



Media News Framing Analysis: The Urgency of Removing The Nusantara Capital

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ABSTRACT

This study uses the Framing Analysis Method with a Qualitative Descriptive approach in 4 stages according to Robert N. Entman's theory: Define the Problem, Diagnose Causes, Make a Moral Judgment, and make Treatment Recommendation. What is concluded as the Define Problem is about the Ratification of the Capital Transfer Bill, which was carried out secretly and ratified quickly. Meanwhile, in terms of Diagnose Causes, it is about the massive coverage from media that is against the decision to relocate the capital, such as Tempo. Co, which is quickly responded to by pro-government media, such as Kompas.com. Whereas the Treatment Recommendation refers to the activities of the two media, which reflects an image of democracy, where freedom of expression and freedom of the press is upheld. The media can respond to a phenomenon freely without any intervention, and both have the right to determine their position in addressing the issues of the Archipelago Capital Transfer Project.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Mass media in the online form results from a series of innovations in today's technological advances. This will have a significant effect so that the role of the Mass Media as a means of connecting information will feel very efficient. They are considering that mass media, which is now online-based, will accelerate access to the spread of the most up-to-date, factual and reliable information through telecommunication networks. The ease of obtaining information allows several news contents to be disseminated to several platforms, such as through websites or Social Media. This reason is considered the background for the mass media to be called The Fire Estate, which means the "Fourth Power" in aspects of people's lives, especially in economic, social and political terms (Fadilah & Yohandi, 2021; Hakim & Amina, 2021; Munib, 2020). This is due to the position of the Mass Media as an institution in forming public opinion, which can broadly emphasize their ideas and easily represent their image in an empirical context (Armando, 2011).

Based on the above understanding, if we talk about the condition of an up-to-date society or people who regularly consume news through mass media, primarily through online-based media, they will be very vulnerable to the risk of being affected by media exposure. For example, various kinds of information can be scattered everywhere, as on Social Media. Social Media can easily direct someone to access news portals through the web or official media accounts (Christiany, 2019; Faizal, et al, 2018). As a result of advances in information technology which now feels very efficient, relatively easy to use, and supported by the speed in accessing news, this will undoubtedly increase the potential for misunderstandings in the community, especially in interpreting information in the news. Because every piece of news that circulates also carries the risk of containing different perceptions and perspectives.

Media exposure can influence the formation of people's beliefs and behaviour, such as a doctrine in audio-visual form, so that later it will be able to shape the behaviour of some people to tend to be aggressive (Milla, 2015). The mass media is considered a construction agent that not only acts as an industry in the present but can also be inferred to put forward the ideology that they deliberately pack in news content based on reality compiled from an event so that it is contained in discourses and stories that are presented in print, electronic, and online (Eriyanto, 2002; Muslich, 2008; Muttaqin, 2011).

This will significantly determine the views of the media, especially in news publications. Thus, several aspects ultimately determine the choice of media as research subjects, such as Kompas.co and Tempo.co Magazine. The first thing that becomes the primary consideration in this research is, based on the news content published in Tempo.co Magazine, which was published in the January 22, 2022 issue. The background of the news content is allegedly a response from Tempo.co due to the massive reporting on the Formulation of the Law on The transfer of the State Capital, which the Indonesian Parliament finally inaugurated and the Government on January 18, 2022, became a law. The inauguration of the Law is the final series of planning for the development of the New Capital City in Palangkaraya.

As we know, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, 2019 revealed that shortly the government would begin severe steps in a long-term project to move the National Capital from Jakarta to another place outside Java as New National Capital (Hutasoit, 2019; Hasibuan & Aisa, 2020; Yahya, 2018). According to information from Kompas.com, President Jokowi emphasized that this plan had been initiated by the previous President, Soekarno, in 1957 and Suharto, in 1997, but both plans failed after domestic upheaval. Jokowi wants equality throughout the archipelago and to eradicate the community's stigma about being Java-centric. The new State Capital will be named the

Capital of the Archipelago. Kalimantan Island, or Borneo, was finally chosen as the location for the construction of the new National Capital. The reason for choosing Kalimantan Island was due to several considerations, such as superiority in various aspects. One was ecological, where Kalimantan was declared the archipelago with the least risk of natural disasters and many more (Mazda, 2022). The specific areas to be built are in East Kalimantan Province, Palangkaraya, to North Penajam Paser. However, behind these advantages, there are many significant risks considered by some parties to be a form of government carelessness regarding this project (Nasruddin, 2013; Saraswati & Adi, 2022). Because this Draft Law began to be discussed on December 7, 2021, after a special committee was formed. After that, on January 18, 2022, the Draft Law was finally approved by the DPR. So, officially the status of the Capital City of Jakarta will be replaced by the Capital of the Archipelago in Palangkaraya as the Capital of the Republic of Indonesia.

Meanwhile, several parties, such as Tempo. co, have accused the government and DPR of ignoring the principle of forming a law. This is due to the need for more public participation and the brief discussions on establishing the Capital Transfer Bill from the time it was drafted to the promulgation of the Act. The government and the DPR need to reflect a better attitude towards the state because they are not severe in providing opportunities for the public to provide suggestions. Even though the project is predicted to spend Rp. 466.9 trillion, of which 20% use public money. Not to mention, ratifying the Law occurred during the economic recovery after the pandemic. In addition, the potential for natural damage in the Kalimantan Islands is increasing. Therefore, Tempo.co revealed that the IKN project, from the idea to its implementation, was cancelled in principle, not to mention that the process of ratifying a law which tends to be rushed, should be rejected. On this basis, Tempo.co is known as a media that is quite vocal and bold enough to publish the news by revealing other facts about a phenomenon that has occurred. Tempo has encountered problems several times due to its idealism in composing a story. It was noted that accusations and prosecutions for alleged excessive "Opinion Shifting" and several disclosures of many facts were considered offensive by some parties. So on this basis, the Tempo Daily was chosen to be a Research Subject to research news regarding the Urgency of Relocating the Capital.

Next, on February 5, 2022, Media Tempo will state a Kompas TV broadcast through its representative. Its CEO, Arif Zulkifli, revealed that from an idea to implementation. The capital relocation project should be cancelled in principle. Furthermore, a periodic publication of the same news object is still being carried out by Tempo to maintain the perception and position against the transfer of capital. So they questioned several aspects, which are still a question mark for the public because of the uncertainty of the information conveyed by government representatives. In this case, the Ministry of Finance through Sri Mulyani and the Coordinating Minister for the Economy, which is different in delivery to the public, was even criticized by a member of the DPR who opposed the coalition with the government. One of the things that continue to be questioned is the issue of the Budget. However, referring to the news article published on February 11 by Kompas Daily, the news content does not reflect their independence as media. This news is identical to the statement on the official website of the Ministry of Finance. Kompas usually tends to be careful to position itself with "impartiality" in combining two different opinions and perspectives between the pros and cons in addressing a phenomenon or a piece of news. As a safe game, the motto Independent, Trusted is a contradiction that is quite a concern. This ultimately became the most vital consideration for choosing Tempo to be compared with Kompas.com as a research subject.

The last reason is that the two media have already been published in research where the research is more about comparing ideology between the two in a scientific paper which is also a reference in this research. Meanwhile, the issue of the Urgency of Relocating the State Capital of the Republic of Indonesia was chosen as the object of this research, based on how far the media's response is to influence perspectives and shape public opinion to be in line with the media's point of view. The above phenomenon will be interesting to study through the Robert N. Entman Framing Model Analysis approach. Therefore, this study will analyze news content with the Research Object of the Urgency of Relocating the Archipelago's Capital.

2. METHODS

In this study, the approach used is descriptive with qualitative methods. This research aims to describe several aspects of reality in a phenomenon deliberately framed in a news story, such as Kompas.com and Tempo.co, in the context of relocating the national capital, for example. As a process in developing criteria for selecting several news sources considered representative in Kompas.com and Tempo.co. The criteria in question are regarding the Relocation of the State Capital, which puts forward the context of "Urgency" in the relocation plan, whether or not it is necessary.

So the data that will be used as a Primary Data Source is obtained from many reports published by Kompas.com and Tempo. Co, which discusses the Relocation of the National Capital, while the Data that will be used as a Secondary Data Source is obtained from various expert opinions contained in research or literature. As a reference in analyzing news, both in terms of the media and in terms of the object under study. As for data analysis, the Robert N. Entman Framing Analysis model was chosen to construct or describe the process of selecting issues highlighted from reality in the mass media. The Framing Analysis Model, the Robert N. Entman model, was deliberately chosen with the consideration of the Frame device, which is used as a reference in Entman's theory (Entman, R. M., 1993; Entman, R. M., 2007). This will be very helpful in concluding how much effort and what form of exposure was made by Kompas.com and Tempo.co to influence and shape public opinion to align with their opinions and thoughts.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The news analysis used as the object of this research was compiled from 2 online-based media, namely Kompas.com and Tempo.co. The details are as follows:

Table 1. News Analysis from Tempo and Kompas

No.	Title	Media
1.	"Mengapa Kita Harus Menolak Pemindahan Ibukota Negara"	Tempo.co (22 Januari, 2022)
2.	"6 Alasan Ibukota Negara Pindah dari Jakarta ke Kalimantan Timur"	Kompas.com (11 Februari, 2022)

Sources: Research Observation

Define Problems - (TEMPO.CO)

First Review, based on the news published by Tempo through its online media platform, namely Tempo.co, which firmly positions itself as one of the media that refuses and dares to criticize government policies regarding the relocation of the capital. In this case, what can be defined as Define Problems is the form of presentation, starting from the news headline

to the formed narrative, which can be interpreted as rejecting government policies. Tempo even published the news within four days after the promulgation of the Law on the State Capital by the DPR. Tempo does not just publish one news item with the same context in the adjacent time. They developed a narrative that cornered the Capital Relocation Plan through various aspects.

From the formation of the Draft Law, the Process of Drafting the Law to the Process of Ratifying the Law, Environmental Aspects, and social aspects, to the most prominent, the Aspect of preparing the Budget. In line with Robert N. Entman's opinion about Framing Analysis, where there are several emphases on sure sides in constructing news. In this case, the narrative constructed by Tempo is more to the opposite side. They focused on "negative impacts" if the capital relocation project was still implemented. The intended Framing can be interpreted clearly, that Tempo is trying to create Conjunction, Cohesion and Coherence in the news to emphasize that the Relocation Plan should, in principle, be cancelled (Launa, 2020).

Diagnose Causes - (TEMPO.CO)

In this news, it can be concluded that several messages are conveyed in terms of several points contained in the news narrative, which can be concluded as Diagnose Causes or causes of problems, such as the first point is campaigning against the relocation of the national capital soon, the second point is that there are things that are trying to cover up by the government towards the people, especially regarding the short duration of the discussion from the start of the Draft Law to be passed into Law—furthermore, the issue of the Budget which of course will drain the people's finances. The third point is that the National Economic Recovery should be initiated at this time rather than the relocation of the capital.

Make Moral Judgement - (TEMPO.CO)

In the news, things can be concluded as a form of assessment of the causes of the problem. Tempo is trying to frame relocating the capital as a logical plan to be judged as a "freak plan" by the government and executed at a very inappropriate time. Tempo revealed many reasons why it should reject the relocation of the capital. However, what is particularly and intensely highlighted is the budget issue. Where does Tempo assess the government's review of the Budget? It is said that this is debatable. However, Tempo stated that this reason could not be used as a guarantee. Because the composition of 20% is charged to the state treasury, while 80% is projected from SOEs, but of course, from the collaboration between the Government and SOEs, there will be a return on the investment process, in which the state will also have to pay back the money. Tempo's statement was based on some of their research on government projects that SOEs previously funded, but in the end, what happened was the opposite.

Treatment Recommendation – (TEMPO.CO)

As a solution, Tempo offers a solution to cancel the plan to relocate the capital before the post-pandemic economic recovery. Tempo believes that "People's Money Must Return to the People" because, for now, the people need economic stability to support their lives, not the splendour of the Archipelago Capital mega-project. Tempo seeks to display moral values to create public awareness that, in this case, the government has disrupted the function of the state treasury, which should have a direct impact on the people, not only for certain groups but as a whole.

Define Problems – (KOMPAS.COM)

Based on observations, Kompas is one of the media close to the government. The proof is that some time ago, their chief editor, namely Rosiana Silalahi, was invited along with several other media to survey the location of the Archipelago's Capital, precisely at point Zero. The presence of the editor-in-chief of Kompas and several other media outlets is likely a form of support for the program to relocate the Archipelago's Capital. Other evidence states that several media editors who were also present there revealed that their presence was one of the efforts to educate the public about how the importance of the capital relocation project needs to be carried out.

Diagnose Causes – (KOMPAS.COM)

Kompas alluded to several media that identically criticized the relocation of the capital city like Tempo, such as the clean water crisis, which Tempo considered would become a problem in the future for the province of East Kalimantan. Because North Penajam Paser is a water catchment area that can support the availability of clean water in several other areas, such as Balikpapan city. Meanwhile, as a counter, Kompas explained that the regions that are most in crisis in the availability of clean water in Indonesia are Java and Bali. Furthermore, on the other hand, Tempo is also concerned about the stability of the natural environment, where the relocation of the capital will destroy the habitat of flora and fauna. Not to mention the clearing of forests to be used as oil palm land. Furthermore, Kompas even stated that the most significant land conversion occurred on the island of Java due to high urbanization. Kompas clearly emphasizes that the Java Centris stigma has led to a much higher population density in Java than in other islands, causing a lack of contribution from other regions to contribute to the country's Gross Domestic Product or GDP.

Make Moral Judgement - (KOMPAS.COM)

Media Kompas put the perspective of moving the capital as an enthusiasm that needs more support, especially from the community. Kompas' strategy in framing the National Capital Relocation project can be considered quite effective because, in addition to explaining several positive things that will change the face of the National Capital in the future. The presentation of information is also quite detailed, primarily related to the impact of increasing the Economy, Social, and Culture as well as the Environment. This is in line with the actual conditions that are currently happening. Indeed in terms of increasing and strengthening the Economy, the prospects for the Archipelago's Capital will be far more promising than Jakarta. The simple reason is, of course, when talking about infrastructure, the Archipelago's Capital will be far more complete and more supportive compared to Jakarta, in addition to returning capital for capital development, strengthening industrial areas, and special economic zones and tourism areas will of course also be adjusted in order to attract investor interest and confidence. The second reason is social problems, such as the overcrowding of the capital due to urbanization and high unemployment rates in Jakarta, making the capital uncomfortable to live in. Population density causes congestion, the growth of residential areas that are slums and uninhabitable, and the lifestyle of people who are indifferent to environmental cleanliness also often causes problems such as flooding to fail to be resolved in Jakarta.

Departing from several problems regarding the feasibility of the current National Capital, namely Jakarta, it seems natural that the transfer must be carried out. Considering that, in simple terms, the capital is also the face of a country, an assessment of the country's

progress is also reviewed from how many tall buildings there are, how much convenience the public facilities provide to support people's mobility, and much more.

Treatment Recommendation – (KOMPAS.COM)

As a solution, Kompas suggests that the country needs a new state capital sooner or later. Then why should the project be carried out as soon as possible, because it has to be delayed, the burden on Jakarta as the capital city will be even more apprehensive. Air pollution in Jakarta is critical because, according to Kompas.com report data, the pollution index in Jakarta is even worse than in New Delhi. This means that someone who lives in Jakarta has a higher risk of death than in other areas. Moreover, the problems that arise as a result of the Middle Income Trap also increase the urbanization of people from several areas outside Java, bearing in mind that more and more people will think of trying their luck to Java Island, especially Jakarta, to improve their economic conditions after the Covid Pandemic.

Based on the result above, these two media are replying to messages that are addressed to the same object, namely society. Both are also massive in publishing news, in which the narrative flow can be concluded as part of the framing process to influence public perception. In line with Communication Theory, the communication process is exchanging messages or reciprocity with the same goal, namely to influence other parties so that meaning is compatible. Where this is included in Verbal Communication Theory. According to Mulyana, Verbal Communication is a form of communication consisting of several parts of symbols arranged, from a word to a form of the sentence together and used to send messages that the communicant can understand (Kusumawati, 2019).

4. CONCLUSION

Forms of Verbal Communication are diverse, and the communication has a more excellent ratio of use because the meaning that is interpreted can be more precise than in Non-Verbal Communication. While forms of communication can also use various media, one of which is communication through text or writing. In terms of communicating, a person can reconstruct an event or build communication through any media to influence others to agree with what he wants. Because with whatever media a person uses to build communication can be an intermediary to realize an agreement with the intended other person. Because the form of communication skills is straightforward to apply and change in text form. This can ultimately affect someone without needing to meet in person or Face-to-Face. This is what is ultimately used by the media to influence the acceptance or meaning of the message they want to convey. This includes determining alignments, which the public should side with and how to view reality. People who work in the media are competent in compiling reality in the form of information presented or reported through online media.

Furthermore, this is where the media cannot be said to be objective because, after all, there is a journalist or writer who has his own ideas and background in evaluating a reality called Make Moral Judgment. Meanwhile, the point that became the Define Problem was the ratification of the Capital Transfer Bill, carried out behind closed doors and passed quickly. While the next point to be Diagnosed Causes is about how massive the news from the media that was against the decision to relocate the capital, such as Tempo.co, was quickly responded to by the media that were pro with the decision to relocate. So that the perspective or Framing of the two media is like an argumentation war with the same goal: to influence their audience, which of course, is the public. Finally, the point that becomes the Treatment Recommendation is that the activities of the two media certainly reflect an

image of democracy, where freedom of expression and freedom of the press is upheld. Tempo.co freely expresses its disagreement, while Kompas.com acts as a media that is on the government's side. However, they are still independent media and not a dominant media dictated by the interests of those in power. This research aims to identify the Urgency of the Capital of the Archipelago news by two media, namely Tempo.co and Kompas.com January 22 - February 11, 2022, editions.

5. AUTHOR'S NOTE

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this article. The authors confirmed that the paper was free of plagiarism.

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