Frame Building of President's IKN Visit Controversy in Indonesian News Portals

Benni Handayani [1*], Fitri Hardianti [2] & Bi Shanshan [3]

[1,2] Universitas Islam Riau, Indonesia
[3] Guangxi Arts University, China
* email. bennihandayani@comm.uir.ac.id

ABSTRACT

The media play a critical role in shaping public perception through framing strategies, particularly in politically symbolic events. This study investigates how slant and source differences across Indonesian online news portals influence the framing of President Joko Widodo's visit to Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) on July 28, 2024, which was accompanied by public influencers. Using a quantitative content analysis, 87 news articles from 10 national news portals were analyzed through Semetko and Valkenburg's five generic news frames. The findings reveal statistically significant relationships between news portal and news slant, as well as between news portal and source selection, confirmed by the Fisher-Freeman-Halton Exact Test ($p < .001$). MANOVA results indicate media effects across multiple frames. The news portal, news slant, and source type significantly influenced the conflict frame. Responsibility framing was most affected by the portal variable, while human-interest and morality frames were more prevalent in articles citing intellectuals and NGOs. Interestingly, economic consequence framing showed no significant variation, suggesting a lack of focus on economic dimensions. Although limited by time and sample scope, this study contributes to understanding how media selectively construct national narratives, reinforcing conflict and ideological bias through framing choices.

Keywords: Media framing, news portals, ikn, influencers, Jokowi

INTRODUCTION

President Joko Widodo's speech at the Indonesian parliament (DPR RI) on August 16, 2019, marked the starting point for developing Indonesia's new capital. Some see the capital relocation plan as part of the national strategic projects (PSN) as the last act in Jokowi's political theatre before the end of his term. This project has sparked pros and cons within the government and among the public (Azani et al., 2023). *The Indostrategic* survey reported that 57.3 % of Indonesian respondents disagreed with the capital relocation project from Jakarta to Kalimantan (CNN Indonesia, 2023). Mass media reports on this project from certain angles, such as budget controversies (kaltim.bpk.go.id, 2022) and decisions perceived as rushed (Aditya & Ramadhan, 2024). The IKN controversy resurfaced in public discussions since various national media outlets reported President Joko Widodo's official visit to IKN on July 28, 2024, accompanied by several celebrities and influencers. Media coverage of President Joko Widodo's official visit to IKN (Ibu Kota Nusantara), accompanied by influencers, has been perceived as a "government blunder" and caused public outrage. The influencer's involvement was considered insignificant and had no impact; instead, it provoked debate and criticism everywhere. As highlighted in previous research by Lani & Handayani (2021), government PR units often fail to perform key strategies such as early-stage research, communications planning, results evaluation, and standard functions in the private sector PR model.

Alvin (2022) in his book mentions that "the main reason influencer relations will replace media relations is that people are more likely to trust and follow the messages from popular, well-known, and attractive figures". In Indonesia, influencer relations have become a trend to enhance political actors' communication strategies in delivering messages, rather than relying on media relations. Influencers primarily serve as endorsers, whereas journalists act as watchdogs who may critique and frame the News, which might present challenges that either benefit or hinder political actors, because the fundamental effect of framing could be shifting the political opinion. These effects have been documented across various issues (Oxley, 2020).

As the fourth pillar in Indonesia's democratic system, the press significantly influences conveying information about government policy. (Makhshun & Khalilurrahman, 2018), as well as infrastructure developments (Hutagalung et al., 2023). This influence has grown, particularly since media convergence has driven the rise of online news portals, which have become more popular than print media in the digital era (Ratna, 2021). Speed is fundamental to modern journalism. However, some aspects might be overlooked, such as objectivity, unrepresentative news sources, or overly explicit news framing. This makes news framing and construction even more interesting due to the potential decline in news quality (Karlsson, 2012).

To understand how news content is shaped, it is important to examine the role of new sources and the use of news frames in journalism. In traditional journalism, the selection of news sources is important. 'sources' is referring to any person, document or entity that provides information as a resource for reporters/journalists to write news stories, including documented sources, social media, websites, as well as individuals such as eyewitness, whistle-blowers, government employees, law enforcement personnel, political figures, corporate executives, community members, advocacy organizations, and accredited communication professionals. The relationship between journalists and news sources is the core of journalism. In simple terms, without a news source, there is no journalism. However, Fisher (2018) mention that the distinction between journalists and sources all but dissolved, journalists are no longer the sole 'gatekeeper' for new information after the emergence of digital system which have changed the world of journalism, traditional journalist-source relationship has become optional, as individual sources can either 'engage' or 'disengage' depending on the audience they need to connect with.

This shift has also influenced how News is framed, as journalists and media outlets must now compete with various information sources to attract public attention. In light of this, analyzing how issues are framed in the News becomes even more crucial to understanding media influence. This study adopts news frames by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000). Semetko & Valkenburg identify five news frames in general across various contexts and issues in news coverage: responsibility frame, conflict frame, morality frame, human-interest frame, and economic consequences frame.

The responsibility frame portrays an issue or problem by assigning the cause or solution to the government, a specific individual, or a group. This frame shapes public perceptions of who should be responsible regarding the discussed issues

.To attract audience interest, the human-interest frame emphasizes emotions to personalize and dramatize news stories. The Conflict frame emphasizes conflict among two actors in the News (institutions, groups, or individuals), explicitly portraying them as opposing sides.

This frame situates events, problems, or issues within religious values or moral guidelines. Because of the norms of journalistic objectivity, reporters often indirectly allude to moral framing. The economic consequences frame depicts an event, issue, or problem regarding its potential financial effects on individuals, groups, institutions, regions, or nations.

The set of five generic frames developed by Semetko and Valkenburg has been employed in certain past studies to analyze newspaper such as Kee et al. (2010) study which used these frames to examine the framing of Malaysian mainstream newspaper on public perception and behavior regarding health during the H1N1 pandemic, and study by Hoong et al. (2021) Analyzing how Malaysian

newspapers engage in reflective framing regarding the implementation of SST 2.0. Additionally, another study used these frames in a political issue, such as how two mainstream newspapers framed the 2018 elections in Zimbabwe and their impact on democracy (Schwalbe et al., 2018).

Referring to applying this theory in previous studies, this study adopts the same five generic frames to examine how Indonesian media frame the controversy surrounding President Joko Widodo's visit to IKN with influencers. Several news articles related to this topic will be collected from the top 10 most-visited Indonesian news and media publisher websites in 2024, based on the Reuters Institute ranking. Through a quantitative content analysis approach, this study focuses on measuring the use of news sources in news reporting. Furthermore, we also analyze news framing based on the five generic news frames by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000): responsibility frame, conflict frame, morality frame, human-interest frame, and economic consequences frame, to examine the direction of news slant and news sources involved in selected news portals' coverage of President Joko Widodo's official visit to IKN with influencers, as well as to assess the overall media impact, news slant as well as news sources on the five generic news frames.

This research aims to fill the gap and provide comprehensive insight into how the selective inclusion of news sources shapes public perception and how the media contributes to democracy as a 'watchdog' in evaluating national development policy, while also serving as a critic of legislative, executive, and law enforcement institutions (Simarmata, 2014). Research on media framing in political issues has been widely conducted; however, multivariate statistical approaches such as MANOVA remain underutilized, particularly in the context of strategic government policy framing that involves non-government actors like influencers. For example, Han & Kim (2023) used MANOVA to examine the influence of perceived commentator ideology on partisan attitudes. However, their study focused primarily on news programs and did not explore government political communication strategies. Similarly, Sumnall et al. (2023) applied MANOVA to analyze the framing of drug-related deaths and their effects on stigma and policy support. However, the research fell outside the scope of political framing or influencer involvement. These studies highlight the analytical potential of MANOVA for examining how media framing influences public perception. However, few have applied this method to the context of government communication strategies that incorporate influencers in framing political issues.

In contrast, much of the content analysis research on political and government communication has been qualitative. For instance, Can & Jusufi (2024) and Mare (2018) examined the use of campaign speeches and Facebook posts in Turkish and Zimbabwean elections. Geise et al. (2024) and Moir (2023) explored how politicians utilized Instagram, Facebook, and TikTok to deliver

personal and emotional messages, particularly to appeal to younger audiences, while Russmann (2021) investigated the quality of communication between political parties, the media, and the public during Austria's 2013 election. These studies are common, especially around national election periods across various countries. In addressing these gaps, this study employs a quantitative content analysis using the five generic frames developed by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000). These frames are statistically analyzed using MANOVA to capture complex variations across news categories.

As a multivariate technique, MANOVA enables the simultaneous testing of multiple dependent variables against one or more independent variables, Therefore, this study aims to; examine differences in news slants across selected Indonesian news portals; analyze variations in the types of news sources used in coverage of President Joko Widodo's visit to IKN with influencers, and; Assess how the use of slants, sources, and media portals affects the deployment of generic news frames. These objectives are addressed using a quantitative content analysis and multivariate analysis (MANOVA) to gain deeper insight into the dynamics of political communication in the digital media landscape, offering a more nuanced understanding of framing effects. Therefore, this study contributes by examining how media framing across 10 Indonesian news portals presents President Joko Widodo's visit to the new capital (IKN), particularly through the involvement of influencers as non-traditional actors in political communication.

RESEARCH METHOD

Research approach, this study employed a quantitative content analysis approach by analyzing the news reports regarding the topic discussed in the introduction. Over time, content analysis has gradually developed into two main approaches: qualitative and quantitative (Kunz, 2019). This method is commonly used across various studies on media coverage to examine aspects such as news sources, media placement, media identity, and more (Rumata, 2017). Quantitative content analysis was introduced by Berelson (1952) and involves measuring how frequently certain elements appear in a document. In media framing studies, this approach emphasizes counting the occurrence of predetermined news frames that are set as variables in the analysis, which reflects the use of a deductive method (Samsudin, 2020). These elements are categorized and analyzed to generate a numerical summary (Neuendorf, 2018).

Data sources and sampling technique, in this study, News was collected from national online news portals, starting with publications from July 28, 2024, following the issue that emerged. As several studies might define a fixed period for collecting data, we adopted a comprehensive sampling approach. We did not impose a strict end date to capture all news reports related to the topic from when the issue emerged. The news portals were selected based on the 10 most-visited

news portals in Indonesia according to Reuters Institute (2024): detik.com, kompas.com, tribunnews.com, tvonenews.com, cnnindonesia.com, liputan6.com, metrotvnews.com, kumparan.com, tempo.co, and sindonews.com. Eighty-seven news headlines were retrieved using three keywords: 'Jokowi', 'IKN', and 'influencer' in the search boxes of each of the 10 selected news portal websites. While this is a relatively small number, it covers coverage from Indonesia's top 10 national news portals, ensuring various perspectives. Thus, while the findings may not be generalizable to all media outlets in Indonesia, they are indicative of patterns in the dominant digital news environment.

Code book and coding procedure, Seuring & Gold (2012), outlined four recommended steps, beginning with selecting documents for analysis. The second step involves evaluating their descriptive features, such as publication year, length, and authorship. The third step is that researchers need to identify the dimensions of research interest and their related categories, resulting in several codes (i.e., labels for specific concepts). The final step involves applying these codes to specific words or sentences within the text, known as "coding". This serves as the foundation for recognizing patterns within the document. Whether quantitative or qualitative, content analysis requires a codebook created by researchers as guidelines for coding the content (Krippendorff, 2018). The following codebook was developed and used in this study to guide the coding process:

Table 1. Codebook for Content Analysis

1	Coder's Name	Initial your name (e.g., BHT) on the coding sheet before starting the article analysis.
2	Unit of Analysis (Unit Number:)	Assign a serial number to each unit (article), beginning with '001' for the first, and continue numbering sequentially for each additional unit. This column indicates the total number of articles analyzed.
3	Portal news	List the news portal title and its respective code in the field below.: 1. detik.com; 2. kompas.com; 3. tribunnews.com; 4. tvonenews.com; 5. cnnindonesia.com; 6. liputan6.com; 7. metrotvnews.com; 8. kumparan.com; 9. tempo.com; 10. sindonews.com
4	Publication Date of the News Article	Record the publication date of every news article analyzed, using the format [DD.MM.YY]—e.g., March 13, 2014 should be written as 13.03.14.
5a	Headline	Record the news article's headline as it appears in the original language. If the headline is particularly long (exceeding 10 words), you may include only the portion that best captures the main idea of the News. E.g., "There are not enough parking bays in commercial and residential areas in Pekanbaru" may be recorded as "lack of parking bays in PKU".

5b	Translation	Translate the article's headline into Indonesian if it is in English.
6a	Page	Enter the page number where the article being examined was found
6b	Section	Record the section where the analyzed article was published, such as National, Regional, Views, Sports, or Entertainment
7a	Main Sources of News	Record the name of any individual(s) or organization(s) whose statements are directly quoted in the article." If no direct quotations are present, record whether the article is categorized as an opinion or editorial
8	Frame Attributes	There are 18 items under this section. Each item is in the form of an evaluative statement. You are required to evaluate the news report using all 18 evaluative statements. Check the "Yes" box beside the statement if it applies to the news report. Otherwise, check "No" to indicate the statement is not applicable. You are reminded to complete reading the whole news report before beginning this analysis. *(Refer to the Coding Sheet for details on the 18 statements.)*
9	News Slant	After reading the full news report, assign a direction to the article by selecting 'Pro', 'Against', or 'Balanced' using the code definitions below: 1.0 Balance 1.1 Pro 1.2 Negative
10	Remarks	This section is optional and may be used to share observations, including feedback on the article, difficulties, or noteworthy moments experienced while coding.

Source: Author's data analysis, 2024.

We used 18 items to measure Semetko & Valkenburg's (2000) five news frames in coding the data from selected news headlines. There are four items for the responsibility frame, 5 for the human-interest frame, and three for the conflict, morality, and economic consequences frames. Each item was coded with two options: *'yes'* or *'no'*.

Attribution of responsibility; the news content reflects the belief that a designated government level can contribute to resolving the issue, the News suggests that a particular tier of government bears responsibility for the problem. The News proposes potential solutions to the issue. The News suggests that responsibility for the issue lies with an individual or a group within society.

Human-interest; The News provides a human example of "human face" on the issue, the News applies expressive adjectives or personal narratives that stir emotional responses like empathy, sympathy, outrage, or compassion, the News emphasizes which individuals and groups are affected by the issue, the News highlights aspects of the personal or private lives of the actors, and the News

contains visual element that might generate feelings of empathy, compassion, outrage, sympathy, or caring.

Conflict: The News portrays disputes or disagreements involving parties, individuals, and/or groups, the News contains content in which parties, individuals, or groups engage in mutual criticism or blame, and the News refers to both sides or multiple perspectives on the issue.

Morality: The News contains elements that encourage a moral message, references moral values, religious beliefs, and God, and offers behavioral guidance grounded in social values.

Economic consequences: The News mentions financial losses or gains now or in the future, the costs or degree of expenses involved, and the economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action.

Additionally, this study analyzes the news sources cited in selected headlines. News sources play a critical role in framing how issues are presented to the public by journalists. D'Angelo and Shaw (2018) define news sources as individuals or groups aiming to shape public views and behaviors by promoting specific perspectives. Often, these sources belong to organizations that design collective strategies and collaborate with journalists, media consultants, or public relations firms to amplify their narratives.

In this study, we adapt and refine the classification by Hoong et al. (2021), originally consisting of Government, Opposition, Intellectuals, and NGOs. We modify "Opposition" to "Political Pundits" to better reflect the actors cited in our context and add "Influencers" as a fifth category, given their active role in news coverage of President Jokowi's IKN visit.

Using a coding sheet, each article was analyzed for news slant, categorized as pro, contra, neutral, or balanced. "Pro" emphasizes positive aspects, "contra" highlights negatives, "neutral" presents information factually without bias, and "balanced" provides equal representation of opposing views.

For statistical analysis, Hypothesis 1 examines differences in news slants and sources across portals. Hypothesis 2 tests whether portal type, sources, and slant significantly affect the five generic news frames..

All these processes were coded and keyed into IBM SPSS Statistics 29.0.2.0 (20) version. The Chi-Square test was deemed inappropriate due to its sensitivity to sparse data to address Hypothesis 1a and 1b, which involved categorical variables with several low expected frequencies, including zero values. Therefore, we employed the Fisher-Freeman-Halton Exact Test, a non-parametric alternative suitable for larger contingency tables and small sample sizes. In our study, the cross-tabulations involved a 10 (rows) x 4 (columns) table for news portals and news slants, and a 10 x 5 table for news portals and news sources (Freeman & Halton, 1951). This test maintains statistical accuracy in sparse data conditions and accommodates zero cells (Gunn et al., 2023; Moreno et al., 2022). Exact

significance values were computed using the Monte Carlo method with 99% confidence intervals.

Hypothesis 2 was tested using a one-way Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA), with Pillai's Trace as the multivariate test statistic. MANOVA was selected because it allows for the simultaneous assessment of multiple correlated dependent variables across different groups of independent variables. This analysis examined the combined effects of news portal, news source, and news slant on the five generic news frames. Among the four common multivariate test statistics (Pillai's Trace, Wilks' Lambda, Hotelling's Trace, and Roy's Largest Root), Pillai's Trace was chosen due to its reliability in situations where assumptions may be violated, especially in cases of unequal sample sizes or when multivariate normality is not completely met (Olson, 1976). Additionally, Box's M test indicated a significant result (M = 112.953, p = .001), suggesting inequality of covariance matrices across groups, further justifying the use of Pillai's Trace. The sample size was deemed adequate to detect medium effects based on prior power considerations.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A total of 87 headlines from the 10 most-visited news portals were analyzed. Of this, 19.5% (17) of the headlines were published by tribunnews.com, 17.2% (15) by Tempo.co, 14.9% (13) headlines published by detik.com, 11.5% (10) headlines by kompas.com, 8% (7) headlines by metrotvnews.com, 6,9% (6) headlines each by liputan6.com and sindonews.com, 5.7% (5) headlines each by tvones.com and cnnindonesia.com, and 3.4% (3) headlines by kumparan.com. Figure 1 below shows the frequencies.
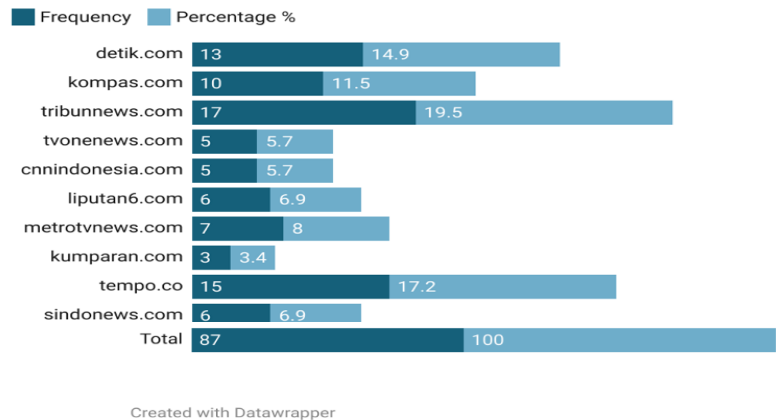
Source: Author's data analysis, 2024.

Figure 1. News Coverage of President Joko Widodo's Official Visit to IKN with Influencers Across 10 News Portals

Regarding news slant, most articles were classified as positive/pro at 41.4% (36), with neutral slant trailing at 28.7% (25). In contrast, 21.8% (19) of the articles displayed a negative/contra slant, while balanced coverage was minimal, comprising only 8% (7), as shown in Figure 2

Created with Datawrapper
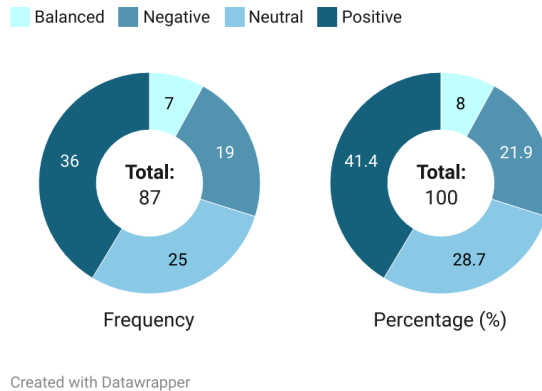
Source: Author's data analysis 2024.

Figure 2. Slant in the News Coverage of President Joko Widodo's Official Visit to IKN with Influencers Across 10 News Portals

Several headline examples representing distinct slants are illustrated in

Table 2. Examples of Different News Slants Reflected in Headlines

HEADLINE	SLANT	PORTAL NEWS	DATE
Jokowi's Style in a Nusantara Jacket Riding a Motorcycle with Artists at IKN	Positive	detik.com	28/07/24
Jokowi Invites Artists and Influencers to IKN, Dinner with Sushi and Burgers	Positive	sindonews.com	29/07/24
Jokowi-Iriana's Moment of Inviting "Influencers" to Dinner at IKN	Positive	kompas.com	29/07/24
Pratikno Reveals Reason for Inviting Artists-Influencers to Accompany Jokowi to IKN	Positive	kumparan.com	01/08/24
OPINION: Influencers, Buzzers and IKN Investors	Negative	liputan6.com	28/07/24
BRIN Observer's Criticism of Jokowi Inviting Influencers to IKN: What's the Urgency?	Negative	tribunnews.com	30/07/24
Press Council Criticizes Jokowi Inviting Influencers to IKN Instead of Journalists	Negative	cnnindonesia.com	01/08/24
Observer: Jokowi Panicked, Bringing Artists and Influencers to IKN to Build a Positive Image	Negative	tribunnews.com	30/07/24
Jokowi Departs for IKN, Invites Artists-Influencers to See Development Progress	Neutral	detik.com	28/07/24

HEADLINE	SLANT	PORTAL NEWS	DATE
After Celebrities and "Influencers", It's the Turn of 500 Volunteers That President Jokowi Will Invite to See IKN Development	Neutral	tvonenews.com	31/07/24
Jokowi Invites Several Influencers to IKN, Including Nagita and Atta-Aurel	Neutral	kompas.com	28/07/24
Not Alone, Jokowi to IKN with Celebrities: Including Raffi Ahmad to Atta Halilintar	Neutral	tribunnews.com	28/07/24
Why Local "Influencers" Were Not Invited by Jokowi to Review IKN	Balanced	kompas.com	30/07/24
Today Jokowi Invites Artists to Fly to IKN, Including Nagita, Atta Halilintar to Gading Marten	Balanced	tribunnews.com	28/07/24
Jokowi Invites Influencers to IKN Considered Panic by Political Observers to the Issue of Restless Sleep	Balanced	tempo.co	30/07/24
President Invites Influencers to Try Fast Access to IKN	Balanced	metrotvnews.com	29/07/24

Source: Author's data analysis, 2024.

Regarding news sources, Figure 3 shows that the government was the most dominant primary source, 63.2% (55), due to the President being the main actor of this issue. Followed by political pundits 20,7% (18), political pundits were used in the News to present this issue from a political point of view. Meanwhile, intellectuals were cited 2.3% (2) and NGOs 5.8% (5) of the articles. Influencers were also frequently cited, 8.0% (7), as they were directly involved in the issue.

Created with Datawrapper
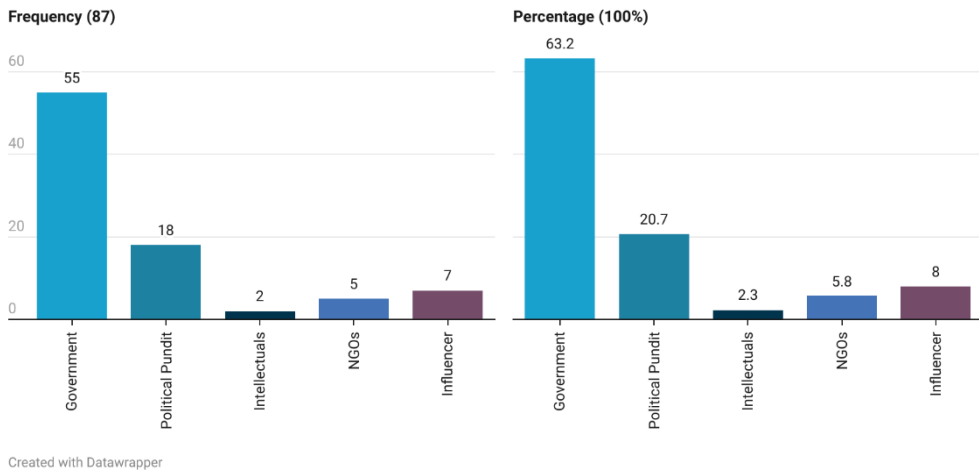
Source: Author's data analysis, 2024.

Figure 3. Frequency of News Sources in the News Coverage of President Joko Widodo's Official Visit to IKN with Influencers

Hypotheses testing

Hypothesis 1a: there is a significant difference between the news slants in the coverage of President Joko Widodo's Official Visit to IKN, with Influencers used by the selected news portals

Table 3. Cross-Tabulation Result of News Slants and Selected News Portals

Portal News	News Slant			
	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Balanced
detik.com	0.0% (0)	27.8% (10)	12.0% (3)	0.0% (0)
kompas.com	0.0% (0)	16.7% (6)	4.0% (1)	42.9% (3)
tribunnews.com	31.6% (6)	19.4% (7)	12.0% (3)	14.3% (1)
tvonenews.com	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	20.0% (5)	0.0% (0)
cnnindonesia.com	5.3% (1)	2.8% (1)	12.0% (3)	0.0% (0)
liputan6.com	5.3% (1)	13.9% (5)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
metrotvnews.com	10.5% (2)	0.0% (0)	16.0% (4)	14.3% (1)
kumparan.com	5.3% (1)	2.8% (1)	4.0% (1)	0.0% (0)
tempo.co	36.8% (7)	2.8% (1)	20.0% (5)	28.6% (2)
sindonews.com	5.3% (1)	13.9% (5)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)

			Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)	
	Value	Significance	99% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Fisher-Freeman-Halton Exact Test	52.909	<.001[b]	<.001	<.001

Source: Author's data analysis (SPSS, 2024)

The results of the analysis showed a significant difference between news slants and news portals. This was proven by the Fisher-Freeman-Halton Exact Test value 52.909 (p <.001). This finding explains that each online news portal has a distinct pattern in presenting news slants. Editorial policies, ownership interests, or audience preferences potentially influence the differences in news slant. Some news portals emphasize the benefits, while others highlight the controversies. Meanwhile, neutral and balanced tend to avoid bias.

Hypothesis 1b: there is a significant difference between the news sources used in the coverage of President Joko Widodo's Official Visit to IKN, with Influencers among the selected news portals

Table 4. Cross-Tabulation Result of News Sources and Selected News Portals

Portal News	News Sources				
	Government	Political Pundit	Intellectuals	NGOs	Influencers
detik.com	21.8% (12)	0	0	0	14.3% (1)
kompas.com	9.1% (5)	0	0	60.0% (3)	28.6% (2)
tribunnews.com	20.0% (11)	33.3% (6)	0	0	0
tvonenews.com	9.1% (5)	0	0	0	0
cnnindonesia.com	7.3% (4)	0	0	20.0% (1)	0

liputan6.com	7.3 (4)	0	50.0% (1)	0	14.3% (1)
metrotvnews.com	7.3 (4)	16.7% (3)	0	0	0
kumparan.com	3.6% (2)	5.6% (1)	0	0	0
tempo.com	9.1% (5)	44.4% (8)	50.0% (1)	0	14.3% (1)
sindonews.com	5.5% (3)	0	0	20.0% (1)	28.6% (2)

	Value	Significance	Monte Carlo Sig. (2-sided)	
			99% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Fisher-Freeman-Halton Exact Test	51.070	<.001ᵇ	<.001	.001

Source: Author's data analysis (SPSS, 2024)

A cross-tabulation of news sources and the selected news portals revealed significant differences across news portals in terms of Joko Widodo's office. A visit to IKN with Influencers' news coverage. This was proven by the Fisher-Freeman-Halton Exact Test value 51.070 (p <.001), indicating a significant association between news portals and their selection of sources. The results showed that selecting news sources is a way to shape and influence public perception of the issue being discussed. Although all news portals cited the government, NGOs' sources appeared more intensively in kompas.com, sindonews.com, and cnn.com. Intellectual sources were more often cited in Liputan6.com, while Tempo. Co-tended to cite political pundits and intellectuals dominantly.

Hypothesis 2: news portals, news slants, and news sources have a significant effect on specific generic news frames. The data collected were analyzed through MANOVA to determine which of the five generic news frames were most prominently used by the news portals in covering the topic. Table 5 presents the MANOVA findings on the impact of the categorized independent variables on the study's dependent variables

Table 5. Table 5. MANOVA of Five Generic News Frames in Jokowi's IKN Visit Coverage

Frame		SS	df	MS	F	Sig.
	Portal News	14.811	9	1.646	2.975	.004**
Responsibility	News Sources	5.037	4	1.259	1.972	.106
	News Slant	2.407	3	0.802	1.211	.311
	Portal News	21.040	9	2.338	1.701	.103
Human-Interest	News Sources	30.250	4	7.563	6.420	.001**
	News Slant	20.372	3	6.791	5.293	.002**
	Portal News	22.229	9	2.470	2.849	.006*
Conflict	News Sources	48.700	4	12.175	24.780	.001**
	News Slant	50.326	3	16.775	36.013	.001**
	Portal News	4.418	9	0.491	1.204	.305
Morality	News Sources	4.660	4	1.165	3.066	.021*
	News Slant	2.481	3	0.827	2.059	.112

Economic Consequence	Portal News	6.279	9	0.698	0.735	.676
	News Sources	2.528	4	.632	.674	.612
	News Slant	3.490	3	1.163	1.272	.289

$**p < .01$, $*p < .05$
a: Pillai's Trace = .876, Partial Eta Squared = .175
b: Pillai's trace = .850, Partial Eta Squared = .213
c: Pillai's trace = .767, Partial Eta Squared = .256

Source: Author's data analysis (SPSS, 2024)

The MANOVA results in Table 5 indicate that media influence several generic frames, with a notable impact on the responsibility frame ($p = .004$) and conflict frame ($p = .006$). The News highlights the responsible parties and frames conflict as a prominent issue. Meanwhile, news sources have the most significant effect on the frame of human-interest ($p = .001$), the conflict frame ($p = .001$), and the morality frame ($p = .021$). This indicates that variations in news sources could influence how these aspects are framed in news coverage. In Addition, news slants have significantly affected the conflict frame ($p = .001$) and the human-interest frame ($p = .002$). This means the issue is constructed within conflict and human-interest frames depending on the news slant. However, no significant effect was found in the economic consequences frame. This concludes that among the news data collected, the economic consequences frame was not considered the main issue of the topic.

In terms of variance, the Partial Eta Squared in the MANOVA results indicates that news slant accounted for 25.6% of the variance across the five generic news frames. At the same time, news sources contributed 21.3%. Meanwhile, although news portals are still influential, they only contributed 17.5% according to Partial Eta Squared. Overall, the five generic news frames were more influenced by the news slant and the news sources' point of view, instead of solely by those portals' preferences or affiliation with the government.

This research has been quantitatively analyzed and presented in the previous section. This section will discuss the analysis, its implications, and the contributions of this research.

Differences in News Slants Across Selected News Portals and Variations in News Sources Used in the Coverage
News portals significantly influence how the responsibility is framed in news coverage. Whereas news sources and news slants have no significant influence, newsrooms allegedly control the responsibility frame, shaping public perception of who should be responsible for this issue without relying on news sources or news slants. The existence of news media website ownership aligns with the trend of ownership concentration in traditional mass media, which has persisted for many years in Indonesia (Nuffuss & Rohaningsih, 2021). Consequently, content

uniformity remains prevalent among affiliated mass media networks (Kamelia & Nusa, 2018). Eventually, the framing of issues continues to be controlled by news portals, whether they support or criticize, depending on their editorial policies and the coverage context. This suggests that slant differences are also shaped by editorial direction and ownership dynamics, reinforcing how media framing can reflect institutional biases.

The human-interest frame is not significantly affected by news portals. In contrast, news sources and news slants contribute more significantly to this, as do morality frames. Based on the results, intellectual and NGO sources are frequently used to shape this issue, which engages human interest and morality, resulting in a negative slant coverage. Intellectuals are often used as they are considered to have a more independent and objective point of view based on their expertise. Meanwhile, NGOs are used as they are considered to be grassroots representatives of public aspirations from the lower classes. These findings highlight how source selection plays a critical role in constructing the emotional and moral angles of the News.

Effects of News Slants, Sources, and Portals on Generic News Frames

Lastly, we found that all the variables significantly influence the conflict frame. News portals, news sources, and news slants all contribute to how the conflict is described. This means that President Joko Widodo's official visit to IKN with influencers is primarily viewed as a polemic and considered part of political image-building and a political gimmick, which sparks public distrust.

The President has utilized a 'digital populism' strategy by involving influencers to gain instant exposure. Digital populism is an effective shortcut to gain direct public interest without connecting with the press (Prior, 2021). However, this could be perceived as unethical if done by government representatives, such as the President, especially in official governance and government programs' agendas.

The spotlight on the related issues of IKN has ironically shifted toward personal critiques of the President. Our findings show that the frame of economic consequences was not addressed. However, IKN is closely related to a nation's financial capability and budgeting, which has yet to be settled. It is still debated whether IKN presents an opportunity or a challenge to the nation's economy (Rivandi & Pramono, 2024). This absence suggests that economic framing is intentionally underplayed or deprioritized in media narratives surrounding the visit.

In contrast to the findings of Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), where the economic consequences framework featured prominently, particularly in print media studies, our study found that such a framework was largely absent. However, this absence appears to be driven by context. In this case, news coverage of the President's visit to the capital city with influencers focused primarily on

critiques of the communication strategy, particularly the shift from traditional media engagement to influencer relations. As a result, national budgeting and financial planning discussions were deprioritized in favor of narratives questioning the ethical feasibility of engaging public figures to build a political image. This choice of framework reflects a selective emphasis on political symbolism and controversy, rather than on the economic implications of Indonesia's new capital project.

The President's maneuver in involving influencers during his visit to IKN is one of the social and digital culture implications, which is increasingly applied among various aspects, including at the executive level of the government in Indonesia. This shift from media relations to influencer relations has been observed in recent years. The assumption that politics and promotions are not separate has been a logical consequence of the influencer's involvement in political marketing and promotion (Arnesson, 2023). As influencers have a sufficient number of followers, they can effectively act as opinion leaders in communicating the message of political figures. However, as seen in this study, this concept does not always work as expected. Thus, this study reaffirms influencers' complex and sometimes counterproductive role in strategic political framing efforts.

CONCLUSION

This study has shown that news portals framed the coverage of Joko Widodo's official visit to IKN with influencers as a controversial issue. Theoretically, this study contributes to media framing literature by demonstrating that significant influences were observed not only by news portals but also by selecting news sources and news slants within the conflict frame. These results highlight how the media, sources, and news slants collectively dominate in shaping a structured narrative. Most of the news coverage, at least based on our analysis of the selected News, did not merely disseminate the information but emphasized polarization, reflecting the media's active role in evaluating, controlling, and criticizing the government. News sources from intellectuals and NGOs further validated this issue by framing it through human-interest and morality perspectives. Meanwhile, the economic consequences of the frame received minimal attention in the coverage, even though the IKN development still requires massive funding.

The findings highlight the importance of substantive digital populism strategies in political communication, as superficial image-building efforts may lead to negative media framing and unintended consequences for government reputation. The 'digital populism' strategy through influencer relations is perceived more as Jokowi's image-polishing campaign, rather than the dissemination of substantial problems in IKN's progress, which worsened the President's reputation. Methodologically, this study demonstrates that MANOVA and the Fisher-Freeman-Halton Exact Test are effective for analysing complex news

patterns, especially when dealing with small or uneven datasets. However, the findings are not generalizable, as the study is limited to a few online news portals, a specific period, and a single issue. Further research is recommended to expand the media coverage, including an analysis of audience responses.

REFERENCES

Aditya, N. R., & Ramadhan, A. (2024, July 9). Waktu Pemindahan Ibu Kota Belum Jelas, Djarot PDI-P: Konsekuensi Kebijakan Tergesa-gesa. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/07/09/16283271/waktu-pemindahan-ibu-kota-belum-jelas-djarot-pdi-p-konsekuensi-kebijakan

Alvin, S. (2022). Komunikasi politik di era digital: dari big data, influencer relations & kekuatan selebriti, hingga politik tawa. Deepublish.

Arnesson, J. (2023). Influencers as ideological intermediaries: Promotional politics and authenticity labour in influencer collaborations. Media, Culture & Society, 45(3), 528–544.

Azani, M., Hadiprashada, D., & Perdana, D. D. (2023). Analisis Framing Tentang Pemberitaan Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara Pada Media Online Republika. Co. Id Dan Kompas. Com. Jurnal Indonesia: Manajemen Informatika Dan Komunikasi, 4(3), 1432–1445.

Berelson, B. (1952). Content analysis in communication research.

Can, A., & Jusufi, A. (2024). Content Analysis of 2nd Round Campaigns of Candidates for the Presidency in the 2023 Turkish Presidential Election. International Journal, 5(10), 1620–1627.

CNN Indonesia. (2023, July 14). Survei Indostrategic: Mayoritas Warga Tak Setuju IKN Segera Pindah. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20230714183332-20-973640/survei-indostrategic-mayoritas-warga-tak-setuju-ikn-segera-pindah

D'Angelo, P., & Shaw, D. (2018). 11. Journalism as framing. Journalism, 19, 205.

Fisher, C. (2018). News Sources and Journalist–Source Interaction. In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication.

Freeman, G. H., & Halton, J. H. (1951). Note on an exact treatment of contingency, goodness of fit, and other problems of significance. Biometrika, 38(1/2), 141–149.

Geise, S., Maubach, K., & Boettcher Eli, A. (2024). Picture me in person: Personalization and emotionalization as political campaign strategies on social media in the German federal election period 2021. New Media & Society, 14614448231224032.

Gunn, S., Dale, M., Ovaska-Stafford, N., & Maltby, J. (2023). Mental health symptoms among those affected by Huntington's disease: A cross-sectional study. Brain and Behavior, 13(4), e2954.

Han, S., & Kim, S. (2023). The Effect of Forced Exposure to Crosscutting

Information: What Is the Effect of Broadcast News Shows That Deliver Opposing Opinions? Asian Journal for Public Opinion Research, 11(4), 306–328.

Hoong, O. C., Ibriahim, F., Yunus, N., & Nie, K. S. (2021). Reflection on the SST 2.0 frame building of four Malaysian print media. Journal of Media and Communication Research (SEARCH), 13 (3), 111–124.

Hutagalung, S. S., Kartika, T., & Suciska, W. (2023). Media Monitoring Analysis of Government Image in Infrastructure Development in Indonesia. Jurnal Komunikasi, 15(1), 212–227.

kaltim.bpk.go.id. (2022, January 28). Polemik Anggaran IKN, Airlangga bilang tidak pakai dana PEN, Anggaran ada di PUPR. https://kaltim.bpk.go.id/polemik-anggaran-ikn-airlangga-bilang-tidak-pakai-dana-pen-anggaran-ada-di-pupr/

Kamelia, F., & Nusa, L. (2018). Pemberitaan Hutang Indonesia Dalam Bingkai Media Online. Kanal: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikas, 7(1), 10–16. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.21070/kanal.v6i2.92

Karlsson, M. (2012). The online news cycle and the continuous alteration of crisis frames: A Swedish case study on how the immediacy of online News affected the framing of the swine flu epidemic. Journal of Organisational Transformation & Social Change, 9(3), 247–259.

Kee, C. P., Ibrahim, F., & Mustaffa, N. (2010). Framing a pandemic: analysis of Malaysian mainstream newspapers in the H1N1 coverage. Journal of Media and Information Warfare, 3, 105–122.

Krippendorff, K. (2018). Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology. Sage Publications.

Kunz, N. (2019). An automated quantitative content analysis process for humanitarian logistics research. Journal of Humanitarian Logistics and Supply Chain Management, 9(3), 475–491.

Lani, O. P., & Handayani, B. (2021). Peranan Humas Pemerintahan (Government Public Relations) dalam Menciptakan Reputasi Pemerintahan yang Baik. LONTAR: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi, 9(2), 130–140. https://doi.org/10.30656/lontar.v9i2.4071

Makhshun, T., & Khalilurrahman, K. (2018). Pengaruh Media Massa Dalam Kebijakan Pendidikan. TA'DIBUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam, 1(1), 57–68.

Mare, A. (2018). Politics unusual? Facebook and political campaigning during the 2013 harmonised elections in Zimbabwe. African Journalism Studies, 39(1), 90–110.

Moir, A. (2023). The use of TikTok for political campaigning in Canada: The case of Jagmeet Singh. Social Media+ Society, 9(1), 20563051231157604.

Moreno, A. M. P., Bravo-Gill, N., Mendez-Vidal, C., Gómez, A. A., Tadeo, G. R.

F., Juan, C., García, R., Bermúdez, R., Marıa, L. S. J., Sastre, S. M., Caro, M. F., Gallego, P., & Borrego, S. (2022). Genetic profile in patients with complicated acute aortic syndrome: the GEN-AOR study. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rec.2022.10.005

Neuendorf, K. A. (2018). Content analysis and thematic analysis. In Advanced research methods for applied psychology (pp. 211–223). Routledge.

Nuffuss, D. R. H., & Rohaningsih, S. (2021). Framing Analysis of Typo News Reports on Job Creation Through Online News Media. Kanal: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi, 10(1), 1–7.

Olson, C. L. (1976). On choosing a test statistic in multivariate analysis of variance. Psychological Bulletin, 83(4), 579.

Oxley, Z. (2020). Framing and political decision making: An overview. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics.

Prior, H. (2021). Populismo digital y desinformación en tiempos de posverdad. Communication & Society, 34(4), 49–64.

Ratna, R. (2021). Akurasi Berita Dalam Jurnalisme Daring (Kasus Alat Test Antigen Bekas Di Bandara Kualanamu Pada Portal Berita Kompas. Com). Majalah Semi Ilmiah Populer Komunikasi Massa, 2(1).

Reuters Institute. (2024, June 17). Indonesian Weekly Use Digital News Report 2024. https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/digital-news-report/2024/indonesia

Rivandi, S., & Pramono, S. (2024). IKN: Economic Opportunity or Threat? A Comprehensive Public Policy Analysis on the Economic and Social Impacts of Indonesia's Capital City Relocation. Jurnal Public Policy, 10(2), 130–137.

Rumata, V. M. (2017). A Qualitative Content Analysis of Twitter "# TaxAmnesty" AND "# AmnestiPajak." Jurnal PIKOM (Penelitian Komunikasi Dan Pembangunan), 18(1), 1–18.

Russmann, U. (2021). Quality of understanding in communication among and between political parties, mass media, and citizens: An empirical study of the 2013 Austrian National Election. Journal of Deliberative Democracy, 17(2).

Samsudin, D. (2020). Understanding the models of framing analysis approaches in media framing studies. Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Social, Economy, Education and Humanity (ICoSEEH, 2019)-Sustainable Development in Developing Country for Facing Industrial Revolution, 4, 385–389.

Schwalbe, C. B., Keith, S., & Silcock, B. W. (2018). Researching the Framing of Still and Moving Images across Media Platforms: Challenges and Opportunities. Doing News Framing Analysis II, 221–246.

Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. Journal of Communication,

50(2), 93–109.

Seuring, S., & Gold, S. (2012). Conducting content-analysis-based literature reviews in supply chain management. *Supply Chain Management: An International Journal*, 17(5), 544–555.

Simarmata, S. (2014). *Media dan politik: Sikap pers terhadap pemerintahan koalisi di Indonesia*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.

Sumnall, H. R., Atkinson, A., Montgomery, C., Maynard, O., & Nicholls, J. (2023). Effects of media representations of drug-related deaths on public stigma and support for harm reduction. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 111, 103909.