



RESEARCH ARTICLE

Online News Media, State Agenda, and Policy on the Relocation of the Capital City of Indonesia: Watchdog or Lapdog?

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ARTICLE INFO

Received: Jul 11, 2023

Accepted: Sep 23, 2023

Keywords

Online news

Framing

Policy agenda

Relocation of the national capital

Watchdogs

Lapdog

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the tendency of online media in Indonesia to construct the government's policy of moving the capital city of Indonesia to East Kalimantan Province. The research data were analyzed using a framing concept from Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki that involves four structures: syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical. This research involved four online news media platforms in Indonesia which were MetroTVNews.com, CNN Indonesia, CNBC Indonesia, and Kompas.com. The news to be analyzed was coverage from April 2019 to January 2022. The research results on the four online media platforms showed different constructions in response to the policy of moving the Indonesian national capital from Jakarta to Kalimantan Province. Kompas.com media shows a neutral framing in reporting on government policy in moving the country's capital to East Kalimantan Province. Then, MetroTVNews.com broadcast a framing that agreed; CNBC and CNN Indonesia tended to show the opposite side of the news about the relocation of Indonesia's capital city. This reality shows that Indonesia has good press freedom because the media can determine certain position choices in responding to government policies. News media that are pro or agree with the policy of moving the Indonesian state capital can be assumed to have a position like a lapdog. In contrast, news media that are against the policy have a position like a watchdog. Then, the neutral news media have a position like the gray media because they do not have a firm stance on whether they agree or disagree. The results of this research have implications for the ideal role of the media in a democratic country. The media should be free to construct government policies so that the public gets objective and balanced information

INTRODUCTION

The law on moving to the new capital city of Indonesia has been passed. Therefore, it can be interpreted

that the relocation of the capital city of Indonesia has received legitimacy from the People's Representative Council (Wirachmi, 2022b). Even so, there are still pros and cons among the public, and each party has

various reasons. From the Indonesian government's side, the reasons for moving the national capital are economic transformation, equitable distribution of development and prosperity, population density and congestion, and environmental and geological problems in Jakarta (Ayundari, 2022; Shaid, 2022). Meanwhile, on the other hand, those who refuse argue that it is not urgent to be implemented at this time (Farisa, 2022).

Historically, the relocation of the capital city of Indonesia has occurred twice. It was once relocated to the City of Yogyakarta during the war to defend independence in 1946 (Adryamarthanino, 2022) and to Bukittinggi, West Sumatra, in 1949. Then, in 1961, the de jure capital of Indonesia returned to Jakarta, strengthened by Law No. 10 of 1964, which stipulated that the centre of government, business, and the economy is based in Jakarta (Monoarfa, 2020; Wirachmi, 2022a).

During the administration of President Joko Widodo in 2022, the capital of Indonesia was officially moved from Jakarta to North Penajam Paser Regency and partly Kutai Kartanegara Regency, East Kalimantan Province. This relocation has been discussed since the time of the first Indonesian president, Soekarno, where the reason for it was the vision and mission for growth and equitable development in Indonesia (Herdiana, 2022).

Moving the capital city is an agenda of the Indonesian government that has caught the attention of most state elements, including the mass media. The media bridges events and audiences so that every important event does not escape media coverage (Vivian, 2008). The mass media has an agenda to convey events that it deems important to be known by the public. In this context, the mass media has the authority to report or not report on an event, even though the public considers it an important event (West and Turner, 2018). This is relevant to agenda-setting theory. This theory assumes that the media has the authority to select and determine dimensions that are considered important to report to the public (Vivian, 2013).

Regarding the role of the mass media in selecting every event to be published, the term "framing" is used. Framing is media activity in selecting, presenting, highlighting, and even ignoring an event (Araral et al., 2012; Baran and Davis, 2010). The concept of framing

is based on the assumption that the mass media have the authority to choose messages or information that are considered important and must be known by the public.

In Indonesia, there are 43,300 online mass media platforms, and based on this number, there are 10 online mass media platforms that have the highest position, which are Kompas.com, CnbcIndonesia.com (Lia, 2022), CNN Indonesia, and MetroTVNews.com (Pahlevi, 2022). Then, 370 online media companies have been verified (Sidik, 2021). These data showed a lot of online media in Indonesia, and this research purposefully selected the four online mass media platforms to study in the construction of the policy of moving the new capital city of Indonesia. The four mass media platforms are Kompas.com, CnbcIndonesia.com, CNN Indonesia, and MetroTVNews.com.

The purpose of this research will be discussed using Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis with four components: syntactical structure (the way journalists arrange words), script structure (how journalists tell facts), thematic structure (how journalists write facts), and rhetorical structure (how journalists emphasize facts) (Aldo and Setiawan, 2022; Eriyanto, 2002). The final objective of this research is to find out the tendencies of online mass media, whether they support, reject, belittle, or ignore certain government policies or agendas. Ideally, the media can support national strategic policies and build stability in a country anywhere. However, the media has interests, vision and mission, ideology, and political views, so it has its own way of framing every event or policy in a country.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Agenda setting theory

Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw (1968) introduced the agenda-setting theory in their research into presidential election campaigns in the United States. The research successfully established a link between news emphasis and how voters rated the news, and the findings served as the basis for the agenda-setting theory hypothesis and as its starting point (Stacks et al., 2015).

Littlejohn and Foss stated that the agenda-setting theory is a theory that states that the media forms

important images or issues in the mind. Therefore, the media must be selective in reporting news (Littlejohn and Foss, 2011). Then, Littlejohn and Foss revealed that news channels, as information gatekeepers, can choose what and how to report (Oetzel et al., 2017). In essence, what the public knows at a specific time is the result of gatekeeping by the media. According to Stanley J. Baran, agenda setting is a theory that states that the media may not tell us what to think about, but the media tells us what to think about (Baran, 2021).

Framing model from Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki

The concept of framing was first introduced by Erving Goffman (1974). According to him, framing analysis is a definition of a situation that is built with the organizational principles that govern events and the subjectivity that we have in it.

Charlotte Ryan (1991) described framing analysis on the side of receiving messages, where framing is an instrument or tool to order information about what audiences feel about various political issues. For example, we use framing analysis to hear and understand the fears and pains of a class, community, or nation and then crystallize their understanding of an issue (Ryan et al., 2001).

In framing analysis, there are two main concepts: frames and framing. According to Gregory Bateson (1972), frames are a psychological concept that refers to the importance of messages as elements that condition their definition and formation. He further explained that each message explicitly or implicitly defines a frame, ipso facto giving instructions to the recipient to understand the message, including what is included in the frame (Jorgenson and Steier, 2013; Steier, 2013). According to Todd Gitlin (1980), frames are built through selection, emphasis, and presentation. Furthermore, James W. Tankard et al. (1990) described frames as the centre of organization of ideas for news content that provide context and suggestions for the issues presented through selection, emphasis, presentation, and elaboration (Severin and James W. Tankard, 2014).

According to Entman (1993), framing involves selection and salience. Framing is selecting some aspects of the perceived reality and making them more salient in the text being communicated in such

a way as to promote specific problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations, and recommendations for the items described (Hallahan, 1999).

The term framing has many different definitions. There needs to be more agreement among experts to define and conceptualize what framing is. However, one thing generally agreed upon is that framing is a theory of mass media effects that relates how a message is presented by the mass media to audiences, not what is presented to audiences.

Then, Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki saw the frame as an idea that relates to different elements in the news text, source quotations, background information, and the use of certain words or sentences in the text. Frames are related to meaning. Framing analysis, according to Pan and Kosicki, is that a person's interpretation of an event can be seen from the set of signs that appear in the text by operationalizing the four structural dimensions of the news text as framing devices, which are syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). These four structural dimensions form a kind of theme that links the semantic elements of the news narrative in coherence (Akihary et al., 2023; Octavianus and Iskandar, 2023; Paramitha and Karimm, 2023). This model assumes that every piece of news has a frame that functions as the centre of the organization of ideas.

The framing device in the approach proposed by Pan and Kosicki has four structures: 1) The syntactical structure, which is the arrangement of facts or events in the news text in the form of statements, opinions, quotations, observations of events, arranged in the form of a general composition of news. The framing device of this structure is the new scheme, and the units observed are headlines, leads, background information, source citations, statements, and closings. The syntactical structure can provide useful clues for journalists in interpreting events and where the news will be directed; 2) The script structure is a narration of facts in a news text with components of five W plus one H. The element of completeness of this news can be an important marker of framing, but if one of the elements of completeness of the news owned by journalists does not appear, then it will show emphasis or prominence and disguise

of existing facts; 3) The thematic structure, which is writing based on propositions, sentences or sentence relationships that compose the text as a whole. The framing device of this thematic structure consists of detail, intent, nominalization, coherence, tenses, and sentence relationships. The thematic structure is an analytical tool to see how facts are written, sentences are used, and the placement and writing of sources in the news text.; 4) The rhetorical structure, which is an emphasis on facts in news texts in the form of lexicons, graphics, metaphors, and tagging with units of analysis of words, idioms, pictures, photos, and graphics (Aldo and Setiawan, 2022; Eriyanto, 2002).

METHODS

This research paradigm is the ordinary constructivism paradigm, in which understanding reality is seen as a picture formed from objective reality in itself. Constructivism is an individual's cognitive work to interpret the world of reality because of social relations between individuals and the environment. Individuals then build their knowledge of reality based on existing knowledge structures (Creswell, 2016; Neuman, 2014).

The research approach used was descriptive-qualitative, where researchers utilized qualitative data and described it descriptively (Neuman, 2014). Descriptive research aims to describe and summarize various conditions or situations that arise in the community and are the problem, then draw them to the surface as a characteristic or description of certain conditions, situations, or variables. Descriptive research can be of qualitative and quantitative types. Especially for qualitative ones, data are expressed in words, sentences, and descriptions (Creswell, 2016). One of the types of qualitative research is framing analysis. According to Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, there are several framing concepts. Pan and Kosicki see the frame as an idea connected with different elements in news text, source quotations,

background information, and the use of certain words or sentences in the text as a whole by using four major structures, namely: syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). In our research into reporting on the relocation of the capital city, we dissected these four structures so that we could finally draw conclusions.

The object of this research was the online news media platforms MetroTVNews.com, CNN Indonesia, CNBC Indonesia, and Kompas TV (data source from online news). The unit of analysis for this research was the policy of moving the national capital to East Kalimantan. The data collection in this research originates from online media news established regarding the policy of moving the new national capital from April 2019 to January 2022. The data obtained were analyzed using Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's framing analysis involving four structures: syntactical structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetorical structure (Eriyanto, 2002).

RESULTS

Entman (1993) defined framing as a process that involves selecting several aspects of reality and making them more prominent in the communicated text (Alitavoli, 2019). Framing is how the media positions an event, including preparing and presenting facts. In connection with the online media framing, which is the focus of this research, different frequencies were found in reporting on the policy of moving the Indonesian national capital. This is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 provides information that online mass media in Indonesia gave different attention to the "policy of relocation of the national capital of Indonesia to the new national capital city (NNC)". Online media that paid serious attention was Kompas.com, with a frequency of 31 news stories in 10-month intervals from April 2019 to January 2022.

Table 1: Press attention by online media

No.	Online Media Platform Name	Reporting Frequency	Percentage
1	Kompas.com	31	52.55%
2	Cnbcindonesia.com	13	22.03%
3	CNNIndonesia.com	6	10.17%
4	MetroTVNews.com	9	15.25%
Total		59	100%

(Source: Secondary data, 2022)

The data found from the four online media platforms, which were the object of the research, were analyzed using Kosicki and Pan's framing, which is divided into four categories: syntactical structure (how journalists arrange facts), script structure (how journalists tell facts), thematic structure (how journalists write facts), and rhetorical structure (the way journalists emphasize facts).

Kompas

Kompas.com reported on the policy of moving the national capital in 31 online news articles from April 2019 to January 2022. Kompas.com constructs the policy of relocation of the new national capital (NNC) from the point of view of:

Syntactical structure: Kompas.com chose to report on the new national capital (NNC) policy with an inconsistent or random tendency. Of the 31 news samples, only 4 (13.3%) questioned the policy of moving the national capital. This means that 86.7% of the news at Kompas.com showed a positive attitude towards moving the national capital, even though Kompas.com did not explicitly state that the government's policy is neutral towards moving the national capital of Indonesia.

Headlines that showed a positive attitude towards the policy of moving Indonesia's national capital to East Kalimantan Province were, among others, "the policy of moving the NC pays attention to local wisdom"; "sources of capital for the development of the NNC, all of which are not covered by the State Expenditure Development Budget"; "the government's goal of moving the capital city"; "stages and schemes for moving the capital city"; "election of the NC authority"; "the name of the new capital city: "Nusantara"; "the new capital city has zero percent poverty"; and "portraits of other countries that have successfully moved their capital cities". Then, a news headline at Kompas.com disputed the policy of moving the capital city, stating that the government's policy of moving the capital city was considered unemotional because the country was hit by the COVID-19 pandemic, and the discussion of the bill on the relocation of the national capital was questioned because it was considered too hasty.

The lead displayed by Kompas.com regarding moving the national capital tended to highlight the positive side or support for this policy. For example, the

lead indicated that the policy of moving the capital city must consider local wisdom through government regulations, and the development budget for the new national capital will not be entirely borne by the state development and expenditure budget but will be supported by private investment with an estimated IDR 466 trillion. Another lead shown by Kompas.com was highlighting the main objectives of moving the capital city, which are efforts to build a centre for sustainable innovation and progress of the nation, stages, schemes, and sources of costs for the construction of a new capital city, determination of leaders for a new capital city, and "Nusantara" as the name of the new capital.

Additionally, according to the news background on Kompas.com, moving the capital city has a broad objective: advancing and distributing national development fairly. As a result, the government prepares the stages of moving the capital city and budgeting for and orienting capital development in the new location. In this context, Kompas.com journalists positioned the news of the capital city move as important content for the Indonesian people to know. In other words, Kompas.com emphasizes its function as a media or information channel for Indonesian government policies.

On the other hand, Kompas.com also reported on parties who were against the policy of moving the capital city, but with a small proportion—only 13.3%. For example, the news about parties who are against the policy that was displayed questioned the urgency of the current policy on the national level and what the sin of the City of Jakarta is so that it has to move. Another piece of news featured by Kompas.com was an assessment of the government's policy regarding moving the capital city, which is currently considered not empathetic towards the people. The background to this contradictory news is that the current relocation of the capital city is inappropriate because people are still being hit by the COVID-19 pandemic, the national economy is still in a slump, and problems in Jakarta must be resolved, not relocated.

Script Structure: In the news featured at Kompas.com, the side shown was the "what" dimension, which states the substance of the news about "the planned relocation of the capital city"; "the development

of the new national capital to be oriented to local wisdom: the new national capital development phase"; "the NNC budget to not be all borne by the state spending development budget"; "the purpose of the NNC to be for the progress of the nation"; "the early history of moving the nation's capital"; "the NNC plan as a big project for President Jokowi-Ma'ruf Amin"; "the NNC development phase"; and the new capital city bill. In the "Who" dimension, Kompas.com predominantly displayed figures from the government and supporters of the policy of moving the capital, including the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo; Fourth Deputy Chief of the Presidential Staff, Juri Ardiantoro; Minister of State Secretary, Pratikno; Minister of National Development Planning/Head of National Development Planning Agency, Suharso Monoarfa; Secretary General of the Democratic National Party, Johnny G. Plate; Coordinating Minister for the Economy, Airlangga Hartarto; and Expert Staff for Leading Sector Development and Infrastructure of the Ministry of National Development Planning, Velix Vernando Wanggai. By involving figures from the government as much as 86.7%, the position of Kompas.com is as a channel for government policies towards the public. In this context, Kompas.com prioritizes a policy agenda. On the other hand, Kompas.com also displays statements from parties that dispute the NNC, which are the opposition political parties (the Prosperous Justice Party and the Democratic Party), which oppose the policy of moving the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia.

In the "where" dimension, Kompas.com displayed the setting where the news was reported, namely the Office of the People's Representative Council, the Presidential Palace, and Ministry Offices. From the point of view of the place, it showed that the physical context where communication occurred was in government institutions. "The How" dimension at Kompas.com describes the stages of moving the capital city, the institutions that are prioritized to be moved first, and descriptions of sources of financing for the construction of the new national capital.

The reason and purpose for moving the capital were the "why" aspects of the policy that Kompas.com highlighted. The main reason is for progress and equitable development. The prominence in

this dimension was based on journalists' views on the important side that must be informed to the public about the objectives of the capital city relocation policy. The public's opposition to the policy was another "why" dimension that Kompas.com highlighted, in which journalists justified why the public was against it. Journalists have highlighted that Indonesia's policy of moving the national capital needs a solid foundation for resolving national issues. Then, the economic conditions and public health deteriorated because of COVID-19, so the policy of moving the capital city needs to be correctly implemented.

Thematic Structure: It shows how journalists explain an event in sentences composing the whole text. Journalists can combine standard and non-standard language to manipulate the meaning of an event according to self-beneficial interests. Thematically, journalists will present news by stating the intent in detail or not in detail, explicitly or implicitly, coherently, and using specific pronouns.

Kompas.com journalists presented news about the policy of moving to the new capital city with details and clear intentions from the information source (the government) without any sentences or words omitted by Kompas.com journalists. Thus, Kompas.com only has a role as a channel for government policies to the public. In other words, Kompas.com does not have an agenda to be against the government's policy of moving Indonesia's national capital to Penajam Regency, East Kalimantan Province. Another proof that Kompas.com is only a channel of information is that it also reports on statements from opposition parties against the policy of moving the national capital. For example, a member of the Eleventh Commission of the House of Representatives from the Democratic Party faction, Didi Irawadi Syamsuddin, thought that the government had no empathy for the people if it continued to force the development of IKN amid the surge in COVID-19 cases because he saw that the current condition of the people was still deteriorating, both in terms of the economy and health.

Rhetorical Structure: Words or sentences are used by journalists to describe the policy of moving the capital city of Indonesia without being packaged with certain metaphors or suppositions. This means that

Kompas.com journalists are neutral in presenting news about the policy of moving the national capital, meaning that Kompas.com does not take sides with the government and the opposition.

CNBC Indonesia

CNBC Indonesia reported relocating the national capital 12 times in a 10-month research interval. CNBC Indonesia is constructing the policy of relocating Indonesia's new capital with the perspective of:

Syntactical Structure: The headlines highlighted in the news about the policy of moving the national capital by CNBC Indonesia were constructed into two categories. The first category was news headlines that disputed the policy of moving Indonesia's national capital. The proportion of this first news category was 33.3%. News headlines that disputed the policy were "Emil Salim to criticize the moving of the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia in front of Mahfud MD"; "The people still live in deprivation, and the capital city does not have to move now"; "Seeing the conditions of the new capital cities of 2 neighbouring countries of the Republic of Indonesia: deserted like a ghost town"; "Will the new capital of the Republic of Indonesia be deserted and difficult to develop?". Further, CNBC Indonesia News is a channel for information on government policies or agendas regarding relocating the capital city of Indonesia to the public. The proportion in the second news category was 66.7%. News that fell into this category were "Getting ready, next year 2,350 civil servants to move to the new capital city"; "Note! Schedule for moving civil servants of the 3 ministries to the new capital city"; "Super sophisticated! This is the defence architecture in the new capital city"; Foreign media highlights the new capital of the Republic of Indonesia; Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense civil servants get ready to move first to the new capital city"; "Getting closer! This is the schedule update for civil servants to move to the new capital of the Republic of Indonesia"; "Civil servants from these 3 ministries moved ahead to the new capital city"; and "five hundred thousand civil servants to move to the new capital city, can they refuse?".

Script Structure: Reporting, in general, has a writing structure of 5Ws + 1H. However, the news sometimes needs to fulfil this structure. CNBC Indonesia's

reporting on the policy of moving Indonesia's national capital to East Kalimantan Province highlighted the different "what" elements, which were the pros and cons. The "what" elements of the pro in the script structure were "the plan to move civil servants to the new capital city", "civil servants from these 3 ministries to the new capital city", and "super sophisticated defence architecture in the new capital." Meanwhile, the elements of the script that contrasted with the "what" element were "criticizing the aspiration to move the national capital", "the people are still having a hard time not having to move the capital now", and "the nation's new capital has the potential to be deserted and become a ghost town".

The "who" elements that appeared in the pro-policy news were "Bima Haria Wibisana, the Head of the National Civil Service Agency"; "Velix Vernando Wangai as Expert Staff to the Head of the National Development Planning Agency"; "Bogat Widyatmoko as Director of Defense and Security of the National Development Planning Agency"; while the "who" elements highlighted by the opposing public were "Prof. Emil Salim as an academic"; "Economist Fadhil Hasan from the Institute for Development of Economics and Finance (INDEF)"; "unilateral construction of CNBC Indonesia media"; "Prof. Sulfikar Amir from NTU Singapore".

The "when" element for the pro-policy script highlighted was that during the meeting of Second Commission members of the Indonesian People's Representative Council, sometimes the time was not stated, while the contra-policy script was a non-formal meeting organized by the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (Mahfud MD); a general hearing held by the Special Committee for the draft law on the national capital by the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia". Then, the "where" element, which is the locus for conveying arguments from pro- or contra-policy groups, was government institutions, for example, the Office of the People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, campuses, and virtual media. Additionally, CNBC Indonesia's "why" dimension prominently displayed a negative attitude toward moving the national capital to East Kalimantan Province because state finances do not support it, and there are no compelling reasons to do so.

Thematic Structure: It is thematically journalists' views on the policy of moving the new national capital. The views of journalists can be seen in the propositions, sentences, or relationships between sentences used. There are two categories of thematic structure that CNBC Indonesia uses in reporting on IKN: 1) CNBC Indonesia's construction of the government as a policy maker: the mechanism for moving the national capital and the state civil servants who will be transferred first to the NNC; 2) CNBC Indonesia's construction of criticism of the NNC policy: the NNC policy deserves to be rejected because it will complicate state finances and financing the development of the NNC is likened to a swap between the government and the private sector; there is no strong and urgent argument to move the capital city; foreign media highlighted the move of the NNC because Jakarta was already in danger of sinking. The NNC will likely become a deserted city, a ghost town that is difficult to develop.

Rhetoric Structure: It shows how journalists explain an event with a specific style or pronoun to highlight an event. The rhetorical dimension of CNBC Indonesia's news about the new capital city policy was constructed in several arguments by CNBC Indonesia's journalists, which were "back and forth in financing between the government and the private sector" and "criticism of the displacement, but in the content of the news is shown as empathy for the government."

CNN Indonesia

Six CNN Indonesia news articles underwent analysis. CNN Indonesia constructed the NNC policy from the point of view of:

Syntactical Structure: CNN Indonesia made headlines by showing news that disputed the policy of moving Indonesia's capital city. Syntactically, CNN Indonesia concluded that the policy of moving the new capital city was because of a Java-centric issue, ideally by considering central and regional aspirations. Then, IKN was claimed as a political promise from President Joko Widodo because it would not use the state budget for its development. In addition, CNN Indonesia presented criticism from an economist who stated that the new capital city could not answer Indonesia's priority problems. Then CNN Indonesia compiled headlines that the new capital would only become a ghost town like Myanmar, the threat of debt overruns,

and the potential for land disputes and conflicts with communities.

Script Structure: The script structure CNN Indonesia displayed in the "what" dimension was either fair or not Java-centric. This was CNN Indonesia highlighting the pro-policy side. Then, the script on the contra-policy side highlighted aspects of criticism and problems that will occur in the new capital city. CNN Indonesia's counter content displayed opposition figures or people known to oppose government policies, such as senior economist Faisal Basri and the University of Indonesia Student Executive Board.

Thematic Structure: CNN Indonesia thematically described the policy of relocating the capital city of Indonesia with counter- or contra-policy editorials. Contra-editorials from CNN Indonesia are indicated in two categories:

The selection of sentences in the news title differed from the news contents. For example, the headline reads, "Researchers from the national research and innovation agency criticize Javanese centrism for dominating the construction of the new capital city". However, the contents of this news report balanced the aspirations of the central and regional governments, the phase of moving the capital city, and equitable and sustainable development. Another example of a headline is "Remembering Jokowi's sweet promise to finance the new capital city with a minimal development budget for state spending". The sentence is confusing because the sentence chosen by the journalist is incomplete. The word "minimal" was not in sync with the previous sentence, "remembering President Joko Widodo's sweet promise to pay for the new capital city". The correct editorial for this sentence is "Jokowi's Sweet Promise that the cost of the new capital city will not burden the State Budget". Journalists need to use good editorials, which do not directly show the precise meaning of the news conveyed to the public.

CNN Indonesia sourced its news from individuals or groups who oppose the policy of moving the capital city. An example of the news was that "the three criticisms of the relocation of the capital city are concerns that the new capital will become a ghost city, a new capital city that has the potential to cause land disputes, and the possibility of government debt overrun to finance the project for the new capital city."

Rhetoric Structure: This dimension relates to the lexicon, style, and metaphor chosen by journalists in expressing news. CNN Indonesia used several dictionaries to describe or construct the policy of moving the national capital, including using the words "ghosts, disputes, and debts," which have negative connotations. Therefore, based on these words, the framing of CNN Indonesia tends to disagree with the capital city relocation.

Metro TVNews

Metro TVNews.com, as a news communication medium, constructs the NNC policies from the following perspectives:

Syntactical Structure: The headlines displayed were "The capital to be relocated to Kalimantan", "profit and loss for the relocation of the capital", and "announcement of the NNC". Headlines use short phrases to make it easier for viewers to remember the news. The lead was shown by highlighting that Indonesia has a population imbalance. As many as 60 percent of the population resides in the region of Java Island. Based on a study by the National Development Planning Agency, the capital city will be moved to Kalimantan. Then another argument presented by MetroTVNews.com was that the area that is used as the capital city must have a source of clean water, not be prone to flooding, and have adequate infrastructure, showing viewers a broad perspective or point of view on why the government is moving the capital city. The background to the events presented by MetroTVNews.com was that the relocation of the capital city is based on considerations for Indonesia's future. It is predicted that in 2030, or approximately 10 years to come, Indonesia will become the fourth economic power in the world, and therefore, the government is forward-thinking and visionary, leading viewers to think that the relocation of the capital city has been reviewed by the government and has long-term goals. Then, MetroTVNews.com also presented positive statements about the policy of relocating the capital city from resource persons who are experts in their respective fields, such as Basuki Hadimuljono (Minister of Public Works and Public Housing). The news closing displayed by MetroTV News Indonesia tended to be in the form of a question as to what the government's next steps will be, which is also

an observed unit in the syntactical structure of news about the policy of moving the capital and is an invitation to support the government's decision to relocate the capital. This is according to the news on August 1, 2019, which was conveyed by the news anchor MetroTVNews.com: "We will wait together to see which province President Joko Widodo will choose; it will be announced this month." The expression "we look forward to it together" implies that viewers agree with this government policy, so they are looking forward to the government's next steps in the context of relocating the capital city.

Script Structure: In MetroTVNew.com's news, what is highlighted the most is the "what" element, with lots of positive information being told or spoken by journalists in the news, leading viewers to support the government's policy. Sources used by MetroTVNews.com can also affect the quality of news content. Basuki Hadimuljono, Minister of Public Works and Public Housing; Sofyan Djalil, Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning; and President Joko Widodo are figures who are experts in their fields and competent in giving opinions or directions in the context of the NNC. This also affects the credibility of the news.

Thematic Structure: The general illustration given in the MetroTVNews.com news videos was regarding the steps and decisions taken by the government of the Republic of Indonesia to relocate the national capital. To support the government's move, the opinions of officials and experts involved in relocating the capital city were presented.

Rhetoric Structure: Some of the rhetorical elements used by MetroTVNews.com journalists are amelioration, infographics, and photographs to emphasize certain meanings. For example, as shown in Figure 1, there are several reasons for the capital city to move.

With the tagline "Knowledge to Elevate", MetroTVNews.com continues to strive to increase viewers' insight and knowledge as well as to become a media that has credibility, speed, and accuracy in conveying information. Using several ameliorative words, MetroTVNews.com constructs positive news and supports the policy of relocating the national capital.

DISCUSSION

Mass media is a message channel that mediates between reality and audiences so that, through media coverage, audiences can find out about an issue (Vivian, 2013). However, the reality conveyed by the media is the second reality constructed by journalists. In this context, it is called framing. Therefore, the media has the authority to take a pro or con position and highlight an event's positive or negative sides (Curran and Gibson, 2019).

In a policy context, the media should ideally be involved from the policy planning stage until the plan becomes a policy product. Still, in some cases, the role of the media is not limited, so the media is free to provide an interpretation of the policy. Starting from the unlimited role of the media, the media has the authority to display specific dimensions considered necessary by the media to be conveyed to the public (Araral et al., 2012).

After the law was passed to move the capital city of Indonesia to East Kalimantan Province, the media in Indonesia made headlines because it was an extraordinary event after Indonesia's independence. As a new event or policy, the media in Indonesia provide different framing based on the tendencies of the existing media. They provide a different construction based on data from the four online media studied: Kompas.com, CNN Indonesia, CNBC Indonesia, and MetroTVNews.com.

Kompas.com media showed a neutral attitude in reporting on government policy in moving the national capital to East Kalimantan Province. Meanwhile, Kompas.com reported on the positive and negative sides of this policy. The neutral side was shown by Kompas.com by displaying shops with pro and contra simultaneously, which are sources of quotes and sources in the news that are displayed. Then, MetroTVNews.com showed the construction of approval for moving the national capital. MetroTVNews.com agrees with the government's decision to move the capital city. In this position, MetroTVNews.com can be categorized as a government communication channel for the public. In other words, MetroTVNews.com, in its existence, recognizes the policy of moving the national capital to East Kalimantan Province. Meanwhile, CNBC Indonesia and CNN Indonesia presented news about

tending to disagree. This means that the two news media platforms highlight the negative sides of the policy of moving the national capital.

The existence of different responses from the Indonesian mass media to the policy of moving the capital city provides an affirmation that press freedom in Indonesia is quite good. This means that the mass media have broad authority in interpreting based on their perspective on government policies (Wolfe et al., 2013).

Based on the different responses displayed by online news media platforms in Indonesia, these media platforms play the role of watchdog and lapdog institutions. Watchdog means that the media is a guard and controller of government policies. In contrast, lapdog means that the media only becomes an institution that legalizes or provides recognition for all government policies (Whitten-Woodring, 2009). In reality, it can be assumed that the Indonesian mass media have a role as a pillar of democracy, where the press does not intervene in responding to policies by the state (Kumar and Singh, 2019; Stier, 2015).

Theoretical implications

Theoretically, the research implies that in agenda-setting and framing theory, the media has the authority to determine the direction of reporting about an event without any intervention by state power.

Practical implications

The results of this research can be used as a reference for the media industry to act as an information channel that upholds truth and justice. The media must stand independent or not side with the interests of certain groups.

Limitations and future research directions

Limitations of this research include the scope of research and data sources from only five online news media. Future research must involve conventional mass media with the same political affiliation as the government president in Indonesia when the research was conducted.

CONCLUSION

Based on the construction of the four online media platforms that became the object of this research, it can be concluded that Indonesian mass media are divided into three groups in response to the

policy of moving the national capital of Indonesia from Jakarta to Kalimantan Province. The three groups of responses are 1) agree, 2) neutral, and 3) against the policy. This reality shows that there are online media in Indonesia with a role as a channel for government policy that provides recognition to government policies and becomes a "lapdog". Then, on the other hand, mass media platforms become a means of control or "watchdog" of government policies.

Online mass media platforms agreed to construct the policy of relocating the capital city as an urgent government decision because it significantly reduces the problem of transportation congestion in Jakarta

and ensures equitable distribution of national development. Further, the contra-policy mass media constructed the policy of moving the capital city as a policy that is futile, inaccurate, and not empathetic to the condition of Indonesian people who are still affected by COVID-19. Thus, the behaviour of Indonesian media can be categorized in several ways: 1) The media in Indonesia are free in constructing government policies; 2) media agendas and policy agendas of the Indonesian government are not in line; 3) There is a media platform in Indonesia that serves as a channel for the opposition to criticize government policies

Table 2: Press attention by online media

Model	Un-standardized Coefficients		Standardize Coefficients		
	B	Std.Error	Beta	t-ratio	Sig.
(Constant)	1.417	0.234	0.413	6.055	0
		0.056			
Organizational Justice	0.876		0.669	15.642	0
(Constant)	1.326	0.242	0.408	5.788	0
Organizational Justice	0.227	0.11	0.296	2.063	0
Job Satisfaction	0.278	0.107	0.219	2.598	0.01

(Source: Secondary data, 2022)

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