affiliations, and goals. Therefore, it is difficult to draw a single conclusion regarding the media's social construction of reality due to varying agendas that are carried by the media.

In closing this article, it is recommended that each news media stand in three symmetrical positions, namely the media's own agenda, the agenda for society, and the agenda for the government. The media must be free from the constraints of the government and capital owners, so that the media is not free to express itself. Therefore, the media must have a universal mission by prioritizing the interests of all groups and humanity as a whole.

Conflicts of Interest

The researchers declare that they have no competing interests.

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