Framing Analysis of News Coverage on the Budget Blocking of the Nusantara Capital City Development in Detik.com and Tempo.co

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ABSTRACT

The 2024 Indonesian presidential election, won by the Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka ticket, marked the beginning of the implementation of massive budget efficiency policies. One of the impacts was the blocking of the budget for a strategic national project, namely the construction of the new capital city, Nusantara (IKN), which sparked public debate and became the focus of online media. Given that media plays a vital role in shaping public perception and opinion, this study aims to analyze how media framing is conducted by Detik.com and Tempo.co in framing the issue of the IKN budget freeze. This study uses the framing model proposed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, which includes four main elements: syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical. The method used is qualitative descriptive with a constructivist paradigm, which views social reality as the result of intersubjective construction. Data was collected through an analysis of news articles published by Detik.com and Tempo.co between February 6 and 27, 2025, focusing on the issue of the IKN budget freeze. The results of the study indicate that Tempo.co employs a critical framing strategy, emphasizing fiscal uncertainty, environmental impacts, and inconsistencies in government policy. Meanwhile, Detik.com tends to present an informative and administrative frame, emphasizing the continuity of development and clarifications from state authorities. These framing differences indicate distinct editorial orientations between the two media outlets. These findings confirm that framing and agenda setting are not only influenced by objective facts but also by ideological preferences and structural interests inherent in the media institutions themselves.

INTRODUCTION

General elections in Indonesia have always been significant moments that not only determine the winner of the political contest and the next national leader, but also reflect the direction of public aspirations for the future of the nation. In every

election, citizens express their political choices, influenced by various factors such as the candidates, policy programs, and the prevailing social context. The 2024 presidential election serves as a key milestone in Indonesia's political dynamics, where the victory of the Prabowo-Gibran ticket, with 96,214,691 votes, surpassed two other pairs and secured wins in 36 out of 38 provinces.

A sweeping budget efficiency policy was implemented exactly on the 100th day of the Prabowo-Gibran administration. The budget cuts were made to save trillions of rupiahs from both ministerial and institutional expenditures. This is stipulated in Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 1 of 2025 concerning budget efficiency of the national (APBN) and regional (APBD) budgets for the 2025 fiscal year, amounting to Rp306 trillion. However, this budget efficiency policy has sparked controversy and criticism. Although budget efficiency is generally necessary, the scale of the current cuts up to 22% is considered excessive and may significantly impact the delivery of essential public services (Setpres, 2025).

This policy has not only stirred public debate and criticism but has also brought consequences across various sectors, from the government itself to the broader society. Social media has been flooded with critical reactions from netizens regarding this budget efficiency initiative. One particularly concerning impact is its influence on the funding for the development of the new capital city, Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN). As of early 2025, progress on IKN has reportedly stalled due to the blocking of funds by the Ministry of Finance, led by Sri Mulyani, in line with the budget efficiency policy. Initially, the Ministry of Public Works was allocated Rp110.95 trillion for 2025. However, following approval from Commission V of the House of Representatives (DPR), the budget was slashed by Rp81.38 trillion, leaving only Rp29.57 trillion.

The situation became more complex with the freezing of IKN project funds, turning it into a widely discussed public issue. The topic gained particular attention after the Minister of Public Works, Dody Hanggodo, confirmed that no budget realization had occurred for the IKN project in 2025. This is notable given that IKN is envisioned to be a Super-Hub a new, sustainable economic center in Indonesia. Beyond symbolizing a new national identity, the government has promised to transform the capital into a smart metropolitan city, with advanced telecommunications infrastructure designed to support diverse industries, including the national economy. Despite this, the IKN mega project has already reached 87% completion, yet no new construction is underway in 2025 due to delayed funding.

As a result, numerous media reports have framed the IKN development issue in relation to the blocked budget, creating public controversy. Nonetheless, there remains a significant disparity in how various media outlets frame this issue. Consequently, reporting on the IKN development ranges from factual to heavily opinionated content. This warrants a focused study on how online media platforms, particularly Detik.com and Tempo.co, frame such issues. The construction of media frames is influenced by both internal and external factors, including technical, economic, political, and ideological considerations. Certain discourses in the media often reflect vested interests that influence the framing of issues. Framing serves as a method to construct reality by organizing events into coherent narratives. In the context of mass media, framing is predominantly seen in news reporting and is inevitably shaped by the media's internal and external interests (Ahmad Djauhar, 2019).

This study adopts a constructivist paradigm as its conceptual foundation. According to constructivism, social reality is relative and shaped by social construction. This paradigm aligns with the interpretivist perspective, encompassing symbolic, phenomenological, and hermeneutic interactions (Sanjadiridja, 2023).

The researcher is particularly interested in the news coverage surrounding the budget blockage of the IKN development project, considering the issue's prominence in public discourse and media attention. The selection of Detik.com and Tempo.co as research subjects is based on clear rationale. Detik.com is known for delivering fast, accurate, and detailed news without the periodization typical of print media (daily, weekly, monthly), offering timely and reliable information (Pratiwi, 2025). Additionally, Databoks reported that Detik.com was the most consumed online news outlet in 2024 (Santika, 2024). However, despite its speed and exclusivity, Detik.com sometimes sacrifices accuracy, which is critical in news reporting. Accurate information must align with facts, possess precision, be error-free, and free from bias or misinformation (Saifudin, 2020).

In contrast, Tempo.co is chosen for its reputation as an independent media outlet that emphasizes in-depth analysis and sharp critique. It frequently presents critical perspectives on government policies (Putri et al., 2024).

The differences in perspective between the two media outlets reflect how the media frame an issue based on editorial values, the interests of media owners, political economy considerations, and the target audience segment. These variations in construction demonstrate the significant role media play in shaping public views and opinions. The selection of sources, presentation of data, and writing style serve as framing tools that can influence how the public perceives and understands an issue.

This analysis aims to identify how each media outlet constructs narratives, selects highlighted aspects, and guides readers' interpretations of the event. A framing analysis is crucial because different news presentations can shape public perception in distinct ways. The researcher intends to compare how Detik.com and Tempo.co reported on the budget blockage announcement made by the Minister of Public Works and the subsequent developments. Given that every issue is subject to the framing strategies of the media and the facts they present, this research seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding. The analysis covers publications from the initial announcement on February 6, 2025, through the period when media attention began to wane on February 27, 2025.

Based on literature review and previous studies, the research question formulated for this study is: *How is framing analysis applied by Detik.com and Tempo.co in reporting the issue of the budget blockage for the IKN development?* The study adopts the framing model proposed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, which offers a robust framework for analyzing the implicit meanings in news content. Furthermore, this model is among the most recognized and widely used methodologies in media studies.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Framing in Media

Framing analysis is one of the methods used in media analysis, alongside content analysis and semiotics. It is employed to understand the perspectives used by journalists in selecting issues and composing news. In communication literature, framing is broadly defined as a process by which the media select and highlight specific aspects of reality. Framing also represents a tradition that emphasizes a multidisciplinary approach and perspective to analyze communication phenomena or activities. This analysis helps dissect the strategies and ideologies that media use to construct facts and guide public interpretation in accordance with their perspectives. Fundamentally, framing analysis explores how the media narrate and represent events or realities.

Eryanto (2002) defines framing analysis as a tool to determine how realities such as events, actors, or groups are framed by the media. Framing analysis allows us to understand how the media develop specific constructions of reality. The same event may be portrayed in different ways through varying frames, depending on how it is perceived by each media outlet (Wibowo, 2024).

According to Pan and Kosicki, framing is the process of making a message more salient and positioning certain information over others so that the audience is drawn toward a particular interpretation. Their model identifies four elements:

1. Syntactic structure : how journalists arrange observed facts through headlines, leads, background information, source quotations, and conclusions.
2. Script structure : how journalists narrate facts through the use of the 5Ws and 1H (what, where, when, why, who, and how).
3. Thematic structure : how journalists write the facts, which can be observed through paragraphs, propositions, sentence structures, and inter-sentence relationships.
4. Rhetorical structure : how journalists emphasize facts through words, idioms, images, and graphics.

The media's role is not limited to disseminating information but also includes shaping public agendas. Framing theory illustrates how the media influence public perspectives on certain issues, while agenda-setting theory explains how the media determine which issues the public considers important (Aldilal et al., 2020). These two theories offer a framework for understanding the interaction between media and public policy. Mass media possess the power to select and prioritize particular issues, which then become central topics in public discourse. For example, in the context of education policy, media often highlight

budgetary inadequacies, drawing broad public attention to this concern.

Methodologically, agenda-setting theory focuses on how public opinion is formed through the reciprocal influence between media and society. The media not only shape what the public perceives as important, but public concern can also influence the media's coverage. Thus, agenda-setting is a dynamic and collective process involving interactions between media, government, and society in determining priority issues (Duku, 2014).

Online Media

Online media refers to media that utilize the internet. At a glance, one might consider online media as part of electronic media, but experts categorize it separately. This is because online media integrates the writing processes typical of print media with digital transmission methods, while also facilitating interpersonal communication that feels more individualized (Ali, 2005, p. 13). Online media is a form of mass media accessible via the internet. Like traditional media, it follows journalistic standards in its operations.

The internet, as a new form of media, is characterized by its technological base, flexibility, interactivity, dual nature of privacy and publicity, minimal regulation, and connectivity. It creates new gateways for organizations to be accessed globally. If used properly, its interactive features can be powerful tools for building and maintaining beneficial relationships (Rumanti, 2002, p. 101).

Online News

According to William S. Maulsby in his book *Getting in News*, news can be defined as the truthful and impartial narration of facts that are significant, recent, and capable of capturing public attention. In *Online Journalism*, Hall states that "online news is journalism as historically understood, but repackaged or radically reshaped in form."

METHOD

Research Approach

This study employs a qualitative approach using a descriptive method. According to Moleong (2019), qualitative research is intended to understand phenomena experienced by research subjects such as behavior, perceptions, motivations, or actions holistically, and described in words and language, in a specific natural context, by utilizing various scientific methods. This approach was chosen because qualitative research can reveal the meaning behind social phenomena that cannot be measured numerically (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

The **descriptive qualitative** method aims to provide a detailed and accurate description of a particular individual, group, or phenomenon (Sandelowski, 2000). In this context, it is used to describe the media framing of news coverage concerning the budget blocking of the Nusantara Capital City (IKN) development by Detik.com and Tempo.co, as reflected in the structures and strategies employed in their framing.

Type of Qualitative Approach: Case Study

This research specifically adopts a case study approach. Yin (2018) defines a case study as a research strategy that investigates contemporary phenomena within their real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident. This approach is relevant because the research object—media framing of the IKN budget blocking—is a contemporary phenomenon analyzed in depth through two specific online news outlets (Detik.com and Tempo.co) within a particular time frame.

The case study approach enables a deep understanding of the process of social construction within each media outlet. Thus, differences in perspective, choice of words, and issue emphasis can be interpreted as unique forms of reality construction from each editorial team (Neuman, 2014).

Research Paradigm

The conceptual framework for this study is grounded in the constructivist paradigm. According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), constructivism views social reality as a construction formed through social interaction and considers such reality to be relative, depending on the context. This paradigm is appropriate because news coverage of the IKN budget blocking does not merely convey facts but also shapes social reality through specific framing choices.

In this case, the differing constructions presented by Detik.com and Tempo.co reflect how each media outlet interprets and highlights certain aspects of the issue, ultimately influencing public perception.

Research Location and Time

This study was conducted through textual analysis of news articles published on the online platforms

Detik.com and Tempo.co. The data collection was limited to articles published between February 6, 2025 when the Minister of Public Works officially announced the budget blocking for the IKN development project until February 27, 2025, when media coverage of the issue began to decline. The corpus was gathered by searching for articles using the keyword *"IKN diblokir"* (*IKN blocked*) on both Detik.com and Tempo.co. The selection of articles was based not only on their relevance to the research phenomenon (the budget blocking of IKN development) but also on their ability to represent the overarching topic under study.

Table 1. Tempo.co News on the IKN Budget Being Blocked

No.	Title	Edition	Source
1.	Menteri PU Blakblakan soal Nasib Anggaran IKN Tahun Ini: Diblokir Semua	6, February 2025	https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/menteri-pu-blakblakan-soal-nasib-anggaran-ikn-tahun-ini-diblokir-semua-1203679
2.	Mengapa Anggaran IKN Diblokir? Ini Penjelasan Kementerian PU	7, February 2025	https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/mengapa-anggaran-ikn-diblokir-ini-penjelasan-kementerian-pu-1204141
3.	Seluk-beluk Anggaran IKN yang Diblokir	9, February 2025	https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/seluk-beluk-anggaran-ikn-yang-diblokir--120482
4.	Anggaran IKN Diblokir, Ketua Komisi V DPR: Mungkin Belum Dipandang Mendesak	11, February 2025	https://www.tempo.co/politik/anggaran-ikn-diblokir-ketua-komisi-v-dpr-mungkin-belum-dipandang-mendesak-1205498
5.	Nasib IKN Setelah Pemblokiran Anggaran	11, February 2025	https://www.tempo.co/infografik/infografik/nasib-ikn-setelah-pemblokiran-anggaran-1205835
6.	Soal Investasi IKN, Rosan Roeslani: Tetap Jalan Tapi Tak Bisa Terburu-buru	12, February 2025	https://www.tempo.co/wawancara/rosan-roeslani-investasi-ikn--1205962
7.	Anggaran IKN Diblokir, Bagaimana Nasibnya ke Depan?	14, February 2025	https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/anggaran-ikn-diblokir-bagaimana-nasibnya-ke-depan--1206798
8.	Ali Berawi Mundur dari Otorita IKN setelah Viral IKN Diprediksi Mangkrak	14, February 2025	https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/ali-berawi-mundur-dari-otorita-ikn-setelah-viral-ikn-diprediksi-mangkrak-1206976
9.	IKN Mangkrak, Hutan Terlanjur Rusak	14, February 2025	https://www.tempo.co/kolom/kerusakan-lingkungan-akibat-ikn-1206867
10.-	Pangkas di Sini, Boros di IKN	27, February 2025	https://www.tempo.co/kolom/ikn-inkonsistensi-prabowo-1212668

Table 2. Detik.com News on the IKN Budget Being Blocked

No.	Title	Edition	Source
1.	Menteri PU Ungkap	06, February 2025	https://www.detik.com/sumut/bisnis/d-7766109/menteri-

No.	Title	Edition	Source
	Anggaran Bangun IKN Diblokir		pu-ungkap-anggaran-bangun-ikn-diblokir
2.	Menteri PU Sebut Anggaran IKN Masih Diblokir Sri Mulyani	07, February 2025	https://finance.detik.com/infrastruktur/d-7766782/menteri-pu-sebut-anggaran-ikn-masih-diblokir-sri-mulyani
3.	Kementerian PU Tegaskan Anggaran IKN Kena Blokir Bukan Karena Efisiensi	07, February 2025	https://finance.detik.com/infrastruktur/d-7767683/kementerian-pu-tegaskan-anggaran-ikn-kena-blokir-bukan-karena-efisiensi
4.	Anggaran PU Disunat, Nasib Proyek di IKN Kini Tergantung Urgensi	07, February 2025	https://finance.detik.com/infrastruktur/d-7768137/anggaran-pu-disunat-nasib-proyek-di-ikn-kini-tergantung-urgensi
5.	Heboh Anggaran IKN Diblokir, Istana Buka Suara!	08, February 2025	https://finance.detik.com/infrastruktur/d-7768081/heboh-anggaran-ikn-diblokir-istana-buka-suara
6.	Bahlil Pastikan Pembangunan IKN Masih Berjalan Usai Heboh Anggaran Diblokir	08, February 2025	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7768968/bahlil-pastikan-pembangunan-ikn-masih-berjalan-usai-heboh-anggaran-diblokir
7.	PD Ogah Nasib IKN Seperti Hambalang Meski Anggaran Masih Diblokir	08, February 2025	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7769319/pd-ogah-nasib-ikn-seperti-hambalang-meski-anggaran-masih-diblokir

No.	Title	Edition	Source
8.	Pembangunan IKN Tahap I Tembus 97%	13, February 2025	https://finance.detik.com/infrastruktur/d-7730276/pembangunan-ikn-tahap-i-tembus-97
9.	Gubernur Kaltim Terpilih Tepis IKN Mangkrak: Sudah Sangat Luar Biasa	17, February 2025	https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7782046/gubernur-kaltim-terpilih-tepis-ikn-mangkrak-sudah-sangat-luar-biasa

Research Object and Subject

The research subject comprises the online news platforms Detik.com and Tempo.co. The object of this study is the media framing of news on the budget blocking issue of the Nusantara Capital City (IKN) development. Using the framing theory proposed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, the researcher examines how each media outlet frames the issue in its news coverage.

Data Collection

The data collection methods used in this study include:
1. Textual Data – obtained through documentation, namely by collecting news articles from Detik.com and Tempo.co that report on the blocked budget for IKN development.
2. Literature Study – conducted by reviewing books, journal articles, academic papers, and credible internet sources relevant to the topic being investigated.

Data Analysis

The method of analysis employed is framing analysis, defined as a method for understanding how the media constructs and presents reality (events, actors, groups, or phenomena). Framing involves constructing meaning from social reality, where certain elements are emphasized over others to guide public interpretation.

This study applies the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing model, which consists of the following four structural elements:

1. Syntactic Structure : How journalists organize observed facts through headlines, leads, background information, quotes/statements, and conclusions.
2. Script Structure : How the narrative is developed using the journalistic standard of 5W+1H (What, Where, When, Why, Who, and How).
3. Thematic Structure : How facts are expressed and arranged across paragraphs, propositions, sentences, and the coherence between sentences.
4. Rhetorical Structure : How emphasis is placed on certain facts using specific words, idioms, images/photos, or graphical elements to convey meaning.

RESULT

In media studies, framing analysis offers a critical lens through which journalists' perspectives and editorial choices can be examined, especially when covering complex or politically sensitive issues. In the context of Indonesia's Nusantara Capital City (IKN) development an ambitious national project budget-related controversies have sparked public debate and divergent media narratives. To unpack how media frame these developments, this research applies Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's framing model across selected news articles from Detik.com and Tempo.co. The following is a structured analysis of six representative articles using Pan and Kosicki's four framing devices: syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures.

1. News Analysis

Title: Minister of Public Works Reveals Budget for IKN Construction Blocked
Date: February 6, 2025
Source: Detik.com

Syntactic Structure:
The headline is direct and assertive, emphasizing the term *"blocked"*, which indicates a total halt rather than mere delay. The use of the word *"reveals"* suggests there is hidden or undisclosed information being brought to light. The news lead immediately presents the fact that no budget realization has occurred, indicating a sense of urgency and crisis within this

national strategic project. Quotations from Minister of Public Works, Dody, such as *"Our entire budget has been blocked"* and *"Now we're told to slim down. So we slim ourselves down,"* enhance the article's credibility and underline bureaucratic constraints. The news concludes with a paragraph that highlights the ministry's commitment to continue working optimally despite the reduced resources.

Script   Structure:
The article covers all 5Ws and 1H but focuses especially on *What* explaining that the IKN 2025 budget was not realized due to massive cuts to the Ministry of Public Works' budget.

Thematic   Structure:
The theme focuses on the setbacks of the IKN project caused by government-imposed budget cuts. Though the paragraphs are concise, each contains a clear main idea, including ministerial statements, the background of the budget cuts, and the minister's stance.

Rhetorical   Structure:
The article includes a photo of the Minister of Public Works being interviewed by the press, reinforcing his credibility. Diction such as *"blocked"*, *"delayed"*, and *"reallocated"* dramatize the narrative, while expressions like *"slim ourselves down"* add a humorous, relaxed tone, reducing the tension.

2. News Analysis

Title: Minister Says IKN Budget Still Blocked by Sri Mulyani
Date: February   7,   2025
Source: Detik.com

Syntactic   Structure:
This headline is provocative, explicitly naming Sri Mulyani (Minister of Finance) as the actor responsible for the IKN budget blockage. It doesn't just convey facts, but subtly assigns blame, influencing public opinion toward the Finance Ministry. The lead strengthens this frame by asserting that the problem lies not with the Ministry of Public Works but with external fiscal policy decisions. Numerous quotations from Dody enhance the impression of transparency and frustration. The article closes with his statement of willingness to continue working under financial constraints while remaining open to future budget increases.

Script   Structure:
This news piece also includes 5W+1H, with emphasis on *What*—clarifying that the budget blockage by the

Finance Ministry is why the IKN project has not progressed in 2025.

Thematic   Structure:
The main theme is the delay in IKN's development due to budget blockage by Sri Mulyani, contrasted with the Public Works Ministry's willingness to proceed and consider additional funding.

Rhetorical   Structure:
The visual is a picture of the IKN presidential palace, symbolizing the ideal vision of the project. This contrast between aspiration and stalled reality deepens the dramatic effect. The diction *"blocked"*, *"slim ourselves down"* balances between critical and casual tones, creating both tension and relatability.

3. News Analysis

Title: Ministry of Public Works Clarifies IKN Budget Blockage Not Due to Efficiency Date: February 7, 2025
Source: Detik.com

Syntactic   Structure:
The headline is defensive and corrective. The word *"clarifies"* signals an official stance addressing prior misinformation, while *"not due to efficiency"* suggests the need to correct the public's assumption that the blockage was caused by budget rationalization. The lead emphasizes that the blockage was part of a standard administrative process rather than austerity. The closure points out that not only the IKN project was affected but also routine office expenditures, conveying that IKN was neither neglected nor specially targeted.

Script   Structure:
All 5W+1H are present, but the focus is on *Why* to challenge the earlier narrative linking the budget cut to the president's efficiency mandate.

Thematic   Structure:
The news conveys that the blockage was procedural rather than strategic or punitive. The paragraphs are structured to first reject misinformation, explain the bureaucratic rationale, and highlight the broader impact.

Rhetorical   Structure:
The article includes an image of the IKN mosque construction site for Eid 2026, indicating that work continues despite budgetary delays. The diction is composed and collective words like *"clarifies"*, *"not special treatment"*, and *"that's normal"* serve to pacify readers.

4. News Analysis

Title: IKN Budget Blocked, What Is Its Future? Date: February 14, 2025
Source: Tempo.co

Syntactic   Structure:
The speculative headline suggests uncertainty and provokes curiosity. The lead paragraph frames the issue with tension, highlighting speculation that the project may stall due to budget cuts. Contrasting views are presented to heighten complexity. The closing introduces investment figures for Phase 9 (Rp6.49 trillion), suggesting that non-state funding is sustaining the project.

Script   Structure:
While all journalistic elements are present, the emphasis is on *How* explaining how the project continues despite blocked state funds through private and PPP investment schemes.

Thematic   Structure:
The theme revolves around the uncertainty of IKN's continuity amidst fiscal constraints. The article is structured clearly, moving from framing the issue to government denial, followed by presidential commitment, and concluding with the role of private investment.

Rhetorical   Structure:
A photo of tugboats transporting construction materials reinforces the narrative that development is still ongoing. This contradicts the impression that the project is halted, creating a nuanced visual message.

5. News Analysis

Title: IKN Stalled, Forest Already Destroyed Date: February 14, 2025
Source: Tempo.co

Syntactic   Structure:
The headline contrasts two failures: the halted project (*"stalled"*) and environmental damage (*"already destroyed"*). It uses dramatic diction to evoke public concern. The lead uses pessimistic expressions like *"far from expectations"*, *"imaginative project"*, and *"expensive trade-off"* to frame skepticism. Though it lacks direct quotations, the article references legal documents and statistical data. It closes with a critical rhetorical question about the future of ecological restoration.

Script   Structure:
The article focuses on *What* detailing the environmental degradation caused by IKN: deforestation, biodiversity loss, carbon emissions, flooding, and economic loss.

Thematic   Structure:
The dominant theme questions the project's future viability and underscores irreversible damage. Causal and narrative language is used to link policies to outcomes.

Rhetorical   Structure:
An illustration of a tree held in a ruler's hand with scattered flora and fauna visually symbolizes systematic destruction. It strengthens the article's warning about unsustainable development.

6. News Analysis

Title: Budget Cuts Here, Wasteful Spending on IKN
Date: February   27,   2025
Source: Tempo.co

Syntactic   Structure:
The provocative headline contrasts fiscal austerity with extravagant spending, using *"wasteful"* and *"cuts"* to highlight contradiction. The lead directly critiques Prabowo's character, using phrases like *"Prabowo's request"* and *"habit of wordplay"*. The article lacks official quotes, relying entirely on the author's opinion, supported by secondary factual references. It concludes with strong critical statements such as *"Prabowo should not be trapped by Jokowi's ambition"* and *"it would be better to cancel it altogether"*.

Script   Structure:
This article emphasizes *Why* questioning the rationale behind IKN's continuation amid fiscal constraints.

Thematic   Structure:
The theme highlights inconsistency between fiscal narratives and spending behavior. Persuasive and evaluative language is used to influence reader opinion.

Rhetorical   Structure:
The visual is an illustration of a leader observing the IKN project from afar with binoculars, suggesting detachment. Language is emotionally charged and satirical *"wordplay"*, *"irresponsible"*, *"ambition"*, and *"better to cancel"* frame the article as a call for rational governance over blind ambition.

DISCUSSION

This section presents the findings and discussion in a concise and clear manner, by comparing theoretical frameworks, empirical findings, and the results of qualitative analysis. The processed data are displayed through figures or tables, each followed by a brief interpretation. References to tables and figures should be mentioned explicitly in the text, for example, "as shown in Figure 1" or "refer to Table 1." The discussion must remain focused on addressing the research questions presented earlier in the introduction.

The findings of this study reveal that both Tempo.co and Detik.com apply framing techniques in their coverage of the budget blocking issue concerning the development of the Nusantara Capital City (IKN). Both media outlets employ the framing model developed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, which consists of four analytical structures: syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical. The use of different headlines within the syntactic element demonstrates the framing strategy employed.

Tempo.co headlines can be categorized into two types: those that highlight the content and those that are designed to attract reader attention. Headlines that emphasize the news content include: "Minister of Public Works Bluntly Reveals the Fate of This Year's IKN Budget: All Blocked," "Why Was the IKN Budget Blocked? Here Is the Ministry of Public Works' Explanation," "IKN Budget Blocked, House Commission V Chair: Perhaps Not Seen as Urgent," and "Ali Berawi Resigns from IKN Authority after Viral Prediction of Project Failure." Meanwhile, reader-oriented headlines include: "Inside the IKN Budget Block," "The Fate of IKN After Budget Blocking," "IKN Budget Blocked, What's Next?", "IKN Stalled, Forest Already Damaged," and "Cut Here, Waste There at IKN." The quotes cited in Tempo.co news remain balanced, incorporating official statements from government officials such as the Minister of Public Works and the House Commission V Chair. At the same time, Tempo.co also includes critical opinion narratives regarding the policy.

On the other hand, Detik.com headlines are more informative and clarifying, for instance: "Minister of Public Works Reveals IKN Construction Budget Blocked," "Public Works Ministry Asserts IKN Budget Blocked Not Due to Efficiency," "PU Budget Cut, IKN Project Depends on Urgency," "IKN Phase I Reaches 97% Completion," and "Elected East Kalimantan Governor Denies IKN Stalled: Remarkable Progress." These headlines emphasize optimism and progress. Detik.com features more government- and political party-based statements, and its reporting tends to stay within an administrative and

technical frame. Unlike Tempo.co, Detik.com tends to end its reports with direct quotes from sources rather than narrative conclusions.

In terms of script structure, both media employ the 5W+1H framework in their reporting. However, Tempo.co tends to lead the public to ask: why is a project as significant as IKN blocked, and what are the consequences for the future of national development particularly regarding environmental impacts? In several opinion/editorial articles like "IKN Stalled, Forest Already Damaged" and "Cut Here, Waste There at IKN," the "Who" component is not always explicitly detailed. Tempo.co's agendasetting directs public focus on environmental issues, presenting them as critical elements of the IKN debate.

Detik.com, in contrast, follows a linear and descriptive script. While it covers the 5W+1H framework, certain articles lack information on "Where" and "How," such as "PU Budget Cut, IKN Project Depends on Urgency" and "Bahlil Assures IKN Construction Continues Despite Budget Block." Detik.com focuses on what happened, reactions from various perspectives, and the current development progress of IKN. The narrative is confirmative of official statements, with less emphasis on broader implications thus limiting its agenda-setting function to informing rather than shaping public thought.

Regarding thematic structure, Tempo.co constructs a progressive narrative, with the main theme revolving around IKN's fate after the budget was blocked. This theme is developed into a discourse on fiscal crisis, policy uncertainty, and environmental consequences. Short sentences and coherent propositions are used to build a persuasive argument structure. Tempo.co places this issue prominently in the public sphere, creating an agenda by emphasizing not only what becomes the public's discussion but how the public should perceive it through urgency, risks, or policy failure.

In contrast, Detik.com develops its theme by emphasizing continuity and project stability. Long sentences and informative paragraphs are used to maintain a calm, systematic, and structured tone. The rhetorical framing is reflected in visual elements, word choices, and tone. Tempo.co often uses questioning language to discuss IKN's uncertain future, with visuals supporting the narratives. Some articles adopt a harsh critical tone, though several of them are accessible only to Tempo Plus subscribers. Detik.com, on the other hand, uses clarifying and persuasive language to downplay the budget blocking as a major obstacle, with visual content reinforcing this narrative. While Detik.com employs more neutral diction, it leans toward promoting optimism for IKN's future.

After conducting a framing analysis using the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki model, this study finds significant differences in how the two media outlets frame the IKN budget blocking issue, as summarized in the following table: **Table 3.** Framing Differences Between Detik.com and Tempo.co

Framing Aspect	Detik.com	Tempo.co
Syntactic	Uses administrative and neutral diction such as "blocked," "asserted," "ongoing." Headlines are informative and nonconfrontational	Emphasizes dramatic, emotional, and confrontational diction such as "stalled," "already damaged," "entirely blocked." Headlines provoke a sense of crisis.
Script	Focuses on technical explanations and formal government clarification. Framing suggests the project is under control	Focuses on longterm impacts, especially IKN's future, the environment, and political management. Narrative expands into systemic critique
Thematic	Themes center on project updates and clarifications. Writing style is linear, structured, and descriptive	Themes highlight uncertainty, sustainability, and public doubt over the project's continuation. Writing style is argumentative and reflective.
Rhetorical	Neutral and technocratic rhetoric, downplays conflict. Fast-paced publishing	Employs critical and emotional idioms, illustrating failure or

risk inconsistency	damage.
or	Focuses on
misinterpretation	urgency
	creation.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that different framing strategies were applied by Tempo.co and Detik.com in their coverage of the budget blocking issue related to the Nusantara Capital City (IKN) project. The research utilized the framing model developed by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, which consists of four primary components: syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures. The analysis revealed notable differences in how each media outlet framed the issue, reflecting their distinct editorial orientations and ideological positions

Tempo.co tended to employ a critical framing approach, highlighting the uncertainties surrounding the IKN project, environmental implications, and inconsistencies in government fiscal policies. The headlines used by Tempo were often confrontational and emotionally charged, steering public opinion toward questioning the legitimacy and future of the IKN initiative. In terms of script and thematic structures, Tempo constructed an argumentative narrative that emphasized broader policy consequences and encouraged critical thinking among its readers.

Conversely, Detik.com adopted a more informative and administrative approach. Its headlines were descriptive and neutral, and the quoted sources were predominantly government officials. Detik.com emphasized the progress and stability of the IKN project, without delving deeply into the controversies or long-term impacts of the policy. This approach reflects Detik.com's editorial character as a fast-paced media platform that prioritizes speed and immediacy over in-depth analysis.

Author contribution

The author was solely responsible for the conception, data collection, analysis, interpretation, and drafting of this manuscript. All stages of the research, including framing analysis, comparative media study, and theoretical application, were conducted independently by the author.

Declaration of interest

The author declares no conflict of interest related to the publication of this article. This research was conducted solely for academic purposes, without any external influence from political, institutional, or commercial entities.]

Suggestions for Further Research

1. This study can serve as a reference for expanding framing studies, particularly regarding online media in Indonesia, especially on issues related to national strategic policies. Furthermore, it is important to develop broader comparative framing analyses by involving alternative media (local/international) to strengthen data validity and deepen the understanding of media discourse dynamics.

2. The researcher suggests that future scholars integrate the framing approach with other theories, such as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), to explore the relationship between media, ideology, and power.

3. The findings of this study indicate that, particularly in the fields of communication, journalism, and political science, students should be equipped with analytical skills to evaluate and assess media bias and agenda-setting in news coverage.

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