

Media Framing vs Framing by Politician (A Study About the Mutual Influences Between Media Frames and Frames by Politicians During the Political Campaign A Head of Jakarta Governor Election)

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History

Received : July 4th, 2018

Revised : July 6th, 2018

Accepted : January 9th, 2019

To cite this article, please refer to:
Yahya, I. P. (2019). Media Framing vs Framing by Politician (A Study About the Mutual Influences Between Media Frames and Frames by Politicians during the Political Campaign A head of Jakarta Governor Election). *Jurnal Studi Pemerintahan*. 10(1), 1-18
<https://doi.org/10.18196/jgp.10194>

ABSTRACT

There is a substantial amount of academic research regarding how media do the framing on a specific issue. However, empirical research on the framing interactions is still challenging to find. This study endeavors to fill the void by questioning the mutual influences between media framing and framing by politicians on a specific issue during the political campaign ahead of the 2017 Jakarta Governor Election. Both quantitative and qualitative content analysis methods were employed in this research. First of all, textual data from the media and politicians were coded using Atlas. Ti coding software to know the usage of five framing types: conflict, morality, economic consequences, responsibility, and human interest. After that, the mutual influence was investigated by looking at their most dominant frames, their similar trends in terms of framing quantity, and their textual interactions. This research then reveals a weak mutual influence between media framing and framing by politicians. It is indicated from their differences in using dominant frames. Conflict consistently dominated media framing, while economic consequences were generally dominant within politician's framing. Besides, media and politicians produced the different quantity of framing and presented different trends. Press and politicians also introduced an insignificant textual interactions by sharing the small number of similar keywords and mutual quotations.

Keywords: media framing, framing by politicians, mutual influences.

ABSTRAK

Terdapat begitu banyak penelitian akademik tentang bagaimana media melakukan framing terhadap isu tertentu. Namun demikian, penelitian empiris tentang interaksi framing masih sulit ditemukan. Studi ini berusaha mengisi kekosongan tersebut dengan mempertanyakan saling pengaruh antara framing media dengan framing oleh politisi terhadap isu spesifik selama kampanye politik menjelang Pemilihan Gubernur Jakarta Tahun 2017. Metode konten analisis kuantitatif dan kualitatif akan digunakan dalam penelitian ini. Pertama-tama, data teks dari media dan politisi akan melalui proses pengkodean menggunakan software Atlas.ti untuk mengetahui penggunaan lima tipe framing: konflik, moralitas, konsekuensi ekonomi, tanggungjawab, dan kepentingan manusia. Saling pengaruh antara framing media dan framing oleh politisi kemudian dianalisis dengan melihat framing paling dominan, tren dan jumlah framing yang dihasilkan, serta interaksi dalam penggunaan teks. Penelitian ini kemudian menemukan lemahnya saling pengaruh antara framing media dengan framing oleh politisi. Temuan tersebut terindikasi oleh perbedaan dalam penggunaan jenis framing yang paling dominan. Konflik secara konsisten mendominasi framing media, sedangkan konsekuensi ekonomi secara umum dominan dalam framing oleh politisi. Selain itu, media dan politisi menghasilkan framing dalam jumlah dan tren yang berbeda. Media dan politisi juga menyajikan interaksi teks yang kurang signifikan dengan menggunakan sedikit kata kunci yang sama dan saling mengutip.

INTRODUCTION

This study is about framing interactions between media and politicians on the Jakarta bay reclamation project – project construction of 17 artificial lands in the North Jakarta Bay – during the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election campaign. The project had become intense media coverage who considered the polemic as a newsworthy issue deemed to gain more media attention. However, media coverages were seemingly not always in the same tones. Some media emphasized conflict frames by covering disagreement particularly between Central Government and Jakarta Provincial Government regarding which institution had the authority over the policy. Likewise, the disparity between the interested groups of society and the government or private stakeholders were also highlighted. Some other media tended to present economic frames by emphasizing economic advantages and disadvantages for the local community and people nearby the project. Until this point, it was evident that the reclamation project has been mediatized.¹

Hand in hand with continuing media debate, political tension among Jakarta Governor Candidates was also escalating because of the different view on the project. There were three pairs of the candidate running for the Jakarta Governor Election. The first pair candidate was Agus Harimurthy Yudhoyono-Sylviana Murni who had not presented a firm stance on the reclamation project. The second pair candidate was Basuki Tjahaya Purnama-Djarot Syaiful Hidayat, who frankly advocated the reclamation policy and had vowed to the public to continue physical construction of the project. Anies Baswedan-Sandiaga Uno was the third pair candidate who openly opposed the plan and had promised to halt the project construction. Such contradicting views and frames among politicians confirm that framing was not only conducted by the media but also by politicians.

This condition can be best portrayed as a conflict of framing both within the news media side and politician's side. News media popularly use framing in emphasizing particular element in their news coverage to push specific interpretation (Entman 1993). However, framing is not exclusively done by the media; politicians as part of the public usually use specific frames in influencing public perception and gaining political support (Bennett 2016). Fragmentation among media coverages on the one hand and contradiction among politicians on the other side are the intriguing topic in framing research. There is a lot of literature on media framing, and much has also been written on mounting by politicians, but the interaction between those two blocks is scarcely researched.

Current research on framing generally concerns the question of how news media set the frame, or how audiences or readers frame specific issues. Also, the most widely used question is how to do the audience process news information and construct specific meanings (Pan and Kosicki 1993, p.55). Based on a literature review of empirical framing research published in the world-leading communication journal between 1990-2005, Matthes (2009) concluded that current framing research mostly is done through a descriptive way by not testing any hypotheses about framing theory, but only describing how the single approach works. Mainly, earlier research has focused either on frames in the news or framing effects on the readers or audience (de Vreese 2005, p.51). Those two topics are investigated separately without questioning any mutual influences.

Likewise, Matthes (2009) assumed that current framing research is done through a more descriptive way, for example, only by explaining frames within the media side without testing any influences to the audience's responses. Several studies conducted by famous communication scholars such as – among others – Entman (1991; 2010), Iyengar (1991), Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), Dimitrova and Stromback (2003), analyse how media create frames on a single issue/event without connecting with other variables such as public interpretation or public discourse. The study on the mutual influences between media framing and framing by politicians is designed not only to describe certain types of frames employed by the media and politicians but also trace their

¹ I refer 'mediatized' term to research by Korthagen (2015) on how governance processes are mediatized. She refers mediatization as "the increasing power of media and their logic over societal institutions". The term fits well with the increasing media influences in covering the polemic on reclamation project.

relationship and textual interaction. Therefore, this research is expected to be able to push framing analysis into a more analytic study by connecting media frames and individual frames (politicians) – two frames division made by [Scheufele \(1999\)](#). In more operationalized perspective, this study also provides other approaches in framing research which is generally conducted using quantitative methods. Several high academic journals tend to emphasize quantification of frames derived from the presence of keywords, paragraph, and sentences without connecting with contextual aspects, which means as de-contextualization of framing.

Based on actual polemic of the reclamation project and the aforementioned academic gap, the primary aims of this research is to examine the mutual influences between media framing and framing by politicians. Two subsequent questions are also included in the analysis. First, what types of frames employed by the media and politicians in presenting the project? Which structures are dominant within media framing and framing by politicians? Second, how media and politicians produce framing trend in terms of its quantity and what are the driving factors? Third, how media and politicians create framing text? Are they develop similar keywords and sentences, quote each other, and/or create framing text by their respective way?

LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH FOCUS

Defining Frames

The framing concept is popularly known and widely used in the communication discipline. The academic interest on the subject firstly appeared between the 1970s and 1980s ([Price and Tewksbury 1997](#), p.175; [Scheufele 1999](#), p.105). It can be found primarily on the work of – among others – Tuchman (*Making News*, 1978), and Gitlin (*The Whole World is Watching*, 1980), Goffman (*Frames Analysis*, 1986). Tuchman argues that the act of making news is the act of constructing reality rather than a picture of reality. The fact is portrayed depend on the kind of frames or windows which could be large or small, has many panes or few, and whether the glass is vague or precise, et cetera ([Tuchman 1978, p.1](#)). In other words, frames can be associated with the act of photographing by setting appropriate boundaries, choosing contexts, selecting and manipulating light to portray certain angle of reality ([Cappella & Jamieson 1997, p.38](#)). Frames are understood as the way of constructing a fact which is then presented in the form of news.

In a similar vein, Goffman through his work titled *Frame Analysis* conceptualizes frames as schemata of interpretation which enable individual to locate, perceive, identify, and label information or reality. According to him, structures are the original framework in which an individual can interpret reality by rendering what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something meaningful ([Goffman 1974, p. 21](#)). Gitlin, in a more comprehensive way, conceptualizes frames as principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation in relating to what exists, what happen, and what matters. Through the process of selection and focus, frames do not portray reality as it exists but emphasize a particular aspect of existence ([Gitlin 1980, p.6-7](#)). In general, these earlier works on the framing concept stand on similar perspectives emphasizing the frames as a way of interpreting particular reality, among other existing facts.

Following frames conceptualization by earlier scholars, more recent scholars such as [Scheufele \(1999, p.107\)](#) defines media frames as a “central organizing idea of the storyline that provides meaning to an event.” Further, according to [Bennett \(2016, p.31\)](#), framing involves choosing and organizing theme that emphasizes some aspects of a situation while downplaying other information in a story. More or less similar with [Bennett, Putnam, and Shoemaker \(2000, p.167\)](#) conceptualize framing as a way that newsmakers cast stories, highlight what is figure and ground, and also attribute meanings and motives. By the term of the figure, they refer to what center stage or center of interest in seeing the situation. While [de Vreese \(2005, p.53\)](#) defines a frame as an activity to make some elements of a topic more salient above others to provide certain ways in understanding an event or issue. In more operational definition, according to Entman, to frame is: “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text to promote a

particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation." ([Entman 1993, p.52](#)).

Therefore, these definitions are in line with the earlier conceptualization by Gitlin, Tuchman, and Goffman who conceive frames as a window of interpreting reality in which the process of selection and salience are the crucial part of framing activities. Salience means a method of making a presentation of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences ([Entman 1993, p.52](#)). It is created as a way to shape public perception of political issues or institutions ([Semetko and Valkenburg 2000, p.94](#)). Frames are essential ways for news media to attract audience and reader's attention. Moreover, media frames are also intended to influence the audience's thinking and push their whole perceptions on specific societal issues. Accordingly, these arguments also relate to de [Vreese's view \(2005, p.53\)](#) arguing that framing is endogenous to journalistic norms and political world.

Semetko and Valkenburg, with referring to work done), found that media frames generally present five characteristics: 'conflict', 'human interest', 'attribution of responsibility', 'morality' and 'economic consequences' ([de Vreese 2005, p.55](#); [Semetko and Valkenburg 2000, p.96](#)). *Firstly, conflict frames*. In this frame, media usually emphasizes conflicting and contradicting view between individual, groups, or institutions in interpreting specific issues or topics. It is more likely to present incompatibility, disagreement, or opposing tension between the individual, group, and institution ([Putnam and Shoemaker 2000, p.167](#)). *Secondly, human interest frames*. This frame inserts personal and emotional angle in presenting an event, issue or problem. [Bennett \(2016, p.40\)](#) in his book also contends that personalized news gives preference to individual actor and human interest angle over larger institutional, social, and political context.

Thirdly, economic consequence frames. This frame presents an event, problem, or issue concerning economic advantages and disadvantages for an individual, group, or institution. Media coverages try to measure existing and future impact of a policy in term of cost and benefit for related stakeholders. *Fourth, morality frames*. Blankets were containing morality frame existing event, problem, or issue by referring to specific moral prescriptions related to social norms or any other religious tenets. *Fifth, responsibility frames*. This frame covers a question or problem by attributing responsibility on the problem either to a government agency or any other individual or groups. This frame focuses on what or who was responsible for an issue/ problem, what type of action need to be addressed and questioning whether authorities are capable of improving the situation ([Putnam and Shoemaker 2000, p.167](#); [Korthagen 2015, p.63](#)).

Framing ability to present these five characteristics show that framing goes beyond the division of pro or contra, favorable or unfavorable, negative or positive presentation. But it could insert somethings beneath of surface stances ([Tankard 2001, p.96](#)). In this point, frames combine media system and journalistic values. Their journalistic values, news values, or media logics are manifested in the form of news text and narratives ([Price and Tewksbury 1997, p.178](#); [Korthagen 2015](#)). However, due to the framing intention is to attract and promote certain public perceptions, the interaction between framing in the texts and the reader's interpretation need to be taken into account. It becomes crucial to understand how stakeholders such as citizens or politicians interpret frames. As noted by [de Vreese \(2005, p.53\)](#), structures are not only part of journalistic norms, but also part of the political argument and social discourse. Framing involves mainly production activity in the newsroom, but also interpretation activity by stakeholders ([van Gorp 2007, p.60](#)). By this understanding, the framing concept should be discussed more interactively, connecting media frames and interpretation by politicians.

Media Frames and Frames by Politicians

[Scheufele \(1999, p.106-107\)](#) classifies framing theory into two concepts. *First, media frames*. It refers to framing activity done by media as already defined before. Journalists, with their media logics and news values, take specific issues or problems into media attention (*priming*) and then

emphasize particular elements of the news (*framing*). Media frames, according to [Gamson and Modigliani \(1989\)](#), are determined at least by three determinant, i.e. cultural resonances, sponsor activities, and media practices. [Dimitrova and Stromback \(2008, p.205\)](#) noted that the strategic communication of political actors, journalistic norms, political ideology, and culturally rooted interpretations also influence media frames. This implies that media frames are open to specific influences from other socio-cultural variables in society because structures are endogenous to the political and social world, as already noted by [de Vreese \(Ibid, p.53\)](#).

Second, individual frames. It can be defined as: “*mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individual processing of information*” ([Entman 1993](#); [Scheufele 1999, p.107](#)). [Rogan \(2006, p.159\)](#) argues that frames can be understood as a cognitive mechanism by which a person interprets and defines a situation. In other words, frames are grounded in an individual’s perception and definition. This latter concept of structures focusses on how individual or readers interpret the information they have received from the media. Also, it concerns on how readers reconstruct meaning either similarly or differently with media frames. Hence, as a way of constructing reality, structures are not exclusively shaped by news media, but also can be employed by other stakeholders including politicians (see also [Dimitrova and Stromback 2008, p.205](#)). [Callaghan and Schnell \(2001, p.188\)](#) then assume that politicians can effectively use frames to promote their political vision by redefining certain situations and encouraging some remedies.

Underpinning the idea of framing as an interactive process between production and consumption activity, [Entman \(1991, p.7\)](#) argues that there is a reciprocal relationship between frames manifested within text and frameworks within audience’s thinking. Furthermore, [Semetko and Valkenburg \(2000, p.93\)](#) also argue that framing is now moving far beyond agenda-setting and priming research which not only concern on how media take an issue into news and how they present it, but also focus on how people reinterpret information from the press. This understanding marks the importance of interaction between framing by media and the reader’s interpretation. In further description, [Pan and Kosicki \(1993, p.58\)](#) argue that framing analysis considers news text as a symbolic device that interacts with individual agent’s memory and meaning construction. They also assume that the presence of frames in news texts are not independent of the reader’s reinterpretation.

From a psychological perspective, [Price and Tewksbury \(1997, p.176](#); see also [Price, Tewksbury, Power 1997, p.485](#)) perceive that news media can influence the audience’s thinking by knowledge evaluation and activation. Readers can evaluate news and activate specific ideas above others to generate a particular “*trains of thought*.” A similar argument is also put forward by [Cappella & Jamieson \(1997, p.47\)](#), assuming that frames could be able to activate knowledge on citizens. This understanding is also in line with the dual role of media concept. Media plays a crucial role both as an institutional agent who constructs and promote particular frames and as a conduit for dissemination of other actor’s structures ([Callaghan and Schnell 2001, p.184](#)). [Bennett \(2016\)](#) shares a similar argument by saying that news in the current information system has experienced a crucial change from ‘one-to-many’ to ‘many-to-many’ media system, involving more interactive communication process. This means that audiences also have substantial power in producing and distributing his news.

Beside Scheufele’s classification, [de Vreese \(2005, p.51\)](#) conceptualize frames as an integrated process between framing building and framing setting (see figure 1). During framing-building, the activity of framing is underway with strong influences of internal media system and media logic (see also [Korthagen 2015](#)). This process is influenced by various factors as mentioned above internal and external to media system such as social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalist routines, the ideological and political orientation of journalist ([Scheufele 1999, p.109](#)). The result of this process can be found within the text which highlights specific frames characteristic ([de Vreese, Ibid, p.51](#)). Frames are presented either as an

issue specific or as generic frames. Issue-specific frames focus on particular topics or events, while generic structures capture broader themes, the span in a longer time, and different contexts.

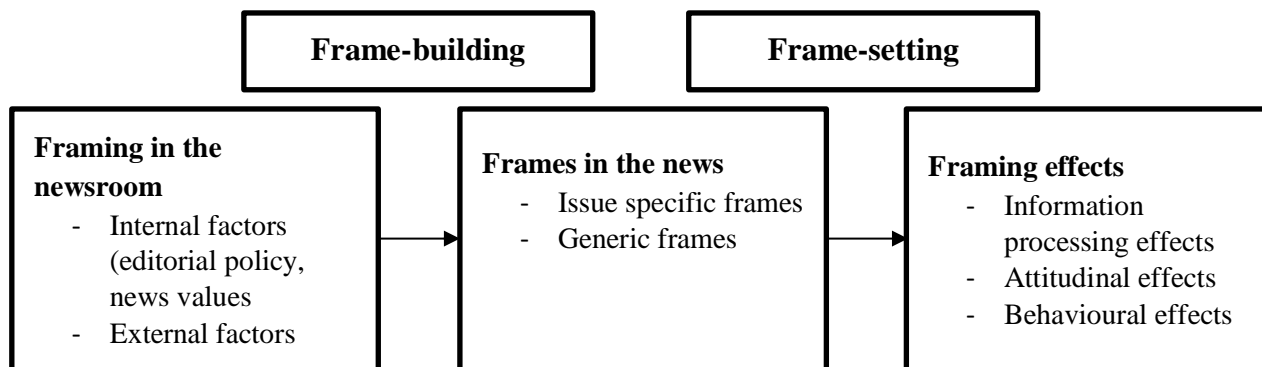


Figure 1. An Integrated Process Model of Framing by Vreese (2005)

Source: de Vreese 2005

The second stage is framing-setting where interaction between media frames and their effects occur. In this stage, news frames presumably bring about some consequences in term of interpretation and evaluation in an individual or societal level. On the individual level, media frames can affect the personal way of thinking and understanding of an event or issue. On the societal level, framing may also influence public perceptions on specific matters (Ibid, p.52). In this regard, politicians enter news drama and the relationship between media frames politician's frame become intriguing (see also [Bennett 2016](#)). In this perspective, structures lie within the communicative process where the process itself is dynamic, involving frame-building (how frames emerge) and frame-setting (how media frames and audiences predisposition interplay). At this point, media frames and frames by politicians are a communicative process where their mutual influences can be observed through the understanding of their interplay.

Researching Mutual Influence Frames

Frames specifically refer to a concept mainly employed in researching media effects ([Scheufele 1999, p.104](#)). According to McQuail, as cited by [Scheufele \(1999\)](#), media effect research experiences at least four stages of development. In the first stage (1990s-1930s), the study was dominantly influenced by strong media effect. It was favorably perceived that the media had a substantial impact in changing public discourse. In the second stage (1930s-1960s), the dominant perspectives believed that media had not fully capable of influencing public discourse in society. The standpoint of less media effect was commonly known in this period. While in the third stage (since the 1970s), academic debate tried to search for a new strong media effect. In the fourth stage (1980s-until now), a combination of active and limited media effect has been commonly believed. Media was perceived to have a strong media effect over public discourse, but at the same time, individual and society also could control and reconstruct public discourse (Ibid, p.105). Conceptualization of frames done by Goffman, Gitlin, and Tuchman is located in the fourth stage of media research which marks the increasing media effect on society and the presence of individual's capacity to reinterpret information/ news.

Research on framing can be categorized into three types ([Putnam and Shoemaker 2000, p.167-168](#)). The first type is *frame-construction research*. It mainly concerns how journalists shape frames by casting certain elements and values of news stories along with specific formats and devices. For [Entman \(2007, p.164\)](#), it is more or less similar with agenda setting or priming research which questioning how media considers newsworthiness of an issue. The second type is *frame-definition research*. It pays more attention to news content aiming primarily on identification of frames manifested in the texts. Frame-definition researches are usually conducted through a descriptive

way, instead of analytics. While the third type is *frame-effects research*. Framing-effect research moves beyond simply identifying frames within news text, but also analyzing its effects on the audience or reader's interpretation and vice versa.

To observe media frames, [de Vreese \(Ibid, p.52\)](#) argues that framing can be used as an independent variable influencing of audience interpretation or as a dependent variable which is influenced by previously mentioned internal or external factors to media. Beside such divisions, research on framing can be conducted using either qualitative or quantitative methods. Until recently, research on framing usually employs quantitative methods by putting greater emphasis on quantification of framing content within the text. Quantitative analysis tends to decontextualize statistical data by neglecting, for example, social or political context. Conversely, framing research using qualitative methods moves beyond statistical presentation by taking into account more variables, including social or political contexts. However, qualitative methods in framing research are scarcely used by previous scholars.

The subsequent question of the research on framing is where to find frames? According to [Entman \(1993, ibid\)](#), structures are located in four communication parts: communicator, text, receiver, and culture. In communicator, frames are present in the way in which specific values influence conscious and unconscious judgment by journalists. Structures are embedded in the journalist's mind as stored principles, enable them to put in place specific frame characteristics to give particular meanings. Next, frames can be confirmed within news text which contains certain words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, the source of information and sentences supporting the judgment. Structures are manifested within the book as the second communication part. While in the receiver, frames are present as a result of original framing and interpretation of the information they accepted. These framings are done by society and then manifested in a more comprehensive public culture which dominate way of thinking. Media frames and individual frames are revealed mainly within textual forms such as news articles, opinions, or statements.

Through texts, frames work by making bits of information more salient through placement or repetition, or by associating with certain symbols and structures function ([Entman 1993, p.52](#)) or frames types (as proposed by [Semetko and Valkenburg 2000](#)). In a specific news narrative, frames can be found in a single sentence, paragraph, or within the whole text. By contrast, a sentence or a separate section may not contain any frames or provide only a few structures. Furthermore, structures either within media articles or politician's posts can be revealed through the presence or absence of – among others – keywords, stock phrases, concept, metaphors, information sources or sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of fact or judgment which are accentuated and repeated consistently ([Entman 1991, p.7](#); [Entman, 1993 p.52](#); see also [Dimitrova and Stromback 2008, p.210](#)). From that explanation, it becomes clear how researchers usually investigate frames within textual data.

However, precise measurements and fixed tools for analyzing their mutual influences are difficult to find. In investigating the interplay between opinion frames and media frames, [Zhou and Moy \(2007\)](#) put greater emphasis on the degree of similarity in defining the problem, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies. It takes into account a comparison of information sources used by opinion frames and media frames. [Price, Tewskbury, and Powers \(1997\)](#) research influence of media frames on reader's response by looking at reader's similarities or dissimilarity reaction to media frames which contain conflict, human interests, and consequences frames.

Such limited studies indicate that the comparison of media and reader's way in framing is essential. In researching mutual influences between media frames and frames by politicians, this research sees three crucial aspects of comparison: their dominant structures, their trend in publishing the quantity of construction and their textual interlink. As noted by [Entman \(Ibid 1993\)](#) above, frames work by accentuating information through certain perspectives. It implies that the most salient structures can be operationalized as the most dominant frames within media frames in

comparison with politician's frames and vice versa. Repetition of frames is also reasonable to be included to reveal their similar trends within a certain amount of time. While textual interlinks include similarity of keywords, phrases, metaphors, sentences, sources of information/references, and mutual quotations.

Based on that theoretical framework, the conceptual model of this research can be illustrated as following:

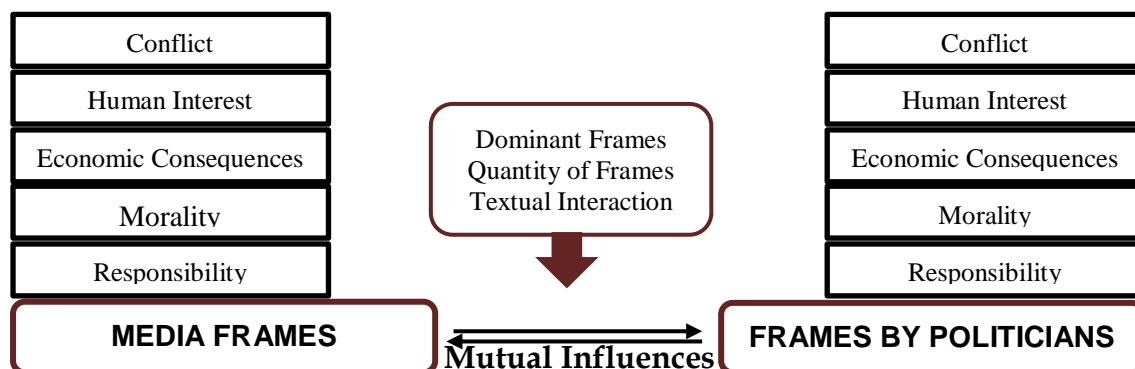


Figure 2. Conceptual Model

Source: developed by author

In analyzing frames both within media and politicians side, this conceptual model follows Semetko and Valkenburg's five types of media frames, i.e. conflict frames, human interest frame, economic consequence frame, morality frame, and responsibility frame. It means that the research firstly focusses on revealing what kind of structures, which are present on each side. To understand their mutual influences, this research looks at their comparison of dominant frames, their trend in the number of frames, and textual interaction.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study used qualitative content analysis by interpreting textual data. [Hsieh and Shannon \(2005, p.1278\)](#) define qualitative content analysis as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the textual data through the process of coding and identification of themes or patterns. Textual information can be found in verbal, printed, or electronic form obtained from the narrative response, open-ended survey question, interview, focused-group discussion, observation, or articles in printed or online media ([Kondracki & Wellman, 2002](#)). In quantitative content analysis, research generally stops at quantification and tabulating data from texts (*de-contextualization*). While in qualitative content analysis, such quantification can be seen as the first step before interpretation as subsequent phase (*contextualization*). This research will depend on the analysis of textual data.

On the media side, textual data are specified to online news articles on the project published by three Indonesia's most significant newspapers ([Kompas](#), [Republika](#), [Antara-News](#)) during political campaign period from September 2016 until April 2017. Coverages during that period are chosen in consideration with the highest intensity of media coverage on the issue along with political campaign period for Jakarta governor election. Only relevant online media articles searched by keyword of "Reklamasi Teluk Jakarta" which were taken into analysis. On the politician's side, textual data were identified from oral or written statements - including quotes, photo caption, and slogan - posted on their official campaign website, social media devices such as *Facebook*, *Twitter*, and *Instagram*, and statement in public debate during the campaign.

In both media and politician's side, the presence of keywords, phrases, sentences and sources of information/references were traced and were coded into five framing types - conflict, human interests, responsibility, economic consequences, and morality frames using Atlas. Ti coding software. Analysis of mutual influences was firstly conducted based on comparative quantification of the most salient or the most dominant frames within media and politician's frames. Secondly, a

similar trend in the number of frames from each side was also included in the analysis. By doing so, repetition of structures – as part of framing tendency according to Entman – has been compared between media and politicians. Finally, a more in-depth analysis was on textual interlinks based on similarity or differences of the content of media frames and politician’s frames.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Throughout eight-month periods, both media and politicians have published a significant quantity of online news articles and social media posts regarding Jakarta bay reclamation project. Derived from three media coverages, there were 180 online news articles published between September 2016 until April 2017. Kompas has published 87 online news articles (48%), which was slightly higher than Republika with 71-time coverages (40%). Antara-News, as a publicly-owned media company has published the least quantity with only 22 online news articles during the period (12%). On politician side, since their official nomination in September 2016 until the second round of voting in April 2017, the two candidates have posted 119 statements through their official websites, social media accounts, and statements in the public debate. During eight months, Basuki-Djarot has published 26 posts or 21,8%, while Anies-Sandi has published more quantity with 93 posts or 78,2% of overall data.

1. Contradicted Framing

Throughout the period, media and politicians undertook different orientation in framing Jakarta bay reclamation project. During the first three month period (September-October-November), media created 192 frames, remarkably higher than politician’s frames with only 35 frames. As shown in the chart below, conflict frames were the most frequently used by the media, accounted for 37% (n=71 of 192) of all framing types, while politicians preferred to present economic consequences frames, contributing around 51% (18 of 35).

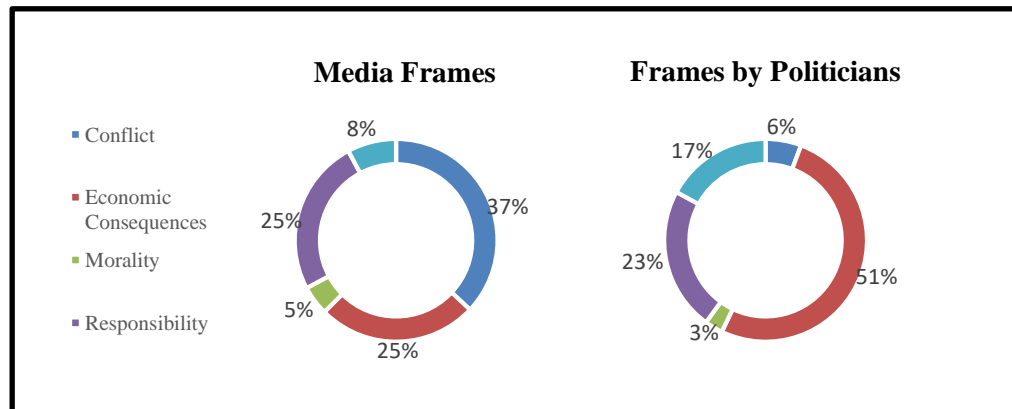


Figure 3 :Frames Proportion during the 1st Round

Media presented conflict frames mostly (n=40 of 71) by referring to disagreement among government institutions, specifically between the central government and provincial government. In less significant number, media also presented responsibility frames mentioning central/provincial government as the most responsible institution in relating to the issue (n=30 of 48). In employing economic consequences frames, media highlighted more about economic advantages and disadvantages for the local people (n=16 and n=15 of 49). At the same time, politicians preferred to present economic consequences frames by covering economic advantages both for local people and government (n=16 of 18). Differ with the media; politicians considered that the government and the private sector shared similar responsibility for the reclamation project (n=8 of 8). In this period, both media and politicians did not replicate each other frames but developed their structures in covering the reclamation project.

In the second round (December-January-February), media produced 270 frames while politicians created 100 structures. As appeared in the chart below, the conflict was still dominant within media frames with around 34% (91 of 270), followed by responsibility frames which accounted for 28% (77 of 270). Similarly, politicians mostly used conflict frames in covering the issue with around 38% (38 of 100) and economic consequences frames with 28% (28 of 100).

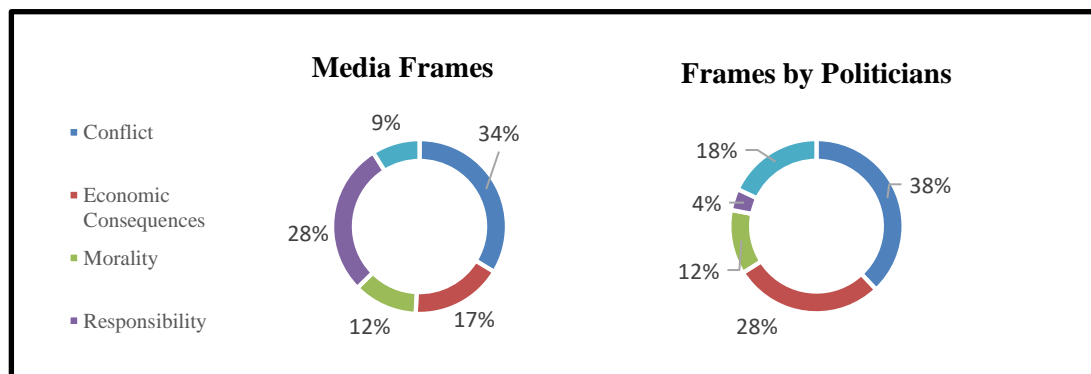


Figure 4 :Frames Proportion during the 2nd Round

Although there was a similarity between media frames and politician's frames, employ conflict as their dominant frames, but their emphasis was different. Media primarily referred to conflict among various government institutions across the different level and authority (n=33 of 91). Differently, politicians used conflict frames mainly by referring to disagreement among Jakarta governor candidates (n=23 of 38), followed by conflict between government and society (n=7). These comparisons suggest that the media and politicians did not put the same emphasis on using conflict frames. Similar to the previous round, media and politicians were also in different preferences in framing the reclamation issue.

In the third round (March-April), media and politicians produced frames in much higher quantity comparing to the previous period. Press created 598 structures, increased more than double from last round, while politicians posted 176 frames, rose around 75% than before. According to the data below, the conflict was still dominant within media frames during the third round, accounted for 37% of all media coverages (218 of 598). Economic consequences replaced responsibility frames as the second most common media frames with 25% of all structures (148 of 598). Within politician's structures, economic impacts dominated the politician's statement with around 41% of 176. In the second position, conflict frames contributed to 22% of overall politician's structures, made it relatively significant to all proportion.

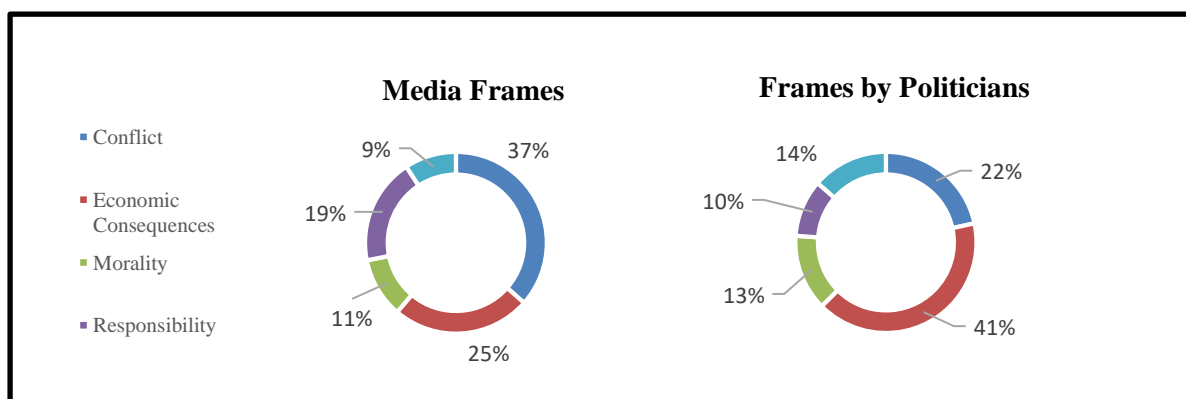


Figure 5: Frames Proportion during the 3rd Round

Media created conflict frames mostly by referring to the conflict between the government and local people or social group and conflict between among government institutions (74 and 67 respectively). In using economic consequences frames, media mostly presented economic disadvantages for the affected group of society (n=56 of 148). At the same period, politicians were primarily interested in offering an economic benefit for a concerned group of society (n=31 of 72) more often than presenting economic advantages for the government and disadvantages for affected group of community on the similar amounts (n=14 of 72). Differ from the media framing; politicians had preferred to present their disagreement with other politicians (n=21 of 38) than presenting conflict among other stakeholders. Overall, the dominant framing type within the last round indicate the consistency of both media and politicians in framing reclamation issue with different perspectives.

Overall, media and politicians used different dominant frames. In the first round, the conflict was dominant within media frames, while economic consequences dominated politician's structures. Moreover, Media and politicians also used every single frame in their way, except for morality and human interest frames. Both media and politicians used conflict as their dominant frames in the second round. However, media and politicians used to conflict and also economic consequences frames with different emphasis. Similarities are found within media and politician's structures in using responsibility, morality, and human interest frames. Again, in the third round, media and politicians used different dominant structures. Press mostly used conflict, while politicians preferred economic consequences as dominant frames. Likewise, these two frames were used through different emphasis. However, they did the same way of using morality, human interests, and responsibility frames.

Finding of conflict as the most dominant frames within media coverages confirms several earlier research on the subject. It is in line with Bennett's argument on information bias regarding media tendency to present situation as a game, contesting contradicting perspective between winners and losers ([Bennett 2016, p.39](#)). However, the weak frequency of human interest frames within media coverages surprisingly refutes the common assumption regarding media tendency to insert personal angle into news content ([Bennett, ibid](#); see also [Price, Tewksbury, and Powers, 1997](#)). In line with [Callaghan and Schnell's](#) finding (2001, p.184), politicians do not always follow media frames, but they tend to penetrate media by presenting alternative structures to control public opinion – for specific reasons such as an election. In this research, Callaghan's conclusion is confirmed by the presence of different dominant frames produced by media and politicians. The most striking findings suggest that media then seemed to take the issue into the political arena. [Bennett \(2016, p.39\)](#) put out that media tends to frame the specific problems in connection with the actual political situation which reflect contestation among politicians. This is the reason why media increased their quantity of frames and covered polarisation among politicians ahead of governor election.

2. Contextual-driven Framing

According to the graph below, the quantity of media frame was always higher than structures by politicians, except at the end of the period. Media started to produce framing in relatively significant amount in September 2016 (n=144), but it went down drastically a month later and reached to the lowest amount in November (27 and 21 each). A relatively high intensity of media framing in the first month period was in line with policy development of the project when a crucial decision occurred regarding revocation of moratorium policy on reclamation by the central government. With profoundly different quantity, the amount of politician's frame was only 27 in September 2016 or four times lower than the media frames. It was reasonable since the formal declaration of the governor candidates had just announced. The number of structures by politicians then declined to the lowest point in October and November. Interestingly, both media and

politicians produced a smaller amount of framing during these two months due to the absence of crucial event both on project development or relating to political campaign.

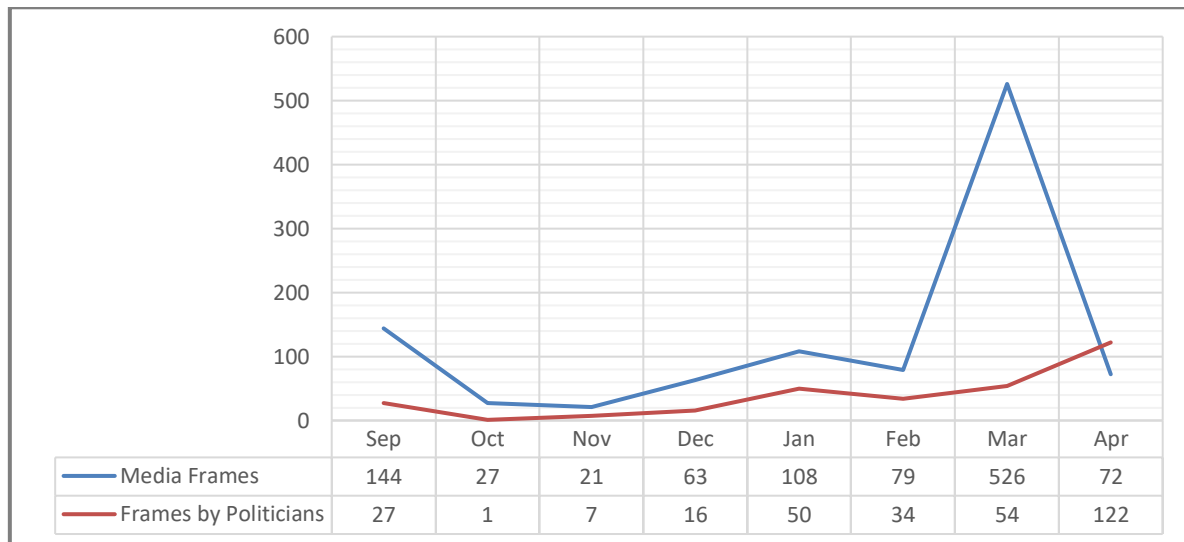


Figure 6: Quantity of Framing Produced by the Media and Politicians

Media then tripled their framing publication in December, and it continued to rise almost double in January 2017 before experiencing a significant decrease a month later. The project development can explain it at that time when the Court suspended the project, and the provincial government reacted by issuing new local regulation on environmental impact study. Similarly, the amount of frame by politicians showed a massive increase in December, tripled in January, but it went down in February. Such framing publication by politicians was in line with the increasing campaign intensity and public debate among candidate in January. Both media and politicians produced a lower quantity of framing in February because of the projected uncertainty and first round of voting.

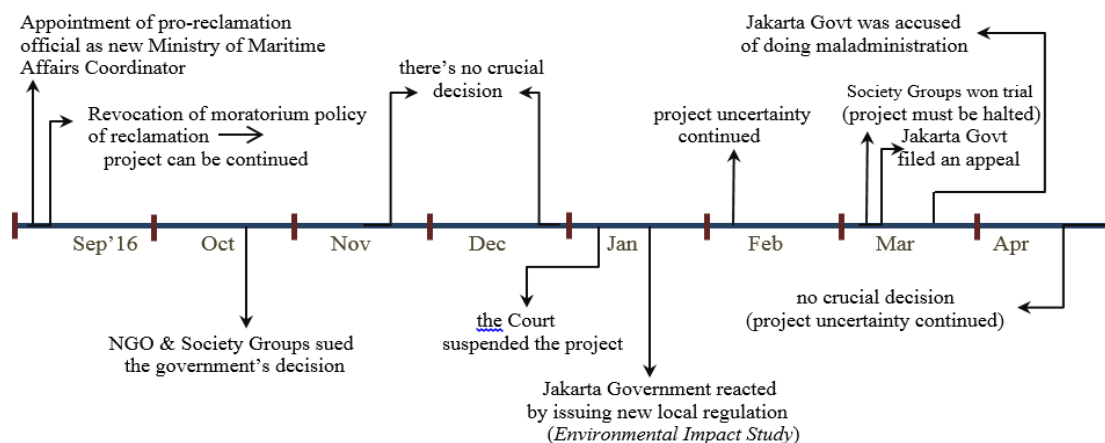


Figure 7: Crucial Decisions and Events on Reclamation Project During 8 Months

Sources: derived from various sources including three media coverages

It is apparent that the number of media frames and frames by politicians was in contradiction during the last two month period. The amount of media framing peaked to the highest point in March before plummeting to the initial position in April. Several crucial events regarding project development had happened in March when a group of society won the trial, and the project had to be halted. At the same time, the provincial government filed an appeal to counter the Court's decision. A month later, continuing project uncertainty gave influence to the decreasing amount of

media frames. By contrast, there was no significant increase in the structure by politicians in March due to the absence of essential events regarding political campaign and candidate's activity. The highest quantity of politicians frame was in April, increasing more than double from the previous month surpassing the media frames. It was reasonable because both governor candidates intensified their political campaign through public debate approaching the second round of voting in the mid of April.

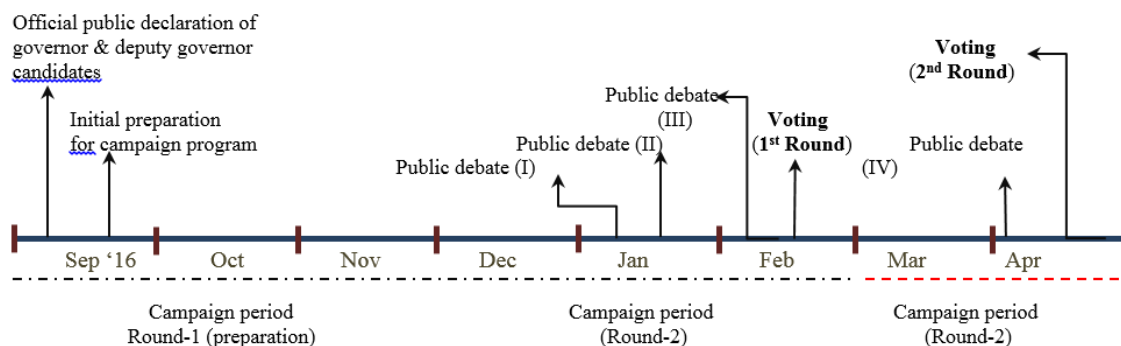


Figure 8: Several Important Events of Jakarta Governor Election

To conclude, media and politicians followed a relatively similar pattern in producing frames during the given period, except in the last two months. However, the number of media frames were generally higher than the number of structures by politicians. Over the period, the quantity of frames trend within media and politician's arrangements present weak relations because both of them experienced an entirely different quantity. Moreover, the number of media frames were much influenced by the development of reclamation project. Put it differently, the portion of structures by politicians were driven mostly by important events regarding political campaign ahead of Jakarta governor election.

Both media and politician's frames depend on crucial events in different time-context, i.e., policy development of the project and election process. The reclamation project is a complex issue which is different from the complicated and straightforward issue where the relationship between elements are orderly arranged, and outcomes can be easily predicted. Conversely, a complex problem is more dynamics and relationship between elements are subject to change and unpredictable (see [Gerrits 2012](#), ch.1). Furthermore, the complex issue contains substantive, strategic, and institutional complexity (see [Klijn and Koppenjan 2016](#)). A large number of actors across the different level and authority coming with different perspectives generate various problem definitions and numerous solutions which lead to more complexity.

Jakarta bay reclamation project is a complex issue involving different institutions and has experienced up and down the story. Such uncertainty of the project has become a newsworthy issue which strongly influences the number of media frames, produced throughout the given period. Such influences indicate the presence of media logic where the most actual but uncertainty issue are covered based on economic newsworthiness searching for profit (as cited by [Korthagen 2014](#), p.1057). However, such complex project did not influence the number of politician's frames, which heavily depend on several crucial events in election phases. It confirmed de Freese's argument about framing an an alternative way of defining issues which is endogenous to the political world ([de Vreese 2005](#), p.53). It means that politicians could employ framing in influencing or swaying the opinion of their constituents (see also [Callaghan and Schnell 2001](#), p.188).

3. Weak Textual Interaction

Their textual interaction can also identify mutual influences between the media frame and frame by politicians. In the first round, media and politicians presented weak textual communication

marked by their use of different keywords, sentences, and absence of significant mutual quotations in framing the issue. In showing the conflict, for example, it is indicated that media and politicians used different keyword and sentences. A group of politician published a flyer saying not to continue the project because it potentially harms environmental ecosystem and contradict with several existing national regulations: *“do not violate the regulation – Anies-Sandi Campaign Flyer, 1 September 2016*). Put it differently, media framed the disagreement between two executive officers and then eventually capturing the project as an unproblematic decision. Among other sentences, media wrote: *“The Ministry of Maritime Affairs Coordinator, Luhut Bintar Panjaitan, argues that the reclamation project is unproblematic although it was terminated last year (by his predecessor) – [Antara-News](#), 7 September 2016*).”

Moving to an economic consequence frame, the economic advantages of the project seemed to be the main focus of politicians. A group of the politician in the first week of September stated that the reclamation project would increase rural government incomes: *“I calculate all the benefits from all reclamation islands as much as Rp. 40 trillion annually. If we calculate for ten years, the income would be approximate Rp. 100 trillion – Basuki-Djarot, 1 September”*. According to politicians, the project was also believed to absorb a large number of local labors and would provide better economic impact for local society.

A week later, media framed the issue, referring to both the advantages and disadvantages of the project. On the one hand, media underpinned politician’s view regarding to economic benefit of the project by citing government official’s statement as follows: *“The Ministry of Maritime Affairs Coordinator, Luhut Panjaitan, make sure that fishermen would not be disadvantageous with the reclamation project of G islands in the Jakarta bay – [Antara-News](#), 9 September”*. On the other hand, media also highlighted economic disadvantages for affected groups of society by citing society groups leader’s statement. Media wrote: *“Luhut hurt the fishermen’s heart by depriving fishermen’s fishing ground – [Republika](#), 14 September”*. In the first three months, although media and politicians pointed to a similar topic, their sentences and keywords are different in framing conflict. Likewise, media and politicians did not quote each other in framing economic consequences frames during the first two weeks. Since then, there has been a weak interplay between them because either both media and politicians posted the only an insignificant amount of economic frames.

In the second round, media and politicians used more similar keywords and phrases. Although the press quoted several politician’s statements, politicians did not. Overall, it was indicated that stronger textual interrelation found especially since last week of January until the end of the round. During the first and second week of December, politicians posted conflict frames by referring to the different subject regarding not only a violation of existing regulations but also the violation of the environmental ecosystem. A week before, a politician pointed out that: *“Reclamation project is not prohibited, but if several regulations are violated, social and environmental impacts are neglected, and many other disadvantages – Anies-Sandi, 9 December”*. Media used sentences mainly referring to conflict among government institutions which finally ended up with the temporary suspension of the reclamation project. Media wrote: *“Finally, the government decided to halt the project for temporary in the Jakarta Bay, following verdicts issued by the Court – [Kompas](#), 15 December 2016”*. By citing civil society organization’s statement, media also said that the reclamation is flawed before the law because the Jakarta provincial government had violated existing national regulations: *“the PTUN (Administrative Court) has decided to terminate the reclamation project of G islands by reasons of several violations on the national regulation by Jakarta government – [Kompas](#), 15 December 2016”*.

Since the third week of January, media covered conflict among politicians by creating headline as such: *“Djarot questioning Anies’s consistency on the Jakarta Bay reclamation project – [Kompas](#) 27 January 2017” and “Anies debating Ahok regarding reclamation project – [Kompas](#), 27 January*). Majority of media articles published during January and February created titles mentioning the conflict among politicians such as: *“Any-Sandi opposes the reclamation for the sake of fishermen prosperity and environmental preservation,” “Opposing reclamation project, Anies will face the companies and developers, – [Republika](#), 9 January*). These titles mention the name of politicians who have contradicting view with

other politicians. In this point, the media captured the disagreement between two groups of politicians.

More textual intertwinement between media frames and frames by politicians appeared in framing the project from an economic consequences perspective. Since December 2016, media mounted the reclamation project in a more balanced way by highlighting advantages and disadvantages either for the government, the private sector, and society. By quoting against-reclamation politicians, media said that the project would generate more uncertainties to fishermen's lives because of they loss of their income: "*Thousands of fishermen are now going to poverty caused by Jakarta bay reclamation - [Republika](#), 27 January*". At the same time, media also highlighted the positive side of the project, justifying statements of pro-reclamation politicians. It was framed that reclamation island would give more income, especially for Jakarta provincial government. Among others, media wrote:

"There are around 15% of annual NJOP (Sales Value of Taxable Object) which could be assigned as income for Jakarta government, within ten years, reclamation project would generate income as much as Rp. 128 trillion." - [Kompas](#), 27 January).

In the second week of February, economic consequences frames were escalated. This was also a crucial point when media and politicians intensified their structures and shared similar keywords. It seemed that at this time, media was influenced a lot by politicians who heighten their frames ahead of voting. In essence, media and politicians shared a similar pattern in framing economic consequences. Besides, media and politicians also used more or less related keywords and quotation to support their frames.

In the third round, textual interaction between media frames and frames by politicians were present. It can be seen through their usage of similar keywords and phrases which were intensifying in the last three weeks. Mutual quotations were also found only in several moments. In presenting conflict for instance, although media produced the much higher amount of conflict frames compared to politicians in the third week of March, it was found that both press and politicians emphasized similar keywords and cited each other in several moments.

Of all conflict frames, media mostly covered the verdict of Jakarta State Administrative Courts who won indictment of the fishermen's association to terminate the project. The media captured the victory of society over the government has appeared in several titles of their news articles such as: "*PTUN (the Administrative Court) won fishermen during the trial with the Jakarta government regarding reclamation of I islands - [Kompas](#), 17 March*". Moreover, the media also quoted a politician's statement underpinning the verdict and blaming mal-administration by the Jakarta government. Media, for example, wrote: "*Jakarta governor candidate, Anies Baswedan, believed that government consents are given for the construction of F, I and K islands were not in line with the existing procedure - [Kompas](#), 17 March*".

With similar vein, politicians also covered the conflict by exposing the project as an unfair policy because Jakarta government had violated national government regulations and caused economic disadvantages for fishers. Politicians posted: "*Besides violating regulations, the project also damage the marine ecosystem - Anies-Sandi, 17 March*". Moreover, politicians used similar keywords with media frames, saying that the verdict to halt the project was the most significant victory of society over injustice and unfairness authority. Although the number of conflict frames by media and politicians were different, mutual quotations and usage of similar keywords were present, indicating their textual interaction. Such a strong relationship was also current in the fourth week of March until the second week of April. However, within the last two weeks, media and politicians did not focus on the conflict between government and society anymore but concentrate on disagreement among politicians. Although in a relatively smaller amount, usage of similar keywords and phrases was found.

CONCLUSION

Overall, it can be concluded that there are relatively weak mutual influences between media framing and framing by politicians because of several findings. First, media and politicians used different orientation in presenting Jakarta Bay reclamation project. Press consistently employed conflict as the most dominant frames throughout the period, whereas politicians generally preferred economic consequences frames. Likewise, media and politicians emphasized different aspects within almost every single structure. In framing the conflict, media consistently referred to conflict among government institutions, while politicians mostly presented disagreement among governor candidates. Besides, media employed economic consequences mostly by applying to economic disadvantages for the society, whereas politicians presented both advantages and disadvantages for the community. Although media and politicians used more or less similar way in responsibility, human interest, and morality frames, their frames quantity were deficient and insignificant.

Second, media and politicians have not always been in parallel trends in producing the number of frames. The study reveals that the project development of reclamation influenced the number of media frames, while crucial moments regarding the election process changed the name of both media frames and politician's frames. Although media and politicians shared a similar trend in producing the number of frames during the crucial moment of elections, they presented every type of structure through their way. Overall, the study found that interplay between media and politician's frames with a pivotal moment of votes was stronger than the mutual influences between media frames and politician's frames. Stronger mutual influence between media and politician's structures - especially in term of frames quantity and textual interlinks - occurred only within significant election events. The study concludes that mutual influences were present between media and politician's frames with critical election moments, instead of between media frames and frames by politicians.

Third, during the first round, media frames and politician's frames contained different keywords, phrases, and sentences without any mutual quotations. Turned to the second round, their textual interlink was more intense than the earlier period. Reciprocal references appeared in an infrequent frequency, but media frames and politician's frames begun to use more or less similar keywords and phrases. In this round, media frames started to reflect polarization among politicians. During the last round, it was evident that the interaction between media and politicians intensified. Similar keywords, phrases, and topic were used more often than before. However, it is interesting to note that media frames frequently highlighted polarization among politicians and cited politician's statements, whereas politicians did not always reflect media debate and quoted media coverages.

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