Master Thesis

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MUTUAL INFLUENCES BETWEEN MEDIA FRAMES AND FRAMES BY POLITICIANS ON THE COMPLEX JAKARTA BAY RECLAMATION PROJECT

(in the Context of Political Campaign ahead of Jakarta Governor Election)

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SUMMARY

There are substantial amount of academic references regarding to media framing research. However, empirical research on the mutual influences between media frames and frames by politician's frames is still rarely found. Framing researches are commonly conducted to discover how media do the framing on certain issues without paying attention to audience's response and frames interaction. This study endeavors to fill the void by undertaking empirical research with the following research question: What are the mutual influences between media frames and frames by politicians specifically on the complex Jakarta bay reclamation project in the context of Jakarta Governor Election?

Using qualitative content analysis research methods and Atlas.ti coding software, large amount of media frames and politician's frames from September 2016 to April 2017 have been investigated conclusively to answer the question. As already noted, first of all, this study quantifies the usage of five framing types, i.e. conflict, morality, economic consequences, responsibility and human interest both within media and politicians side. Subsequently, the mutual influences are investigated by looking at their most dominant frames, their comparative trends in the quantity of frames, and their textual interlinks through presence of similar keywords/ phrases/ metaphors/ sentences, and mutual quotations.

The study reveals a weak mutual influence between media frames and frames by politicians. It was indicated from their differences in using dominant frames. Conflict consistently dominated media frames, while economic consequences were generally dominant within politician's frames. Besides, media and politicians produced different quantity of frames and present different trends. Policy development of the project mostly influenced the quantity of media frames, while election process influenced both media and politician's frames. Media and politicians also presented an insignificant textual interlinks by sharing small number of similar keywords and mutual quotations. Overall, stronger mutual influences occurred only during crucial moment of elections. In other words, mutual influences were present between media and politician's frames with crucial election moments, instead of between media frames and frames by politicians.

Keywords: frames, media frames, politician's frames, mutual influences, reclamation project, election process

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Jakarta is the capital city of Republic Indonesia situated in the northwest coastal of Java Island. For a long time, one of the major problems facing by Jakartans (Jakarta residents) is flooding. Flooding becoming a yearly disaster facing by Jakartans. To name a few, the biggest disaster hit the capital city in 1996, 2002, and 2007. The latest deadly flooding occurred in 2013, hit 60% of the area and left more than 20 people died and forced roughly 30 thousand people homeless (Takagi, et.al 2016). Jakarta provincial government perennially tries to solve the problem, for example by building and improving canal, dredging of major rivers to speed up the water flow out to the ocean to minimize flooding risks. However, the most ambitious but controversial plan is reclamation project by constructing 17 artificial lands in the North Jakarta bay which is expected to protect Jakarta mainland from increasing sea-water-caused flooding and also give benefit to the city development.

The physical construction of the project is underway, but the pro and contra continue to rise and large protests voicing rejection – especially on reclamation of 17 new islands – are massively increasing. The polemic had been escalating since early 2016 when the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, the Ministry of Maritime Coordinator, and Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries decided to halt the project.[1] Those ministries considered that the project had been implemented by Jakarta provincial government without central government consent and intensive public participation. Rejections of the project were also voiced by several society groups and fishery associations arguing that the construction of 17 new islands would disrupt their fishing ground and diminish fishermen's income. In September 2016, the new-appointed Ministry of Maritime Coordinator surprisingly turned the decision allowing the project to be continued. It consequently revoked the previous moratorium policy on reclamation. Since then, the future of the project was uncertain and subjected to certain changes.

More interestingly, the reclamation project has become hot media coverages who consider the polemic as a newsworthy issue deemed to gain more media attention. The news

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[1] cited from news article found *at http://www.rappler.com/indonesia/132753-akhir-sementara-reklamasi-teluk-jakarta,* at February, 24, 2017

media had begun to cover the issue massively since the mid 2016 when the polemic heated up and public scrutiny increased. Media framed the reclamation issue by highlighting institutional conflict between central government and Jakarta provincial government or among different government institutions within national level. Also, conflict between affected groups of society and the government or private sector were also highlighted. However, media coverages were seemingly not always in the same tones. Some media emphasized institutional conflict, some others emphasized economic advantages and disadvantages for local people. Until this point, it was obvious that the reclamation project has been mediatized.[2]

Hand in hand with the continuing media debate, political tension ahead of Jakarta governor election was also escalating. In September 2016, media started to relate uncertainty of the project with the context of governor election. There were three candidates running for the governor election. The first candidate, Agus Harimurty Yudhoyono, who is an ex-military army, did not firmly state his view on the reclamation project. While the second candidate, Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, who is an incumbent of Jakarta governor, frankly supported the reclamation policy. The third candidate, Anies Baswedan, who is a former Ministry of Education and Culture, frankly opposed the policy and promised to halt the project construction. Until this point, media framed reclamation project not only by presenting institutional tension among government authorities, but also by presenting contradicting view among governor candidates.

Among politicians themselves, conflict of framing was present. The incumbent candidate stated that reclamation project must be continued as an effort to curb the risk of flooding and he emphasized that the project would also bring economic benefit for Jakartans. On the contrary, the third candidate, frankly resisted the policy, saying that the policy process is undemocratic, could potentially damage the ecosystem, and would not give much opportunities for local people especially fishermen. Those two blocks of politician framed the situation in completely different way and continued to strengthen their own argument for the sake of political benefits. At this point, it was also obvious that the reclamation issue has been politicized ahead of governor election and considered as an interesting topic for political campaigns.

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[2] 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.

Fragmentation within media coverages and politician's perception is intriguing. This condition can be best portrayed as conflict of framing both within news media side and politician side. Framing is popularly used by news media in emphasizing particular element in their news coverage to push certain interpretations (Entman 1993). However, frames are not exclusively done by news media, politicians as part of public usually use certain frames in influencing public perception and gaining political support (Bennett 2016). There is a lot of literature on media framing and lot of literature on political framing, but the connection between them is scarcely researched.

The current researches on framing generally concern with the question on how news media set the frame, or how audiences or readers frame certain issues. Also, the most widely used question is how do the audience process news information and construct certain 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) founds that current frame research mostly done in descriptive ways, by not testing any hypotheses about framing theory, but only describing how single theory works. Mostly, earlier research has focused either on frames in the news or framing effects (de Vreese 2005, p.51). Those two topics are investigated separately without questioning the mutual influences. Therefore, it is unclear in the literatures how media frames influence politician's frames and vice versa. In the context of reclamation project, Investigating the mutual influences between media frames and politician's frames is obviously important to fill the gap in framing research area.

1.2. Research Question and Objectives

Based on the aforementioned academic gap and actual polemic of reclamation issue in relating to governor election context, this study will be guided by following research question:

What are the mutual influences between media frames and frames by politicians specifically on the complex Jakarta Bay Reclamation Project in the context of Jakarta Governor Election?

To answer the main research question, there are two sub-questions need to be taken into account:

1. What types of frames employed by the media and politicians in presenting complex Jakarta bay reclamation project? Which frames are dominant within media and politician's frames?

2. What is the interplay between media frames and frames by politicians? Do politician's frames only replicate the media frames or develop other frames and vice versa?

The primary aim of this research is to unravel the mutual influences between media frames and frames by politicians. In order to understand the mutual interplay, this study also intends to investigate the types of frames used by news media in covering reclamation project. As indicated above, media sees complexity of the project as a newsworthy issue deemed to take into public attention by employing certain framing types. At the same time, politicians scrupulously frame the issue as part of their political campaign to attract public support and possibly to sway public opinion. Hence, another research aim is to unravel the frame types used by politicians, specifically by Jakarta governor and vice governor candidates.

1.3. Academic and Societal Relevance

As already noted, research on the interaction between media frames and frames by politicians in particular is scarcely found. In more general area, research on the interplay between media frames and its framing effect is also difficult to find in the literatures. More recently, several researchers have tried to investigate the relationship between media frames and audience's frame. Callaghan and Schnell (2001) for example, examine competitive relationships between news media frames on public policy issues and frames by political players (especially interest groups and elected officials). Through experimental research, Price and Tewksbury (1997) explore the psychological paths by which news-gathering routine may generate influence over political evaluation and opinion formed by media audience. More recent study by Zhou and Moy (2007, p.80) is also interesting to state. The study tries to investigate the interplay between online public discourse and media discourse. It seeks to answer the question as to how online public frames shape media frames and how media frames contribute to the construction of online opinion frames. These empirical researches

give examples how the relationship between media frames and frames by audiences are studied. This study on the mutual influence between media frames and frames by politicians can be placed in that academic gap and expected to enrich current weak empirical research.

Moreover, this study investigates an actual issue where the conflicting frames between media and between politicians is now underway. The first round of governor election has been held in February 2017 with the victory of incumbent candidate, followed by the third candidate in the second place and the first candidate in the third place. Due to neither candidate gained 50% voters as winning threshold, the voting should be held twice. The second round was on 19 April 2017 followed only by incumbent and the third candidate. The voting was finally won by the candidate who opposed the project. It means that the future of reclamation project is now more uncertain and subjected to certain changes. Based on that policy development, this study can be considered as the earliest research on the reclamation project from framing perspective. In the end, the study is hopefully resulted in a strong academic reasoning and trustworthy empirical findings, adding new perspective in portraying media-politician's frames relation on the specific public issue during political campaign.

1.4. Structure

Presentation of this master thesis is structured into 6 chapters as follows: Chapter 1, as shown in this part, serves as the background of the study describing contextual and academic relevance that underpin the research question. Next, Chapter 2 explains the theoretical debate mainly on the concept of framing which is then closed by the conceptual model guiding the study. More practical consideration regarding to research methodology including operationalization, research design, and research methods are addressed in Chapter 3. Before moving further to present empirical findings, Chapter 4 describes concise information on the existing context: reclamation project development and Jakarta governor election. After that, Chapter 5 presents research findings begin with data description and then data analysis of the three rounds. In each round, amount of framing would be presented and their interaction would be a primary focus. Chapter 6 devotes to concluding remarks reemphasizing the answers to the main research questions, discussion, limitation of study, and suggestions for future research.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Frames, specifically on media frames and frames by politicians, are the main concept in this research. Hence, this chapter will present these two concepts concurrently within three following sub-sections.

2.1. Defining Frames and Its Characteristics

The framing concept is popularly known and widely used in communication discipline. The academic interest on the subject firstly appeared in between 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 act of making news is the act of constructing reality rather than a picture of reality. The reality 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 clear, et cetera (Tuchman 1978, p.1). In other words, frames can be associated with the act of photographing by setting particular boundaries, choosing contexts, selecting and manipulating light in order to portray certain angle of reality (Cappella & Jamieson 1997, p.38). Frames are understood as the way of constructing reality 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, frames are primary framework in which individual has capacity to interpret reality by rendering what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of scene into something that is meaningful (Goffman 1974, p. 21). Gitlin, in more comprehensive way, conceptualizes frames as principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation in relating to what exist, what happen, and what matter. Through the process of selection and emphasis, frames do not portray the reality as it exists, but emphasize a particular aspect of reality (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 realities.

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 development. In the first stage (1990s-1930s), the study was dominantly influenced by strong media effect. It was optimistically perceived that media had strong effect in influencing public discourse. In the second stage (1930s-1960s), the dominant perspectives believed that media had not fully capable in influencing public discourse in society. The perspective of less media effect was commonly known in this period. While in the third stage (since 1970s), academic debate tried to search for new strong media effect. In the fourth stage (1980s-until now), combination of strong and limited media effect has been commonly believed. Media was perceived to have strong media effect over public discourse, but at the same time, individual and society were also had the capacity to control and reconstruct public discourse (Ibid, p.105). Conceptualization of frames done by Goffman, Gitlin, and Tuchman are located in the fourth stage of media research which mark the increasing media effect on society and the presence of individual's capacity to reinterpret information/ news.

Price and Tewksbury (1997, p.177) then argue that effect of media may occur through two stages. *Firstly*, through priming effect. News media considers certain events or actors who are sufficiently newsworthy to receive media attention. The newsworthiness of an issue, event, or person is generally driven by the degree of marketability of news and efficiency of news production (see about media logic by Korthagen 2015, p.14). Based on these newsworthiness, news media do the priming activity by taking particular issue into more intense media coverage (Bennett 2016, p.68). *Secondly*, through framing effect. Having decided which topic should be highlighted, news media, then packages and suggests which major elements in specific news that should be put forward. After priming, framing is the later activity within news media in magnifying certain elements of the depicted reality to make it more salient (Entman 1991, p.9).

In accordance with frames conceptualization by earlier scholars, more recent scholars such as Scheufele (1999, p.107) defines media frames as a "*central organizing idea of story line that provide 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 impute meanings and motives. By the term of

figure, they refer to what centre stage or centre of interest in seeing the situation. While de Vreese (2005, p.53) defines frame as an activity to make some elements of a topic more salient above others in order 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, in such a way 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 crucial part of framing activities. Salience means as process of making 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 important ways for news media to attract audience and reader's attention. Moreover, media frames are also intended to influence audience's thinking and push their whole perceptions on certain societal issues. Accordingly, these arguments also relate to de Vreese's view (2005, p.53) arguing that framing are endogenous to journalistic norms and political world.

Semetko and Valkenburg, with referring to work done by Neuman et.al. (1992), 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 certain issues or topics. It is more likely to present incompatibility, disagreement, or opposing tension between individual, group, and institution (Putnam and Shoemaker 2000, p.167). It is also generally used to portray political situation, contesting winners and losers (Bennett 2016, p. 39). *Secondly,* **human interest frames.** This frame inserts personal and emotional angle in presenting of an event, issue or problem. Semetko and Valkenburg (Ibid, p.95) argue that human interest frames refer to "*an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or "emotionalize" the news, in order to capture and retain audience interests.".* Bennett (2016, p.40) in his book also contends that personalized news give 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 in relation with 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.*** Coverages containing morality frame present event, problem, or issue by referring to certain moral prescriptions related to social norms or any other religious tenets. In certain situations, news media choose some moral judgements in underpinning their idea to define problems, diagnose causes, or suggest remedies. *Fifth*, ***responsibility frames.*** This frame covers an issue 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 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). Hence, 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, interaction between framing in the texts and reader's interpretation need to be taken into account. It becomes crucial to understand how frames are interpreted by stakeholders such as citizens or politicians. As noted by de Vreese (2005, p.53), frames are not only part of journalistic norms, but also part of political argument and social discourse. Framing involves mainly production activity in newsroom, but also interpretation activity by stakeholders (van Gorp 2007, p.60). By this understanding, framing concept should be discussed in more interactive way, connecting media frames and interpretation by politicians.

2.2. Media Frames and Frames by Politicians

Underpinning the idea of framing as an interaction process between production and consumption activity, Entman (1991, p.7) argues that there is a reciprocal relationship between frames manifested within text and frames 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 news. This understanding marks importance of interaction between framing by media and reader's interpretation. In further description, Pan and Kosicki (1993, p.58) argue that framing analysis considers news text as symbolic device that interact with individual agent's memory and meaning construction. They also assume that presence of frames in news texts are not independent from 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 audience's thinking by knowledge evaluation and activation. Readers can evaluate news and activate certain ideas above others to generate a particular "*trains of thought*". 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 dual role of media concept. Media plays a crucial role both as an institutional agent who construct and promote particular frames and as a conduit for dissemination of other actor's frames (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 strong power in producing and distributing his own news.

Scheufele (1999, p.106-107) classifies framing theory into two concepts. The first is media frames, as concept of framing activity done by media as already defined before. Journalists, with their media logics and news values, take certain 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 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 certain influences from other socio-cultural variables in society because frames are endogenous to political and social world, as already noted by de Vreese (Ibid, p.53).

While the second is individual frames, which 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 individual's perception and definition. This latter concept of frames focusses on how individual or readers interpret information they have received from media. Also, it concerns on how readers reconstruct meaning either in similar or different way with media frames. Hence, as a way of constructing reality, frames 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). Callagan and Schnell (2001, p.188) then assume that politicians can effectively use frames to promote their own political vision by redefining certain situations and promoting some remedies.

Callaghan and Scnell (2001, p.183) show how politicians insert their frames into public discourse. The research reveals that politicians employ their certain interpretations on an issue and try to put their preferred themes on main agenda to control public opinion. This implies that politicians could and tend to promote their own message as an effort to penetrate media report on an issue. In a relatively similar way, Zhou and Moy (2007) examine the interplay between online opinion frames and media frames. Their research tries to reveal how online opinion frames help shape media frames and how media frames influence the construction of online opinion frames. Although does not take politicians specifically as their object of study, their research shows how individual frames – through online public opinion frames – interact with media frames.

Beside Scheufele's classification, de Vreese (2005, p.51) conceptualize frames as integrated process between framing building and framing setting (see figure 2.1). During framing-building, activity of framing is underway with strong influences of internal media system and media logic (see also Korthagen 2015). This process is influenced by aforementioned various factors internal and external to media system such as social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalist routines, ideological and political orientation of journalist (Scheufele 199, p.109). The result of this process can be found within the text which highlight certain frames characteristic (de Vreese, Ibid, p.51). Frames are presented either as an issue specific or as generic frames. Issue-specific frames focus on specific topics or events, while generic frames capture broader topics, span in a longer time, and different contexts.

Figure 2. 1. An Integrated Process Model of Framing by Vreese (2005)

Frame-building		Frame-setting	
Framing in the newsroom - Internal factors (editorial policy, news values - External factors	→	**Frames in the news** - Issue specific frames - Generic frames	→	**Framing effects** - Information processing effects - Attitudinal effects - Behavioural effects

The second stage is framing-setting where interaction between media frames and its effects occur. In this stage, news frames presumably bring about some consequences in term of interpretation and evaluation in individual or societal level. On individual level, media frames can affect individual way of thinking and interpretation on an event or issue. On the societal level, framing may also influence public perceptions on certain issues (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, frames lie within communicative process where the process itself is dynamic, involving frame-building (*how frames emerge*) and frame-setting (*how media frames and audiences predisposition interplay*).

With similar meaning, frames by individual is understood by de Vreese (2005) as audience's predisposition which can be seen as form of information processing effect, attitudinal effect, and behavioral effect (Ibid, p.52). In line with information processing effect, Price, Tewksbury, and Power (1997) through an article titled "*Switching Trains of Thought*" examine the impact of news frames on reader's cognitive response. They argue that there are two stages of agenda setting, priming and framing effect. In the message processing stage, news frames can activate certain individual ideas within shorter time. It can be called as *applicability effects* of framing. Having activated, these ideas can be employed to make further evaluation which can be called as *accessibility effects* (Price, Ibid). In these *accessibility effects*, audiences and readers have space to evaluate and reconstruct meaning of an issue. It could change judgements by alteration of problem definition and proposed another solution (Iyengar, 1987, p. 816 as cited by Semetko and Valkenburg 2000, p.94).

Based on these message processing, media frames can alter individual attitude and behaviour. As Bennett (2016) argues that news can shape public opinion and divide public into certain different camps. Moreover, news which are spun by communication campaigner may shape political behaviour, pushing some groups to act while discouraging others (Bennett 2016, p.60). Because of its capacity, frames together with agenda setting and priming can be assigned as tools of power (Entman 2007, p. 163) employed both by media and politicians to gain public attention. More importantly, frames as integrated processes can influence information processing which spurs reader's interpretation. At this point, media frames and frames by politicians are a communicative process where their mutual influences can be observed through understanding of their interplay.

2.3. Researching Mutual Frames

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 on the way in which journalists shape frames by casting certain elements and values of news stories along with certain 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 on news content aiming primarily on identification of frames manifested in the texts. Frame-definition researches are usually conducted through a descriptive way, instead of analytic. While the third type is *frame-effects research*. Framing-effect research moves beyond simply identifying frames within news text, but also analysing its effects on audience or reader's interpretation and vice versa.

To observe media frames, there are two approaches that can be employed, i.e. inductive and deductive research (de Vreese 2005, p.53; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000, p.95). In inductive, research on media frames employ a loosely predefined conception and operationalization. The intention is not to test hypothesis, but to search for possible new conceptions. It tries to find array of possible framing over a certain issue by investigating small sample with more intensive research. While in deductive, research is begun with fixed operationalization and variables as guidance. This approach seeks to prove predefined frames in certain contexts and in certain issues, or problems. In this way, larger sample are commonly used which could be easier to be replicated in other contexts.

De Vreese (Ibid, p.52) also contend 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 employ quantitative methods by putting greater emphasis on quantification of framing content within text. Quantitative research 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 (Morgan 1993). 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), frames are located in four communication parts i.e. communicator, text, receiver, and culture. In communicator, frames are present in the way in which conscious and unconscious judgment by journalists is influenced by certain values. Frames are embedded in journalist's mind as stored principles, enable them to put in place certain frame characteristics in order to give particular meanings. Next, frames can be confirmed within news text which contains a certain word, stock phrases, stereotyped images, source of information and sentences supporting the judgment. Frames are manifested within text as second communication part. While in receiver, frames are present as a result of individual framing and interpretation of the information they accepted. These framing are done by society and then manifested in a wider public culture which dominate way of thinking. Media frames and individual frames are manifested mainly within textual form such as news articles, opinions, or statements.

Cappella and Jamieson (1997, p.46) categorise four structures of text where frames could possibly exist: syntactical, thematic, script, and rhetorical. Syntactical structures contain typical sequences of headline, lead, episode, background and closure. While thematic structures contain particular topic or perspective in covering a problem. Scripts are standard story lines that construct narrative within text. Moreover, text also contain rhetorical structures which employ stylistic choices in presenting a problem/issue. More specifically, Tankard (2001, p.100), proposes a list of 11 textual components within which frames could be identified: 1) Headlines and kickers (small headlines over the main headlines); 2) Subheads; 3) Photographs; 4) Photo captions; 5) Leads (the beginnings of news stories); 6) Selection of sources or affiliations; 7) Selection of quotes; 8) Pull quotes (quotes that are

blown up in size for emphasis); 9) Logos (graphic identification of the particular series an article belongs to); 10) Statistics, charts, and graphs; and 11) Concluding statements or paragraphs of articles.

Through texts, frames work by making bits of information more salient through placement or repetition, or by associating with certain symbols and frames 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 whole text. By contrast, a sentence or a single paragraph may not contain any frames or contain only a few frame. Furthermore, frames either within media articles or politician's posts can be revealed through presence or absence of – among others – keywords, stock phrases, concept, metaphors, sources of information 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.
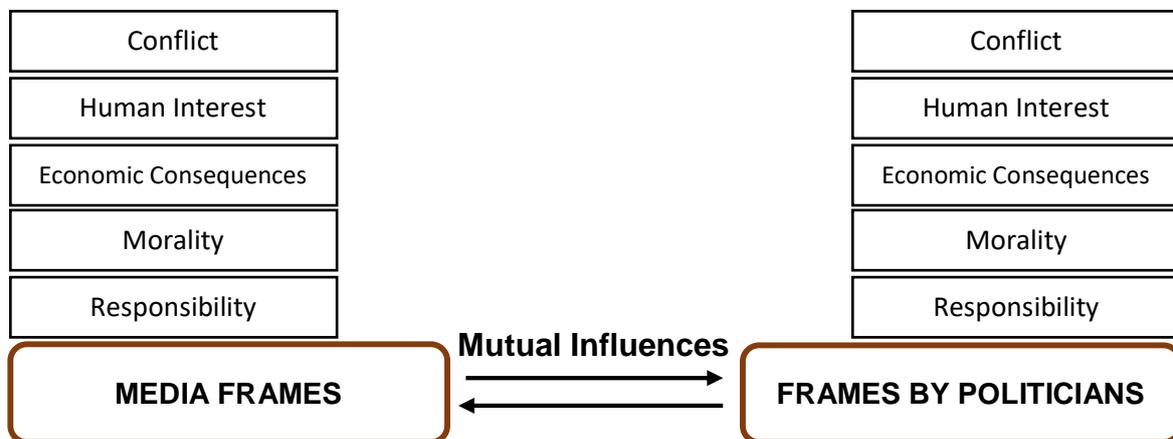
However, clear measurements and fixed tools for analysing their mutual influences are difficult to find. In analysing interplay between opinion frames and media frames, Zhou and Moy (2007) put greater emphasis on the degree of similarity in defining problem, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies. It takes into account 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 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 frames, their trend in publishing the quantity of frame and their textual interlink. As noted by Entman (Ibid 1993) above, frames work by accentuating an information through certain perspectives. It implies that the most salient frames 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 comparative trends within a certain amounts of time. While textual interlinks include similarity of keywords, phrases, metaphors, sentences, sources of information/references, and mutual quotations.

2.4. Conceptual Model

In analysing 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 frames, which are present on each side. In order to understand their mutual influences, this research looks at their comparison of dominant frames, their trend in the quantity of frames, and textual content interlink. Based on that theoretical framework, conceptual model can be illustrated as follow:

Figure 2. 2. Conceptual Model

source: developed by author based on the theoretical framework[3]

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[3] Similar kind – but slightly different – of model has been employed, for example, by Zhou and Moy (2007) on the "*The Interplay Between Online Public Opinion and Media Coverage*". However, their research did not aim to specifically measure the mutual influence between those two sides, but more on relationships between public opinion and media coverage. Moreover, their study prefers to use Entman's function of framing (*problem definition, causes diagnosis, moral judgement and remedy suggestion*) to investigate public frames and media frames. The conceptual model in this research goes beyond that previous model by using different frames measurements and focus on specific issue (*reclamation project issue*) instead of generic frames.

III. METHODOLOGY

The following chapter describes methodological aspect of this research. It begins with description of operationalization to predefined concept mentioned in the conceptual model, followed by research framework, research design and research methods. Research quality indicator specifically on internal and external validity will be described in the last section.

3.1. Operationalization

As practical instrumentation, each sub-variable in the conceptual model is broken down into several indicators. Derived from frames concept, five framing types are operationalized into several indicators as shown in the table below. These indicators are used in coding activity using Atlas.ti software. Besides, the mutual influences are also operationalized into three sub variables as presented in subsequent table, containing its own indicator for the analysis.

Table 3. 1. Operationalization of Framing Types

Concept	Frame Types	Indicators
FRAMES	Conflict frames	• Presenting disagreement/different view among politicians (governor and deputy governor candidates).
		• Presenting disagreement/ different view among individual or groups of society.
		• Highlighting disagreement/ different view between central/provincial government and the private sector and vice versa.
		• Presenting disagreement/ different view between central/ provincial government and individual/group of society and vice versa.
		• Covering disagreement/ different view among different government institution across level and administrative authority.
		• Covering disagreement/ different view between individual or groups of society and private sector and vice versa.
	Human interest frames	• Highlighting personal/private lives of individual or affected groups of society that might generate feelings of empathy, compassions and outrages.
		• Highlighting personal personal/private lives of politicians.

	Economic consequences frames	• Highlighting economic advantages for local or provincial government.
		• Highlighting economic advantages for private and business sectors.
		• Highlighting economic advantages for individual or affected groups of society.
		• Highlighting economic disadvantages for local/provincial government.
		• Highlighting economic disadvantages for private and business sector.
		• Highlighting economic disadvantages for individual/affected groups of society.
	Morality frames	• Referring to values or moral judgement (fairness/unfairness, honesty, justice/injustice, equity/inequity).
		• Referring to values or moral judgement related to religion tenets.
	Responsibility frames	• Presenting responsibility of central/provincial government.
		• Highlighting responsibility of certain private and business sectors.
		• Highlighting responsibility of certain individual/groups of society.

source: developed by author based on adaptation to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p.96)

Table 3. 2. Operationalization of Mutual Influences

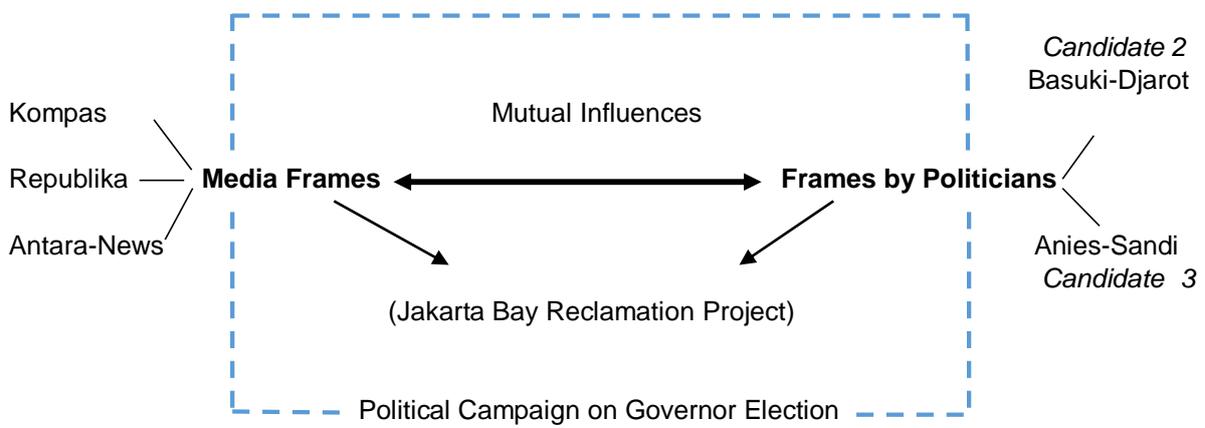| Concept	Variables	Indicators
MUTUAL INFLUENCES	Comparative Dominant Frames	Similarity or dissimilarity in employing the most and less dominant frames.
		Similarity or dissimilarity in exerting indicators within every single frame.
	Comparative Trends	Similarity or dissimilarity of trends in the quantity of publication frames.
	Textual Interlinks	Presence or absence usage of similar keywords, phrases, sentences, metaphors.
		Presence or absence usage of similar references/source and mutual quotations.

source: developed by author

3.2. Research Framework

As already noted, polemic within Jakarta bay reclamation project has been captured by several media as a newsworthy issue. At least, three biggest news media in Indonesia,

Kompas, Republika, and Antara-News, are perceived to have had a substantial role in framing the issue. Their coverages had spurred intense public debate and attracted wide attention among politicians. The reclamation project has become a primary topic during political campaign especially by two governor candidates who had contradicting view. Relationship between media, politicians, reclamation issue and political context can be illustrated in the following research framework:

Figure 3. 1. Research Framework

As mentioned above, three news media are chosen based on their variety of ownership, political ideology and number of readers.

1) **Kompas**. Kompas is privately-owned newspaper. The news was firstly published for general public in 1965. Establishment of the media was initially aimed at representing the Catholic Party's voice, especially in rivalry with massive development of the Communist Party. In earlier development, Kompas was strongly supported by the government and has been perceived to represent nationalist view. Although it has strong relation with the Catholic Party at the origin and got substantial support from the government, Kompas is actively criticizing government's policy and identifying themselves as nationalist-secular media. Kompas is a national daily newspaper with average of 1.8 million readers per day (combining online and printed readers). It is considered to be the largest newspaper in Indonesia based on its circulation.

2) **Republika**. Republika is privately-owned newspaper in Indonesia. Republika was established in 1992 as an effort of Muslim community to criticize government's

policy. Since the establishment, Republika has been strongly related to – and supported – by *Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia* (ICMI), a young Muslim association. Republika has following vision: "*Modern, Moderate, Muslim, Nationality, and Democracy*". In line with their vision, Republika represents religious but moderate Muslim community, combining nationalist-religious view. Although the quantity of readers has not been counted precisely, it can be considered as the most influential national newspaper representing large Muslim community in Indonesia.

3) ***Antara-News.*** Antara-News is an Indonesian news agency which was established in 1937. Since the origin, Antara-News had been organized under private agency before the newly Independence Nation begun to assign it as official government information channel in the 1960s. After 30 years voicing government interest, Antara-News then became independent institutions in 1990s. Since that time, Antara-News has become an independent news agency in producing and covering issues although their ownership is still fully owned by the central government in the form of state-owned enterprise. As government news institution, Antara-News is referred by various private big and small news media.

From politician's side, based on ballot number from Jakarta Electoral Commission (KPU), there were three pair candidates running for governor and deputy governor election. They were: 1) Agus Harimurty Yudhoyono – Sylviana Murni; 2) Basuki Tjahaya Purnama – Djarot Syaiful Hidayat; and 3) Anies Baswedan – Sandiaga Uno. In this study, the first candidate is excluded because he was defeated in the first round of election and did not present clear position on the reclamation issue. The second round of election was only followed by the second and the third candidate.[4]

1) ***Basuki Tjahaya Purnama – Djarot Syaiful Hidayat***. This pair candidate is incumbent Jakarta governor and vice governor. Coalition underpinning the candidate is led by The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle/PDIP, holding 52 seats of 106 or 49% of overall Jakarta members of representatives. In general, the coalition emphasizes the needs to maintain their office in order to continue existing successful program in several sectors especially public infrastructure, social

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[4] Further explanation for this political campaign dynamic is in the next chapter on Contextual Description.

security, and housing. Specifically, this candidate fully supported reclamation project and had promised in their campaign to speed up the implementation.

2) *Anies Baswedan – Sandiaga Uno.* This pair candidate was nominated by two party coalitions i.e. The Great Indonesia Movement Party/Gerindra which hold 15 seats and The Prosperous Justice Party/PKS with 11 seats or 24,5% of overall Jakarta local representatives. In Jakarta governor election, this coalition strongly emphasizes the needs for Jakarta government to have well-manner leadership, strict investment, development of local entrepreneurship. In contrast with the incumbent candidate, he frankly opposed the reclamation policy and had promised to halt the project.

3.3. Research Design and Research Methods

This study uses qualitative content analysis as research method, emphasizing on interpretation of textual data. Hsieh and Shannom define qualitative content analysis as *"as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns"* (Hsieh and Shannom 2005, p.1278). He then explains that textual data can be found in verbal, print, or electronic form obtained from narrative response, open-ended survey question, interview, focus groups discussion, observation, or print media such as articles, books, or manuals (Kondracki & Wellman, 2002; Hsieh, ibid).

In quantitative content analysis, some researches generally stop at quantification and tabulating data from texts (*de-contextualization*). While in qualitative content analysis, such quantification can be seen as the first phase which leads to next interpretation phase (*contextualization*) (Morgan 1993, p.116). Analyzing mutual influence between media frames and frames by politicians on the Jakarta bay reclamation issue will definitely depend on interpretation of textual data. In line with Morgan's argument above (Ibid, 1993), quantification of certain elements within text such as keywords, metaphors, phrases, and concepts are still important.

a. Data Collection

On media side, textual data in this research are specified to online news articles on the Jakarta bay reclamation project published by three Indonesia's biggest newspapers during political campaign from September 2016 until April 2017 (8 month periods). 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. In finding the data, this research extracts news articles from official website of these newspapers by using keywords in Indonesian Language (Bahasa Indonesia): "*Reklamasi Teluk Jakarta*" and "*Proyek Reklamasi Jakarta*". Only relevant online media articles which taken into analysis.
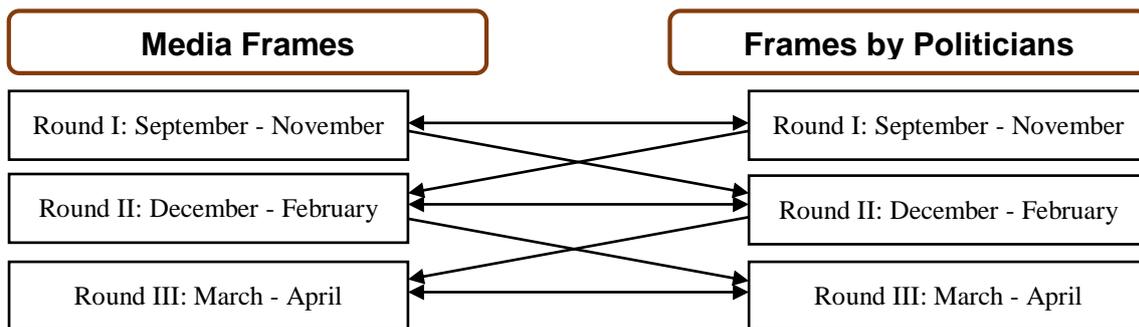
While on politician's side, textual data are identified from two main sources: 1) Statements posted on their official campaign website; 2) Statements on their social media devices: *Facebook*, *Twitter, and Instagram*; and 3) Statement in public debate during the campaign. The politician's statement should be published during political campaign from September 1 until April 19 in order to be included in the analysis. This research includes all politician's statements in form of direct oral statement in debate, social media status, quotes, photo caption, and slogan. Generally, this research only consider textual data as an object of analysis.

b. Data Analysis

As shown in the operationalization table, there are 20 codes which are used to investigate framing in both side. In both media and politicians side, presence of keywords, phrases, sentences and sources of information/references are traced in relation with certain framing types such as conflict, human interests, responsibility, economic consequences, and morality. Selecting from Tankard's (Ibid 2001) textual structures, such frames are traced mainly from title/leads, main content, sources of news/affiliation, quotes, and concluding remarks/paragraph of articles or politician's post. Based on coding activity, there are a statistical data showing the most and less salient type of frames within media and politicians frames. By doing so, it can be seen the trend showing how certain type of frames being used by media and politicians in every single month and during whole 8 month periods. In this step, quantification of framing is important as the first stage before going into more detail analysis.

In the next stage, analysis of mutual influence will be organized based on three rounds. These three rounds are considered to represent contextual dynamic on both political campaign and policy development of reclamation[5]. The analysis of such mutual influences can be illustrated as follows:

Figure 3. 2. Framework for Analysis

source: developed by authors based on adaptation to Zhou and Moy (2007)

As already mentioned in the operationalization table, analysis of mutual influences are based on comparative quantification of the most salient or most dominant frames within media and politician's frames. And secondly, comparative trend in the quantity of frames from each side is also included in the analysis. By doing so, repetition of frames – as part of framing tendency according to Entman – will be compared between media and politicians. And the last, deeper elaboration are on textual interlinks among content of media frames and politician's frames – including shared keywords, phrases, sentences and mutual references/quotation. Based on the analysis on each round, conclusions are derived.

3.4. Research Quality Indicator

At the end of this part, it is important to emphasize research quality indicators. It usually refers to internal and external validity. Internal validity questioning whether the research has been done properly based on appropriate concept, operationalization, and research design. While external validity questioning whether the research – with similar methodology – can be generalized and replicated in other places with similar findings.

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[5] More detail explanation for this four rounds will be in the fourth chapter on Contextual Description.

This research is underpinned by framing concept as a theoretical basis specifically on media frames and frames by politicians. This specific concept allows for detail operationalization breaking down into several indicators. Variables and indicators mentioned above are not a new one, but have been employed by previous empirical research. Five characteristics popularized by Semetko and Valkenburg are used to research different context. By using qualitative content analysis, this research allows for deeper analysis on specific issue that hopingly lead to more comprehensive results. Therefore, this research will be done with strong and strict theoretical and methodological frameworks marking stronger internal validity.

Besides, quality of this research can also be assessed by its external validity. By using three news media and contrasting two political blocks on the issue allow for more representative result of this study. However, there is no guarantee that this research could be replicated in different places with different context and issue. The findings of the research could indeed possibly enrich empirical references for future study of the mutual influences among different frames. But it is unlikely be replicated with similar results which means that the external validity is predicted in a low expectation depending on the degree of contextual similarity.

IV. CONTEXTUAL DESCRIPTION

The following chapter gives a concise description on two crucial contexts, i.e. policy development of the Jakarta bay reclamation project and political campaign ahead of Jakarta governor election. These two contexts become primary setting in researching mutual influences between media frames and frames by politicians.

4.1. Development of Reclamation Project

In order to provide more detail explanation, policy development of reclamation project can be described by using round model. Since its initial plan, the project has experienced at least four rounds:

Round 1: Initial Idea of Reclamation (1995-2007). Reclamation issue in the North Jakarta Bay has become policy debate since 1985s, in accordance with high demand of land uses following massive economic development in the capital city. Due to limited area in the southern part of the city and less likely to do expansion, reclamation became a possible option that could be taken by the Jakarta Provincial Government. Based on almost a decade discussion within provincial level, first official proposal of the project was presented in March 1995 and then approved by national government within the same year by issuing Presidential Decree Number 52/1995 on the North Jakarta Reclamation as legal basis of the policy. Next, the provincial government then followed up the Decree by issuing Regional Regulation on the same subject with more detail provisions.[6]

The national government at that time looked importance of land reclamation from national point of interests in relation to national strategic agenda called as REPELITA (five-years national development planning). The Presidential Decree contained legal basis for decentralization of authority by giving provincial government more power to undertake reclamation policy. It also contained a paragraph stating that budget for the project should be allocated from Jakarta Provincial Government. However, it was allowed for provincial government to search for other sources through collaboration scheme with private sectors

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[6]http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2016/12/15/11462921/kaleidoskop.2016.polemik.reklamasi.di.teluk.jakarta?page=all, accessed on 26-01-2017
see also http://www.suara.com/bisnis/2016/10/22/150106/inilah-sejarah-panjang-megaproyek-reklamasi-teluk-jakarta

and other non-state parties.[7] In the same year, the Jakarta Provincial Government issued a Regional Regulation Number 8/1995 on Reclamation and North Jakarta Spatial Planning. Based on that regulation, idea of reclamation was integrated into general spatial planning.

Round 2: Detailing of Reclamation Project (2007-2012). During five years period between 2007-2012, both national government and provincial government have issued several regulations aimed at detailing of project implementation and physical construction. In general, the regulation specifically map out the plan to build 17 artificial islands located in the North Jakarta Bay covering 514 km^2 area within 72 km of shoreline, named from A to Q Islands. There are three areas of reclamation: western area (from A to H Islands) will be used for housing and limited commercial activities. While central area (from I to M Islands) will be used as a hub for international trade and business, recreation area, and a lot of housings. While eastern part (from N to Q Islands) will be served as central for goods distribution, port area, industrial centre, warehouses and also limited housing for employees.[8] Until this stage, idea of reclamation policy had been consolidated by national and provincial government and then physical construction begun.

Round 3: Physical Construction, Incomplete Planning Document, and Judicial Dispute (2007-2015). Soon after publication of these several basic legal documents, some objections were rising. Ministry of Environment presented an objection on the planning, arguing that idea of reclamation will possibly damage environment and coastal ecosystem. On the contrary, provincial government asserted in their regional regulation that the reclamation would underpin and spur economic development of the region and would not bring any environmental damages. Reclamation was also questioned because the policy had not been accommodated in Jakarta Spatial General Planning document of 1985-2005. It was also lack of environmental impact study which supposed to be approved by ministerial level institution. This incompatibility implied that the project implementation is questioned in term of its legality.

The Ministry of Environment continued to express their objection by accusing the project as illegal and had violated environmental regulation. At the end of 2007, six contractors who had rights to undertake reclamation project sued the Ministry of

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[7] see Article 4 and 11 in Presidential Decree Number 52/1995.
[8] *source: Governor Regulation Number 121/2012 on Spatial Planning of North Jakarta Bay Reclamation*

Environment to the Jakarta Administrative Court. These contractor companies then won the court and the project has been continued without any environmental documents. Due to the defeat in the Jakarta Administrative Court, the Ministry of Environment filed an appeal to revoke the verdict to the Indonesia Supreme Court, the highest level of court in Indonesia. On July 2009, the Supreme Court decided to revoke the verdict and declared that reclamation project is illegal and violates the environment. Based on that new verdict, reclamation project has been temporarily halted until an environmental impact assessment fulfilled by contractor companies and the provincial government. However, in 2011, the Supreme Court turned around their stance by issuing a new verdict stating that Jakarta reclamation project is legal and can be continued.
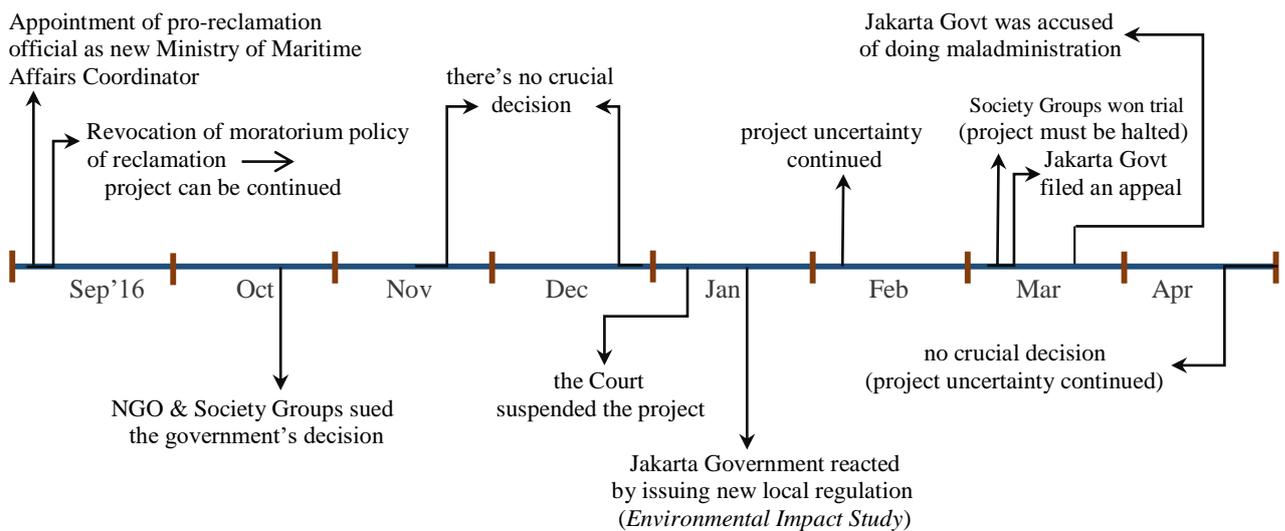
Round 4: Moratorium of the Reclamation Project (2015-2017). In accordance with massive physical construction of the project and continued disagreement from several ministries, public protests were also rising. In September 2015, Indonesia Traditional Fisherman Association (or KNTI in Bahasa), the largest societal groups representing fisherman in North Jakarta filed a lawsuit to the Jakarta Administrative Court concerning to reclamation permit of G Island. Four months later, the association backed by his legal experts filed another lawsuit on reclamation permit of F, I, and K Island to the Court, but these efforts were still out of media attention and have less repercussion.

Public objection has continued to rise, forcing the Ministry of Maritime Affairs Coordinator, the Ministry of Environment, and the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries to sign a moratorium policy for all the reclamation project including the North Jakarta Bay Reclamation in early 2016. However, in September 2016, the moratorium policy has been revoked by the new appointed Ministry of Maritime Affairs Coordinator ensuring that the project must be continued. The decision to continue the project has sparked more public protests highlighting the inconsistency of government. In October 2016, several society groups including Fishery Associations and Environmentalist groups, backed by the Jakarta Legal Aids Institute (LBH Jakarta), prepared a legal rejection over government's decision. Neglecting such society group's objection, the project has continued without any crucial decisions during November and December 2016.

In January 2017, Jakarta Provincial Government issued a new local regulation regarding to environmental assessment. However, within this month, the Jakarta Administrative Court issued a verdict stating that part the project (certain islands) should be

terminated for temporary due to the public objection and incomplete environmental document. This uncertain condition has continued until the end of February. Again, in March 2017, the Court decided to issue a verdict stating that the whole reclamation project in Jakarta Bay must be halted. It means that the society groups won the trial. The Court justified society group's indictment condemning that Jakarta Provincial Government had intentionally damaged environment along with maladministration practices. Such verdict was also underpinned by Ombudsman report confirming society group's objection. However, the Jakarta government surprisingly denied the verdict and filed an appeal to influence the Court, hoping that the verdict could be reviewed. Until the end of the month, there were no crucial decisions, meaning that the project was in status quo which lasted until the end of April.

Figure 4. 1. Crucial Decisions and Events on Reclamation Project During 8 Months

sources: derived from various sources including three media coverages

Aforementioned up and down narrative with crucial things happen in between has become media consumption. Such condition has also been captured as important subject by politicians who running for governor election.

4.2. Jakarta Governor Election

The future uncertainty of reclamation project has gone hand in hand with increasing political tensions ahead of Jakarta governor election. The reclamation issue becomes an

intriguing topic during political campaign among candidates. There were three candidates running for governor and deputy governor election. The first governor candidate was Agus Harimurty Yudhoyono, son of a former president and ex-military corps. He was in pair with Sylviana Murni – a senior bureaucrat in the Jakarta Provincial Government. This first pair candidate was nominated by four-party coalitions led by the Democrat Party and was supported by 26,41% seats in Jakarta local parliament.[9]

The second governor candidate was Basuki Tjahaya Purnama, an incumbent Jakarta Governor who had long experiences as local and national member of parliament and former regent of Belitung Regency in Sumatera Island. He was in pair with Djarot Syaiful Hidayat, an incumbent Jakarta Deputy Governor who also had several political experiences. This pair candidate was nominated by The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle/ PDIP and was underpinned by the largest coalitions composing of 49% seats.[10] While the third governor candidate was Anies Baswedan, a former Ministry of Education and Culture and also university rector. He was in pair with Sandiaga Uno, a famous and successful young businessman. This candidate was nominated by two-party coalitions accounted for 23% seats in Jakarta local parliament.[11]

The whole political campaign for this election can be divided into three rounds. In the *First Round of Campaign* (started from September to November 2016), all candidates presented their vision and mission. During initial campaign, the first candidate gave priority to social security programs such as cash money transfer for poor people and vulnerable families. Besides, He also pledged to boost economic growth in the region and would try to maintain economic and price stability. One of the most striking yet debatable priority program is to build Jakarta as a smart and green city without any cruel evictions of people in slum area, the most problematic area in the capital city.[12] However, regarding to reclamation issue, the candidate did not declare his own stance specifically whether to oppose or support the project.

At the same time, the second candidate emphasized their successful in streamlining bureaucratic procedures and eradicating corruption within provincial government, improving

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[9] https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3304708/peta-kekuatan-parpol-pendukung-ahok-agus-yudhoyono-dan-sandiaga
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] http://ahycenter.id/?pid=3&lic=10065535

good governance, transparency, and accountability. Besides, He also highlighted his successful in increasing economic growth, improving public transport, and relocating illegal housing in the slum area. Moreover, He also vowed to continue providing basic needs for Jakartans such as health and education insurance for young people, housing for homeless people, and creating more job vacancy.[13] Regarding to reclamation project, as incumbent candidate, He frankly declared and committed to continue the project as part of his effort to minimize flooding risks and boosting economic of the region. He argued that the reclamation absolutely needed to maintain the quality of Jakarta environment, gaining local government revenue, and to absorb a huge number of local labours.

The third candidate spoke about entrepreneurship program for all-ages unemployed people called as OKE OCE (One Kecamatan/district, One Centre for Entrepreneurship). Besides, the candidate was also popular for his 0% down payment housing schemes created particularly for poor and homeless families. This program was expected to solve the problem of housing scarcity and could be able to minimize slum area in the city.[14] Regarding to reclamation, the candidate stood on the opposite side and had promised to halt the project. During the campaign, the candidate vowed to review and halt the project by prioritizing fisherman needs and environmental consideration. Hence, the candidate also committed to provide more spaces for public participation in deciding the future of the project in order to create fairer policy.[15]

Second Round of Campaign (December-February 2016). From the description above, it can be seen that reclamation project has been taken especially by the second and the third candidate as part of their program during the campaign. Both of them have a clear perspective and stances toward the reclamation issue. The topic was also appeared in their official website and several written statements in their social media devices such as *Facebook*, *Twitter*, and *Instagram*. Orally, their view on the project has been delivered in several crucial moments, especially in public debate during the campaign period. Henceforth, uncertainty of the project became a political issue in the capital city and continued to escalate hand in hand with political tension ahead of voting.

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[13] https://ahokdjarot.id/visi-misi

[14] http://jakartamajubersama.com/membuka-akses-lapangan-kerja-dan-membangun-kewirausahaan

[15] http://jakartamajubersama.com/menghentikan-reklamasi

The contradiction between the second and third candidates was appeared regarding to the future of the project. Within three official public debates held by the Jakarta Electoral Commission and two unofficial public debates held by private TV broadcasters, reclamation issue has always been discussed. The second candidate was often come up with argument of economic opportunities possibly gained from the project. While the third candidate argued that the project is unfair, lack of public participation, and could bring several disadvantages for local fishermen. The argument of economic opportunities versus fairness has always been used ahead of voting by two contradicting candidates.

In the first round of voting, which was held on 15th February 2017, Basuki slightly won the polls securing 42,99% of voters, followed by Anies with 39,95%, and Agus in the third place with 17,06% voters. Neither candidate secures more than 50% of electoral threshold, it meant that the second round of voting should be held in searching for the winner.

Table 4. 1. Governor Election Result (First and Second Round)

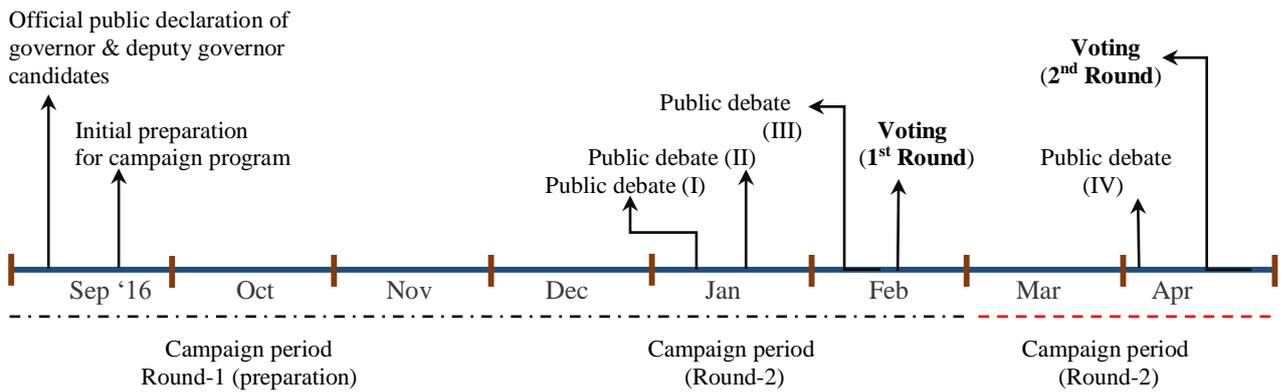| Ballot Number	Name of Candidates	First Round		Second Round	
		Voters	**%**	**Voters**	**%**
1	Agus – Silvy	937.955	17,06%	N/A	N/A
2	Basuki – Djarot	2.364.577	42,99%	2.351.438	42,05%
3	Anies – Sandi	2.197.333	39,95%	3.240.379	57,95%
	Total voters	**5,499,865**	**100,00%**	**5.591.817**	**100,00%**

source: Jakarta Electoral Commission, 2017

Third Round of Campaign (March-April 2017). The need to undertake second round of voting implied that the campaign period was also extended. The second round of voting was held on 19th April 2017 and was only followed only by the second and third candidate. In this round, both candidates consistently spoke about their view on the reclamation project. The contradiction was clear between pro and against candidate. As shown in the table above, the second round of voting was won by the third candidates who secured 57,95% of voters and followed by second candidates with 42,05%. The hotly contested campaign and tight race for Jakarta governor's office was finally won by the candidate who has oppositional stances toward reclamation project.

Table 4. 2. Governor Candidate's Stance toward Reclamation Project

Ballot Number	Candidates	Stances toward Reclamation Project
1	Agus H Yudhoyono – Sylviana Murni	Vague, does not clearly identified.
2	Basuki T Purnama – Djarot S Hidayat	Frankly support and committed to pursue and speed up the reclamation project.
3	Anies Baswedan – Sandiaga Uno	Frankly oppose the project and promised to halt the construction.

Overall, referring to eight month periods of campaign, summary of candidate's positions toward reclamation project can be seen through the table above. Moreover, crucial events relating to the political campaign and election period can be illustrated as follows:

Figure 4. 2. Several Important Events of Jakarta Governor Election
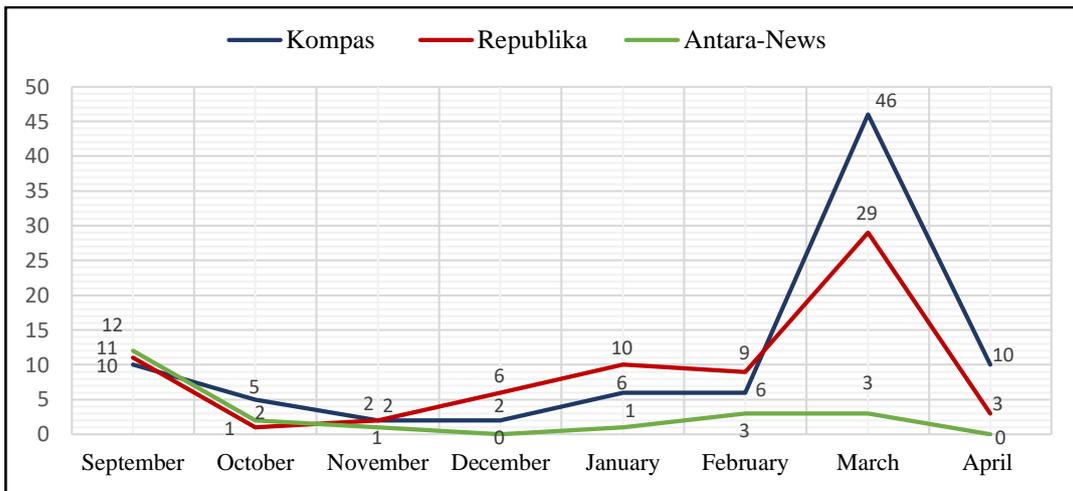
V. ANALYSIS OF MUTUAL INFLUENCES

In this chapter, analysis of mutual influences between media frames and frames by politicians will be presented within three rounds. However, the first part of this chapter gives a short description on the data that has been collected and used for the analysis.
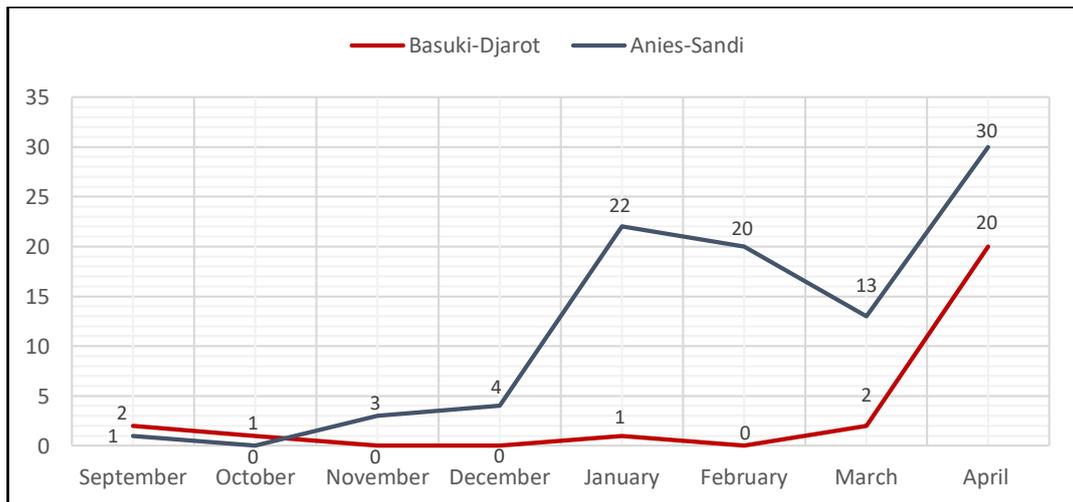
5.1. Data Description

Throughout eight month periods, both media and politicians have published a significant quantity of online news articles and social media posts regarding to 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 publicly-owned media company has published the least quantity with only 22 online news articles during the period (12%).

The figure below reveals that Kompas, Republika, and Antara-News have published articles on relatively similar quantity in September 2016, from 10 to 12 articles. A month later, the number of publications by those three media went down significantly. Low quantity of coverages by Kompas had continued until January 2017. Antara-News also did the same pattern when a low number of coverage lasted even longer until April 2017. In a slightly different pattern, coverages by Republika was also decreasing until the end of the year before rising to a moderate number in January and February 2017. As displayed in the figure, the quantity of publication by Kompas and Republika had drastically increased in March 2017, then dropped in the following month ahead of second round of voting. Overall, the number of publication by Kompas and Republika exhibit a relatively same pattern, while Antara-News seems to has little relations with the others and published in smaller number overtime.

Figure 5. 1. Trend of News Coverages by Three News Media

Figure 5. 2. Trend of Posts by Politicians

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. It was apparent that the second candidate who oppose the project has produced more posts than his rival who support the project. Looking at the detail, Basuki-Djarot had issued low number of posts since September 2016 until March 2017 before suddenly rose to 20 posts in April 2017. In a considerably different pattern, against-reclamation candidate Anies-Sandi has posted lower number since September until December 2016. However, they had posted much more statements since

January 2017 until February with 22 and 33 posts, then decreased to 13 a month later, and climbed again to 30 posts in the last period of the campaign. Both candidates posted the highest amount of their statements, especially during the second round of the campaign.

Overall, the amount of media coverages and posts by politicians can also be compared in order to know the trends during eight month periods. Figure below indicates that the media and politicians started from highly different point where media covered 33 times in September 2016, while politicians only 3. At that time, reclamation issue was at peak of debate among government institutions while in the political arena the governor candidacy just officially launched. A month later, the amount of media coverage dropped approaching to amount of post by politicians. Since October 2016, number of articles from the media and posts by politicians showed on a relatively same pattern until December 2016. It was in line with the absence of crucial decisions made by the government and the project was in the status quo. At the same time, politician's debate over the issue was still insignificant due the small quantity of publication.

Figure 5. 3. Comparative Trends of Media Coverages and Posts by Politicians

In January 2017, both media and politicians intensified their publications where the number politician's posts surpassed media coverages. Related to the contextual description, there was a crucial decision made by the Jakarta Administrative Court who suspended the project based on society group's objection. The Jakarta administration then responded quickly by issuing a local regulation, showing environmental impacts feasibility. At the same time, it has made sense that politicians intensified their publications ahead of the first round

of voting in the mid of February 2017. Such relatively close amount of media coverages and the politician's post has lasted until the end of February where the project remained in uncertainty point.

Interestingly, during March 2017, there was a contradiction between media and politicians. Media increased their number of articles to the highest point on the whole period while politician's posts was decreasing. It was also in line with the aforementioned several important events which had occurred in March. At that time, society groups won the trial and the Court issued a verdict officially recommending to stop the project as a whole. However, the Jakarta government then filed an appeal to block the verdict. These intensified conflicts became the reasons why the media covered the issue in extremely high frequency. It was in contrast with the politicians who experienced a cooling down condition lead to less amount of posts after first round of election.

In the last period, the quantity of media coverages and politician's post also experienced a different pattern. Media seemed to decrease their coverages due to the absence of crucial decisions after society group's trial victory and permanent termination of the project. Conversely, April was a crucial moment for politicians to intensify their publication of posts ahead of the second round of election. Overall, media and politician's frequency of publication showed a different pattern especially in the first period and during the last two month periods. However, both media and politicians shared the same pattern by creating smaller publication during October-November period due to the absence of crucial events. The comparative trend indicates that frequency of media coverages highly depend on the crucial decision of the project, while politician's posts much depend on crucial events related to the election phases.

However, the data above does not guarantee a similar pattern with content of news articles and politician's posts. The next sub-part is devoted to analysis of framing types, used both by media and politicians.

5.2. Mutual Influences: Round 1

During three month periods, media created 192 frames, extremely higher than politician's frames with only 35 frames. Conflict frames were the most frequently used by the media accounted for 37,0% of all framing types, followed by economic consequences and responsibility frames with 25,5% and 25% respectively. At the same period, human interests and morality were the least popular frames in the media coverage with only 7,8% and 4,7%

each. Conversely, politicians preferred to make statements mostly by exposing economic consequences frames, contributing 51,4%. In the second and third position, responsibility and human interest frames were used as much as 22,9% and 17,1% respectively. The most striking findings from that comparison is that politicians employed conflict frames in less significant number with only 5,7%, followed by morality frames with 1 time only or 2,9%.

The overall data proportion indicates that during first three month periods, both media and politicians used different dominant frames in framing the issue. Media emphasized mostly on conflict frames, followed by economic consequences and responsibility frames. On the contrary, politicians considered economic consequences as the most common frames, followed by responsibility and human interests. Importantly, there was a similarity between media and politicians who had less interest in using morality frames. It can be concluded that in the first round, both media and politicians did not replicate each other frames, but developed their own pattern in using frames types.

Table 5. 1. Frequency of Frames by Media and Politicians
(September-October-November)

	Media Frames	%	Frames by Politicians	%
Conflict	71	37,0	2	5,7
Economic Consequences	49	25,5	18	51,4
Morality	9	4,7	1	2,9
Responsibility	48	25,0	8	22,9
Human Interests	15	7,8	6	17,1
Total	**192**	100%	**35**	100%

Looking at more detail, it is identified that the media used conflict mostly by referring to disagreement among government institutions (n=40 of 71), followed by conflict between government with the private sector and between government with affected groups of society (n=12 each). Next, conflict among politicians (n=4) and conflict among society groups (n=3) were mentioned in smaller amount. Interestingly, the media did not capture any things relating to conflict between society and private sectors. By comparison, it was extremely different due the fact that politicians used conflict frames in much smaller portion highlighting only conflict among politicians (n=2 of 2). In using conflict frames, media and politicians produced different emphasis which seemed to have less significance interplay.

Subsequently, in employing economic consequences frames, media exposed more about economic advantages and disadvantages for the society (n=16 and n=15 of 49). Economic advantages for local or central government was also highlighted moderately (n=10), followed by economic advantages for the private sector (n=6). Last, the media pointed to economic disadvantages for the government and for the private sector with very small amount (n=1 each). By comparison, economic advantages for the society was the most common within politician's frames (n=10 of 18), followed by economic advantages for the government (n=6). Then, politicians mentioned economic disadvantages for the society (n=3), and economic advantages for the private sector (n=1). During this period, politicians did not make any frames regarding to economic economic disadvantages either for government or private sector. Similar to conflict frames uses, media and politicians were also different in using economic consequences frames.
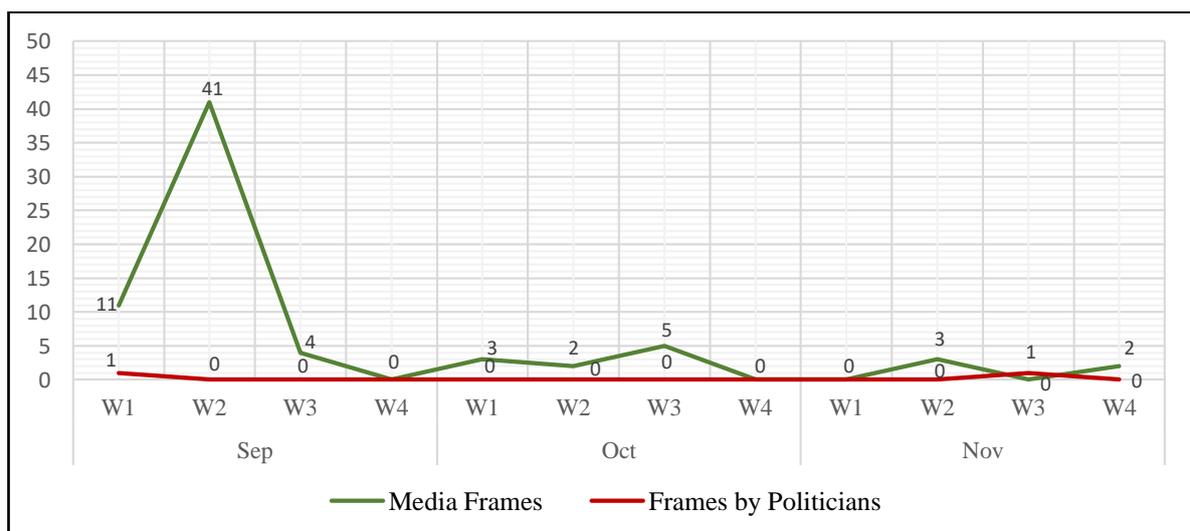
While in addressing responsibility frames, media pointed to central/provincial government as the most responsible institution in relating to the problem (n=30 of 48), followed by responsibility of the private sector (n=17), and responsibility of certain society groups (n=1). On the other hands, politicians considered that the government and the private sector shared similar responsibility for the polemic (n=4 each) and did not mention any relevance of societal group's responsibility. It can be seen the differences between media and politicians where media mostly pointed to government mistake while politicians blamed both government and private sector. There were also intriguing findings that the whole human interest frames created by the media and politicians refer to personal lives of affected society especially fishermen and local resident nearby the project area (n=16, n=6 each). They, especially media, did not mention personal life of politicians. In using morality frames, it was also similar that media and politicians mostly referred to values and moral judgement related to the social order such as justice, fairness, and partiality (n=9 and n=1 respectively). These comparisons suggest that the media and politicians did different pattern in using conflict, responsibility, and economic consequences frames. But they shared similar way in employing morality and human interest frames.

Conflict Frames: Comparative Trends

The figure below shows that media created considerable quantity of conflict frames in the first week of September (n=11) and then peaked to the highest point a week later (n=41).

It was in line with policy development of the project when a crucial decision occurred, i.e. revocation of moratorium policy of reclamation by national government. In the third week of September, the amount of media conflict frames fallen down drastically (n=4), and then experienced a low but fluctuate trend until the end of November (range between n=0 to n=5). The low amount of frames during the rest of the periods was also in line with the context when there was no crucial decision regarding to the future of the project. In an extremely different pattern, politicians did not mention any conflict frames, except in the first week of September and the third week of November (n=1). It was reasonable because they still in the beginning of campaign period. In sum, the quantity of conflict frames trend within media and politician's frames present weak relations because both of them experienced a quite different pattern.

Figure 5. 4. Comparative Trends of Conflict Frames

Looking at the detail, during the first two weeks, media mostly referred to disagreement among government institutions. As already noted, the policy which had been planned and implemented by the Jakarta Provincial Government was considered illegal by the former Ministry of Maritimes Affairs Coordinator. He, supported by other ministries, put in placed moratorium policy on the project. However, the policy then turned to be legal and could be continued after the Ministry was substituted by other pro-reclamation official. Media captured such conflict by citing new Ministry of Maritime Affairs saying that the project is unproblematic and must be continued: "The Ministry of Maritime Affairs Coordinator, Luhut
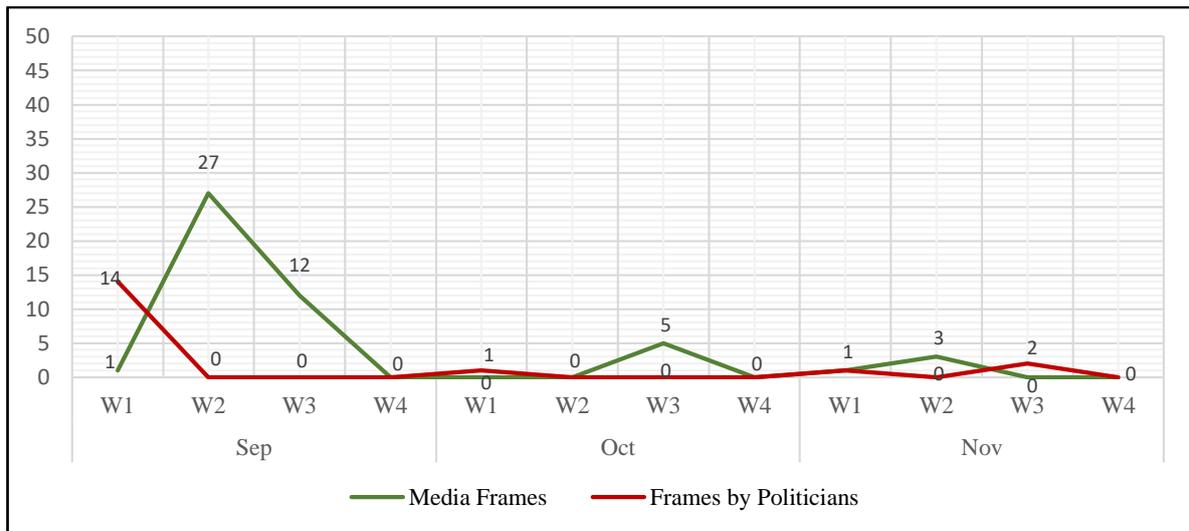
Bintar Panjaitan, argues that the reclamation project is unproblematic although it has been terminated last year" *(Menko Bidang Kemaritiman Luhut Binsar Panjaitan menyebut proyek reklamasi Teluk Jakarta tidak bermasalah meski sempat dihentikan pada pertengahan tahun ini. - Antara-News, 7 September).* Politicians with a little reaction, emphasized opposite stances by saying not to continue the project because of violation of existing regulation: "Suspension of Jakarta Bay Reclamation Project" *(Menghentikan reklamasi Teluk Jakarta)* and "do not violate the regulation" *(Tidak boleh melanggar aturan, - Anies-Sandi, 6 April).* These reaction quotes were only found in the first week of September 2016.

It is indicated that media and politicians used different keyword and sentences in presenting conflict. Media framed contradicting decision between new and former Ministry of Maritimes Affairs Coordinator and then eventually capturing that the project is unproblematic. While politicians with much smaller frequency highlighted contradiction between reclamation project done by Jakarta government with existing national regulations. In terms of quotations and references, media framed the project in using conflict perspective without mentioning or referring to any politician's statement and vice versa. Hence, these comparative trends and textual interlink indicates that uses of conflict frames by the media did not generate any influences to politicians and vice versa. In other words, there were insignificant interplay between them, also because of politician's conflict frames revolved at the lowest point.

Economic Consequences Frames: Comparative Trends

The figure below shows that in the first week of September, economic consequences frames were used mostly by politicians (n=11), while media used it in less significant amounts (n=1). Politicians posted economic consequences frames mostly during opening candidacy in September 2016. After that, politicians did not create any significant economic consequences frames until the end of November. By contrast, media then produced more economic consequences frames in the second week of September (n=27), decreased in the third week (n=12) and continued to stagnate before rising in the last period (n=4). It suggests that media and politicians did a contradicting path in the first three weeks and then stood at insignificant interaction within the rest of the period.

Figure 5. 5. Comparative Trends of Economic Consequences Frames

Looking at the detail, in the first week of September, the most common economic frames by politicians was about economic advantages of the project. A politician, for example, contended that the reclamation project would give more incomes for the government by saying: "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 approximately Rp. 100 trillion" *(Saya hitung semua pulau (reklamasi) kalau satu tahun penjualan bisa Rp 40-an triliun semua. Kalau sampai 10 tahun (hasil) penjualan (di pulau reklamasi) bisa seratusan triliun rupiah, - Basuki-Djarot, 1 September).* Besides, the project was also believed to absorb large number of local labors and would provide better economic benefit for local society. Politician posted: "More than 20 thousand labors would be absorbed for the North Jakarta Bay Reclamation project and it would create much more job vacancy after that" *(Lebih dari 20 ribu tenaga kerja terserap untuk reklamasi Pantai Utara Jakarta, dan setelah selesai akan membuka lebih banyak lapangan kerja, - Basuki-Djarot, 19 September).*
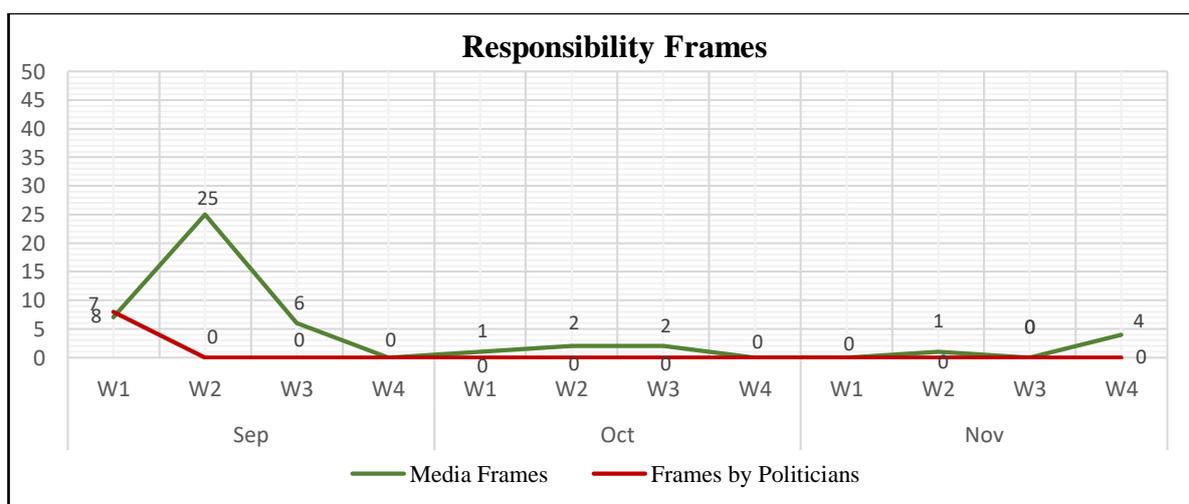
A week later, media framed the issue, referring to both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, media underpinned politician's view regarding to economic benefit of the project by citing government official's statement as follows: "The Ministry of Maritime Affairs Coordinator, Luhut Panjaitan, make sure that fishermen would not be disadvantageous with the reclamation project of G islands in the Jakarta bay" (*Menteri Koordinator Bidang Kemaritiman, Luhut Panjaitan, memastikan nelayan tidak akan dirugikan dengan dilanjutkannya proyek reklamasi Pulau G di Teluk Jakarta. - 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" (*Luhut menyakiti hati nelayan dan memunggungi laut dengan menghilangkan area tangkap nelayan* -Republika, 14 September). Although media and politicians pointed to similar topic, their sentences and keywords are different. Also, 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 due to the fact that either both media and politicians posted only insignificant amount of economic frames.

Responsibility Frames: Comparative Trends

In using responsibility frames, both media and politicians started with relatively similar point in the first week of September (n=8 and n=7 respectively). In the second week, both of them went through different direction where media increased the quantity of responsibility frames (n= 25). However, its frequency fallen down in the third week (n=6) and then experienced a low constant rate until the end of November (n=0 to n=4). At the same time, politicians did not post any responsibility frames until the end of the month. Hence, the quantity of responsibility frames published by media did not give any impacts on the same frames within politician's posts.

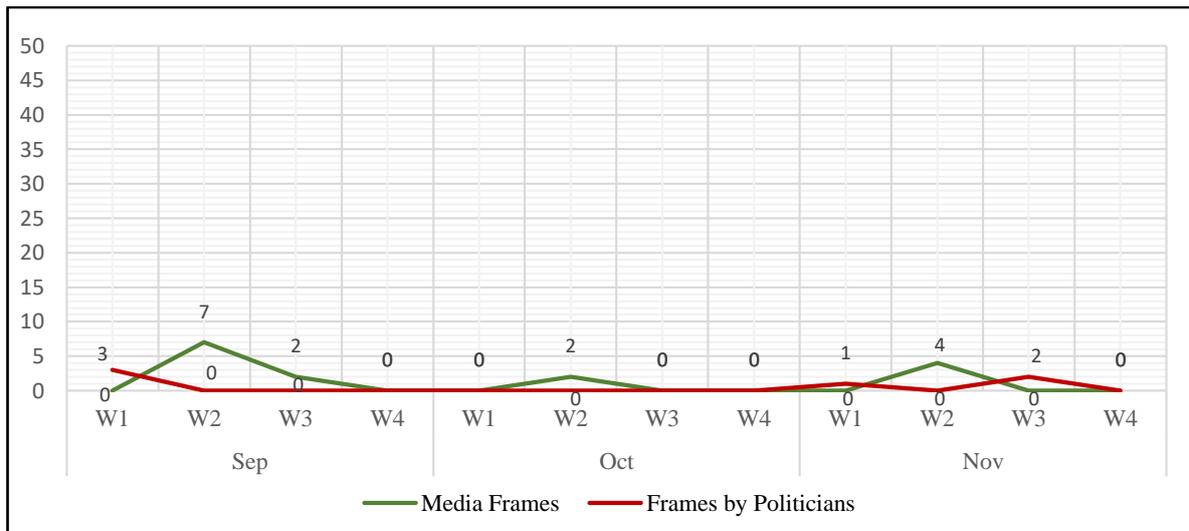**Figure 5. 6. Comparative Trends of Responsibility Frames**

In the first week of September, both media and politicians shared similarity by emphasizing the responsibility of private sector. However, their sentences and keywords was different because media frames exposed responsibility of private sector in causing the polemic. Private sector was considered to have full responsibility in violating several national regulations in paving the way for project realization: "During the meeting, decision has been made regarding to which companies did slight, modest, and strong violations of G islands construction" *(Dalam rakor tersebut, diputuskan pula sejumlah pulau reklamasi yang melakukan pelanggaran sedang dan ringan, selain pelanggaran berat yang dilakukan pengembang untuk Pulau G" - Kompas, 7 September).* In contrast, politicians responded by emphasizing the responsibility of private sector in paying contribution fees to the Jakarta Government and to give more contribution to social development: "this contribution fee from reclamation project would obligate companies to provide several public facilities" *(Kontribusi tambahan inilah yang kemudian akan 'mewajibkan pengembang' untuk menyediakan berbagai prasarana, sarana dan utilitas dasar sesuai kebutuhan warga Jakarta" - Basuki-Djarot, 1 September).* Besides different keywords and sentences, their textual interlinks in term of mutual quotations were also not found, indicating to weak interplay which lasted until the end of the period.

Human Interest Frames: Comparative Trends

The two last graph reveals a less significant number of frames posted by media and politicians. Media mentioned human interest frames in a higher rate only in the second week of September (n=7) and the second week of November (n=4), and the smaller portion in the rests. While politicians produced human interest frames only in the first week of September (n=3) and the first week and third week of November (n=1 and n=2 each). It was intriguing findings that human interest was less preferred by media and politicians in framing the project, at least in this first three months.

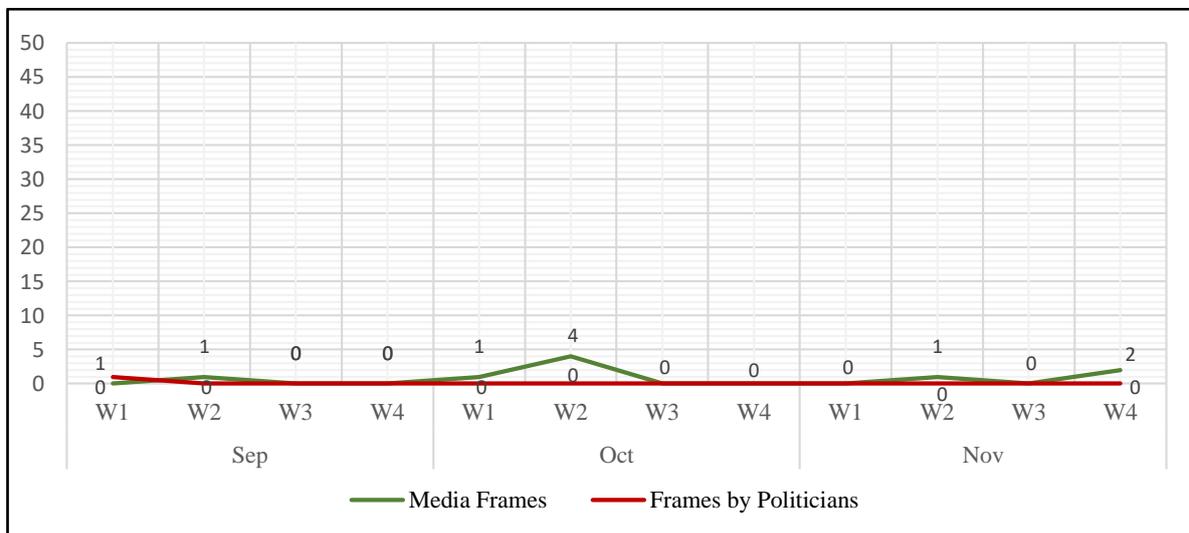**Figure 5. 7. Comparative Trends of Human Interest Frames**

Looking at the detail, although both media and politicians did not share similar keywords and phrases. However, media begun to cover politician's mission statement and cited fishermen leader's statement as follows: "Because of reclamation project, it pushes the people nearby the project onto deep difficulty and distress" *(dengan adanya reklamasi, menyulitkan orang pulau" - Republika, 10 September).* It means that reclamation would generate further difficulty for fishermen daily life. It was actually reinforcing politician's post a week before who said similar emphasis as follow: "because of reclamation project, they (people nearby the project) worry about their temporal residence which would be evicted by the government" *(dengan adanya reklamasi mereka juga mengkhawatirkan tempat tinggal mereka akan tergusur." - Sandi, 3 November).* These interrelated quotations indicate that both media and politicians shared similar view and showed a mutual influence although in a less intense way.

Morality Frames: Comparative Trends

Morality frames were the least type of frames used by media and politicians. The trend as shown in figure below shows less significant quantity of morality frames. Throughout three month periods, the highest point only occurred in the second week of October by media (n=4). Hence, it does not indicate any relations between media frames and frames by politicians regarding to morality. It can be refuted through the absence of direct quotation between them. However, media and politicians used morality frames in a relatively same

tone, emphasizing on the need to maintain social norms and to increase public participation. In the first week of September, politicians framed the project as unfair and need to be improved by emphasizing public participation as follows: "within decisions regarding to reclamation project, provincial government will open public participation and maintain social order existed within society" *(dalam keputusan-keputusan terkait pulau reklamasi, pemerintah provinsi akan membuka partisipasi publik" - Anies-Sandi, 1 September).* Media primarily highlighted the need to maintain social norms within society, which is arguably linked to public participation.

Figure 5. 8. Comparative Trends of Morality Frames

5.3. Mutual Influences: Round 2

During the previous round, conflict was the most common frames used by media, while economic consequences were dominant within politician's frames. In the second round from December 2016 to February 2017, publication of framing by both sides was more intense, along with increasing number of coverages by media and posts by politicians. Table 5.2 below reveals that there were 270 media frames and 100 politician's frames in this round, increased around 40,6% and 185,7% respectively compared to previous round. The quantity of politician's frames showed a remarkable increase because of intensifying political campaign ahead of the first round of voting. While within media side, quantity of media frames also showed a more moderate increase, in line with relatively stagnant project

development. The most striking event in this period were emergence of some verdicts issued by the Administrative Court, recommending temporal suspension of project construction.

The table reveals that media has produced conflict frames 91 times or around 33,7% of overall frames. The domination of conflict frames decreased from the first round when it reached 37,0%. As the second largest portion, responsibility frames accounted for 28,5% or went up slightly from the first round which contribute to 25% of overall media frames. In the same period, the portion of economic consequences frames experienced a massive decrease to 17,0% from 25,5% in the first round. In other words, media was less enthusiastic in using economic consequences frames than before. There was also an important finding that morality and human interest frames were used more often in the second round which contribute to 11,9% and 8,9% of overall frames. It significantly went up from around 7% in the previous three months.

In the other side, politicians did the framing nearly tripled compared to the first round which means that debate on the issue among governor candidates heated up. Usage of conflict frames contributed to 38,0% of overall politician's frames, increased sharply from 5,7% within previous period. It was obvious that politicians in this period preferred to use conflict rather than economic consequences because its portion dropped almost half of to 28,0% from 51,8% in the first round. Further, morality frames were also used more often as much as 12,0%, increased significantly from only 2% in the first period. At the same time, there was a constant trend of human interest frames portion which stood at around 17,0-18,0% during the first and second period. However, there was also a striking trend in highlighting responsibility frames by politicians which dropped significantly from the second most dominant to the least favoured frames. It contributed only 4,0% from the whole frames in this period, dropped from 22%.

These findings suggest that although both media and politicians put conflict as the main frames, other four frames were used differently. Media then put emphasis on responsibility frames, while politicians on economic consequences. It is also intriguing that both media and politicians used morality and human interest frames in significant frequency. Similar to the first round, media and politicians did not resemble each other in assigning their priority frames, but there was also similarity in using morality and human interest frames.

Table 5. 2. Frequency of Frames by Media and Politicians
(December-January-February)

	Media Frames	%	Frames by Politicians	%
Conflict	91	33,7	38	38,0
Economic Consequences	46	17,0	28	28,0
Morality	32	11,9	12	12,0
Responsibility	77	28,5	4	4,0
Human Interests	24	8,9	18	18,0
Total	**270**		**100**	

Despite the fact that 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 different government institutions across different level and authority (n=33 of 91), followed by disagreement among politicians (n=22), and conflict between government and society (n=20). Besides, media created small frequency of conflict between government and private sector (n=7), then followed by conflict among individual/groups of society (n=6), and conflict between society and private sector (n=3). In different way, politicians used conflict frames primarily by referring to disagreement among governor candidates (n=23 of 38), followed by conflict between government and society (n=7). Politicians less interested in producing conflict among government institutions (n=5) which was much contradicted with media. Another lower frequency was conflict between government and private sector (n=2). The last, politicians did not mention any things pointing to conflict among different groups of society. These comparisons suggest that the media and politicians did not put the same emphasis in using conflict frames.

The second most common media frames were economic frames. Media mostly covered disadvantages and advantages of the project for society (n=18 and n=10). In the third and fourth position, economic advantages for the government and for private sector were also mentioned in similar amounts (n=8). And the least portion was economic disadvantages for government and for private sector (n=1). More or less similar with media frames, politicians also put economic disadvantages for affected group of society as the most frequent economic consequences frames (n=18 of 24). Advantages for private sector was mentioned as the second most common frames (n=6), followed by economic advantages for the society (n=3), and economic disadvantages the government (n=1). The rests, politicians did not make any frames highlighting to economic advantages for local government and economic
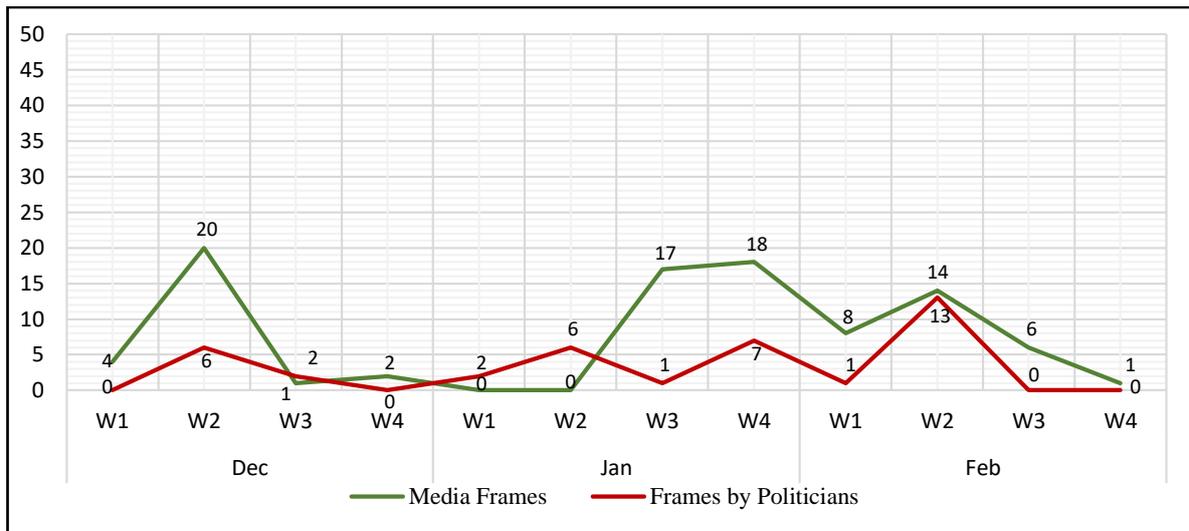
disadvantages for private sectors. Media and politicians shared a similar perspective prioritizing economic disadvantage for affected group of society in framing the project.

Media and politicians did the framing by referring to responsibility frames. Media put responsibility of government institutions (n=46 of 31) as the most common, and then responsibility of private sector (n=31) in the second position. In line with media frames, politicians framed responsibility of government institutions (n=3 of 4) more often than responsibility of private sector (n=1). Moreover, media and politicians were also in the same stances in the way that they did not create frames pointing to responsibility of society groups. Another similarity appeared in using morality frames, both media and politicians put emphasis on values and moral judgement relating to social norms in measuring the project (n=31 and n=13 respectively). The coding is also resulting in similarity of human interest frames where media and politicians gave priority to personal life of individual and group of society such as fishermen (n=24 and n=18 each). These comparisons suggest that both media and politicians did not emphasize similar perspective in using conflict and economic consequences frames during the second period. On the contrary, they shared similar orientation in using responsibility, morality, and human interest frames.

Conflict Frames: Comparative Trends

In the first week of December, media and politicians started to produce conflict frames in a quite different point (n=4 and n=0 each), but rose concurrently a week later (n=20 and n=6 each), and then decreased together in the third week (n=1 and n=2). During the last week of December, media and politicians posted low quantity of conflict frames. In the third week of January, they experienced a different path where politician's conflict frames dropped (n=1), while conflict frames by media increased significantly (n=17). After that, media and politicians went through similar direction, although in a quite different quantity. They intensified their conflict frames in the last week of January (n=18 and n=7 respectively), then dropped together in the first week of February (n=8 and n=1 each), before increasing to the closest point a week later (n=14 and n=13 each). During the last two week periods, their frequency of conflict frames decreased significantly. Overall, it can be seen that media and politicians experienced a similar pattern of upward and downward trend especially in February.

Figure 5. 9. Comparative Trends of Conflict Frames

During the first and second week of December, media used sentences mainly referring to conflict among government institutions which finally ended up with temporary suspension of reclamation project. For example, media wrote: "Finally, the government decided to halt the project for temporary in the Jakarta bay, following verdicts issued by the Court" *(pada akhirnya, pemerintah memutuskan untuk menghentikan sementara proyek reklamasi di Teluk Jakarta. - Kompas, 15 December).* 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" *(…PTUN, sebelumnya telah memutuskan bahwa proyek reklamasi Pulau G di Teluk Jakarta ditunda….dengan pertimbangan banyaknya perundang-undangan yang dilanggar. - Kompas, 15 December).*

Politicians posted conflict frames by referring to different subject regarding to not only violation of existing regulations but also violation of 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" *(Reklamasi bukannya terlarang dilakukan, tetapi jika sejumlah peraturan ditabrak, dampak lingkungan diabaikan, dan kerugiannya lebih banyak, - Anies-Sandi, 9 December).* From the third week of December until the second week of January, conflict frames by media has continued to stagnate. By contrast, the quantity of conflict frames by politicians has increased slightly since the last week of December before dropping in the third

week of January. Because of low quantity of conflict frames from politicians, there were no direct interaction of content within media frames and politician's frames until the second week of January.

Since the third week of January, media evidently covered conflict among politicians by creating headline as such: "Djarot questioning Anies's consistency on the Jakarta Bay reclamation project" and "Anies debating Ahok regarding to reclamation project" *(Djarot Pertanyakan Konsistensi Anies soal Reklamasi Teluk Jakarta - Kompas, 27 January)* and *(Anis Berdebat dengan Ahok Soal Reklamasi - Republika, 27 January).* It reflects strong contradicting view among governor and deputy governor candidates. Further, media framed the project as unnecessary policy, citing a politician's statement: "Anies also argues that there is not necessarily to continue the project as part of bad-planned legacy of earlier government" *(Anies juga menilai tidak perlu melanjutkan reklamasi sebagai warisan masa lalu kalau tidak baik…- Kompas, 27 January).* Contrasting with anti-reclamation politicians, media also wrote: "According to Basuki, reclamation project is continued from earlier policy by President Soeharto in 1990s" *(Pernyataan tersebut ditanggapi lagi, kali ini oleh Basuki. Menurut Basuki, reklamasi yang dia lakukan adalah meneruskan dari masa kepemimpinan Presiden Soeharto medio 1990. - Kompas, 27 January).* He claimed that the project had been planned by the earlier government and there were no reasons to stop it. Still in the same week, a pair governor candidate also asserted their commitment to halt the project due to lack of fairness, transparency, and potency for damaging environment. Possibility and impossibility to terminate the project were also debated by two blocks of politicians.

Next, the majority of media articles published during January and February created titles mentioning the conflict among politicians such as: "Anies-Sandi opposes the reclamation for the sake of fishermen prosperity and environmental preservation", "Opposing reclamation project, Anies will face the companies and developers" *(Anies-Sandi Tolak Reklamasi demi Kesejahteraan Nelayan dan Kelestarian Alam; Menolak Reklamasi, Anies Tegaskan tak Takut dengan Pengembang, - Republika, 9 January).* These titles mention the name of politicians who have contradicting view with other politicians.
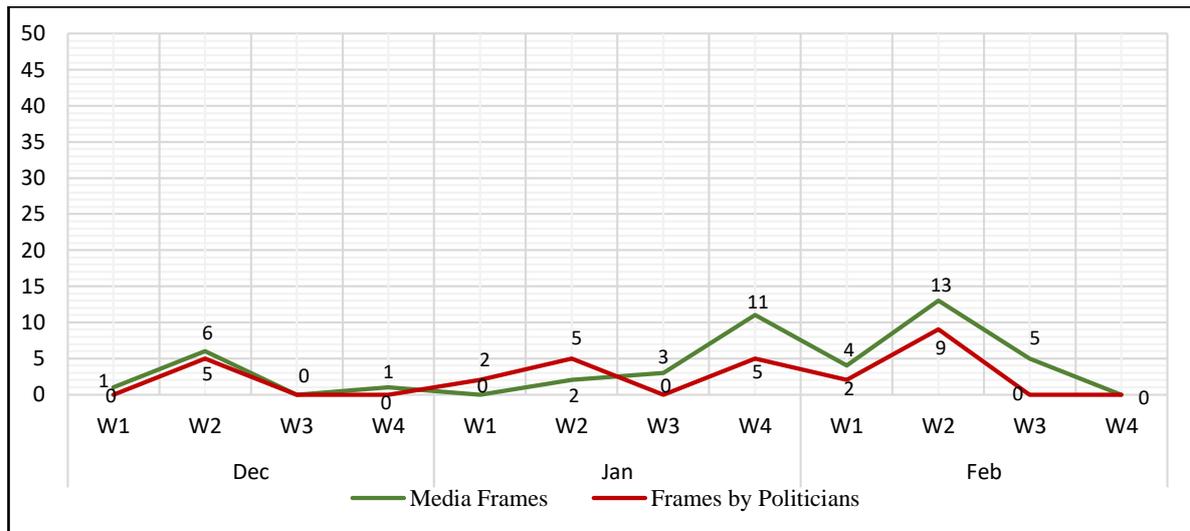
Content of media frames was also directly linked to politician's conflict frames. Among others, media wrote: "Jakarta governor candidate, Anies Baswedan, acknowledges that he will commit to oppose the project for commercial aims" (*Calon Gubernur DKI Jakarta, Anies Baswedan, mengaku konsisten menolak reklamasi Teluk Jakarta untuk penggunaan*

komersial. - Kompas, 8 February). The sentences contain a politician's commitment to oppose the project due to strong business and private sector orientation. It was in line with politician's frames who pointed out similar objection: "Making sure that the project will not only beneficial for groups who have political and economic aspect, but also beneficial for all Jakartans" *(Pastikan yang diuntungkan bukan hanya segelintir golongan yang memiliki akses politik dan ekonomi. Pastikan manfaat pembangunan Jakarta 5 tahun kedepan akan dirasakan seluruh warga. - Anies, 10 February).* Further, politicians also pointed out strong business orientation of the project: "as long as in line with the regulation, we do not fear, employing reclamation project for commercial activity is as part of violation" (*Selama masih berpegang pada undang-undang kita tak gentar, justru menggunakan reklamasi untuk kepentingan komersil itu yang melanggar undang-undang*" - Anies, 8 February). It is obvious that the strong interplay between media and politician's conflict frames occurred mostly in the last week of January and the second week of February.

Economic Consequences: Comparative Trends

Throughout this three month periods, media and politicians published low quantity of economic consequences frames, but portrayed a relatively same pattern. In December 2016, the highest frequency of economic consequences frames occurred only in the second week (n=6 and n=5 respectively). In the second week of January, politicians created economic consequences frames more often compared to media (n=5 and n=2 each). A week later in the third week of January, politician's frames decreased to zero point while media frames increased (n=3). Next, media and politicians shared similar upward and downward trend since the last week of January until the last week of February. Overall, it can be concluded that there were mutual influences between media and politicians in quantity of economic consequences frames which published through a similar pattern.

Figure 5. 10. Comparative Trends of Economic Consequences Frames

In December 2016, media framed the reclamation project in a more balance way by highlighting advantages and disadvantages either for government, private sector, and society. In a single article, media wrote that reclamation brought about some disadvantages for fishermen because of environmental degradation. Further, the article also contained the disadvantages for business sector if the project being halted. At the same period, politicians tended to do the framing from negative side claiming that the reclamation project would absolutely led to obvious economic loss for fishermen. He wrote: "Besides that, fishermen suffered from economic loss as much as Rp. 26 million a month, they find difficulty in finding fish" *(Selain itu, nelayan mengalami kerugian sebanyak Rp.26 juta setiap bulan. Mereka kesulitan menangkap ikan. -Anies-Sandi, 9 December).*

Since the third week of December, media framed reclamation project both in positive and negative way. By quoting against-reclamation politicians, media said that the project would generate more uncertainties to fishermen's lives because they loss of their income: "Thousands fishermen are now going to poverty caused by Jakarta bay reclamation" *(Ribuan nasib nelayan kini tidak jelas. Bayangan kemiskinan semakin menghantui mereka akibat reklamasi Teluk Jakarta. - Republika, 27 January).* At the same time, media also highlighted 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." *(ada 15*

persen dari NJOP (Nilai Jual Objek Pajak) setiap tahun yang menjadi pendapatan bagi Pemda DKI..., pendapatan dari reklamasi selama sepuluh tahun ,,,, bisa mencapai Rp 128 triliun. - Kompas, 27 January). Within the same week, politicians also framed the project using similar keywords mostly by presenting economic disadvantages for affected group of society. He wrote: "This situation (reclamation) exacerbates economic difficulty of fishermen" *(..Situasi ini tentunya menjadikan perekonomian keluarga nelayan pun semakin sulit. - Anies-Sandi, 28 January).* In essence, politicians perceived that the reclamation is unfair and worsen economic life of fishermen and other affected groups of society.

In the second week of February, economic consequences frames were escalated. This was also a crucial point when media and politicians intensified their frames and shared similar keywords. Media published some articles pointing directly to politician's statement on economic aspects such as: "Anies-Sandi opposes the reclamation for the sake of fishermen prosperity and environmental preservation", "Anies will convert reclamation land for public needs" *(Anies-Sandi Tolak Reklamasi demi Kesejahteraan Nelayan dan Kelestarian Alam; Anies Akan Alih Fungsi Lahan Reklamasi untuk Kepentingan Publik - Kompas, 8 February).* These titles denote the importance of switching reclamation project into public orientation instead of business. Further, media framed mostly on economic disadvantages of the project for the fishermen by saying: "Anies stated that reclamation project would only profitable for certain groups, while disadvantages for the most people because it harms their fishing ground" *(Anies mengatakan reklamasi hanya akan menguntungkan sebagian pihak saja, sementara merugikan lebih banyak rakyat kecil karena mengganggu mata pencahariannya dan merusak lingkungan. - Republika, 9 February).* It seemed that at this time, media was influenced a lot by politicians who intensify their frames ahead of voting.

Against-reclamation politicians continued to express his view on the project especially in the second week of February. In line with media frames, economic disadvantages were put more often in politician's statements: "next, construction of new reclamation islands would damage the marine ecosystem and force more than 15 thousand fishermen loss their income. with reclamation, coastal line of North Jakarta would only be harnessed by smaller amount of people, while the most part could not obtain their rights"
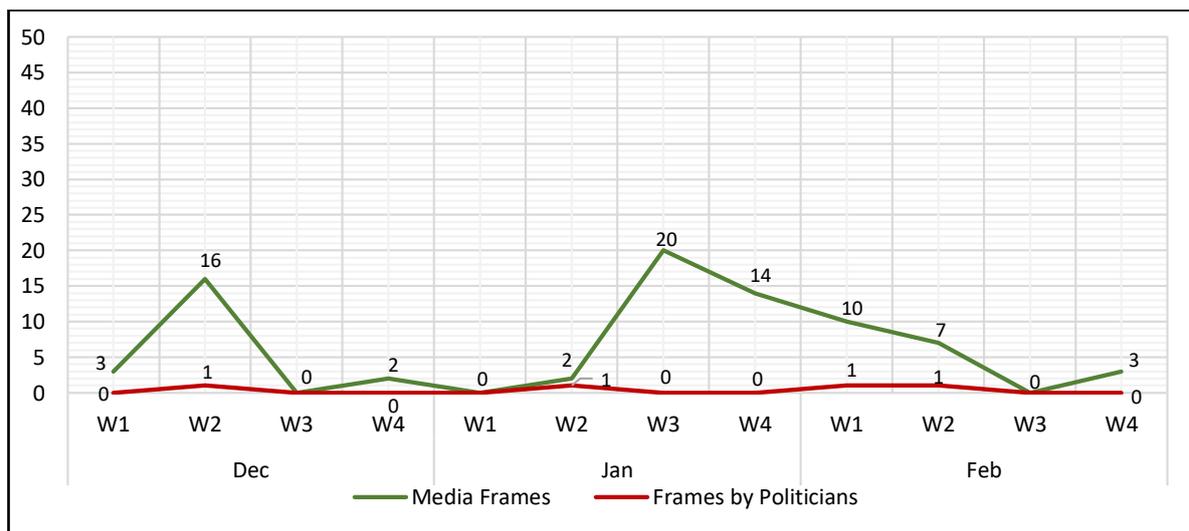
> "*..selanjutnya, pembangunan pulau baru yaitu pulau reklamasi merusak laut sekitarnya dan membuat lebih dari 15 nelayan kehilangan sumber penghasilannya. Dengan adanya reklamasi pantai akhirnya hanya bisa dinikmati oleh sebagian orang, nelayan dan masyarakat sekitar tidak mendapatkan haknya.*" (Anies-Sandi, 8 February)

In essence, media and politicians shared similar pattern in framing economic consequences. Besides, media and politicians also used more or less similar keywords and quotation to support their frames.

Responsibility Frames: Comparative Trends

During three month periods, quantity of responsibility frames produced by media experienced a fluctuate trend. It started with a small number (n=3), then rose to relatively high number in the second of December (n=16). After that, the number had stagnated at low rating until the second week of January, before increasing significantly in the next week (n=20). However, the amount of frames continued to go down until the end of the period. Interestingly, politicians did not mention any responsibility frames during this period. Also, neither media nor politicians intensify their economic frames ahead of the first round of voting in the second week of February. Related to the two aforementioned frames, it suggests that media and politicians less interested in using responsibility frames ahead of voting. Consequently, these comparative trends did not show any mutual influences due to the absence of politician's responsibility frames.

Figure 5. 11. Comparative Trends of Responsibility Frames
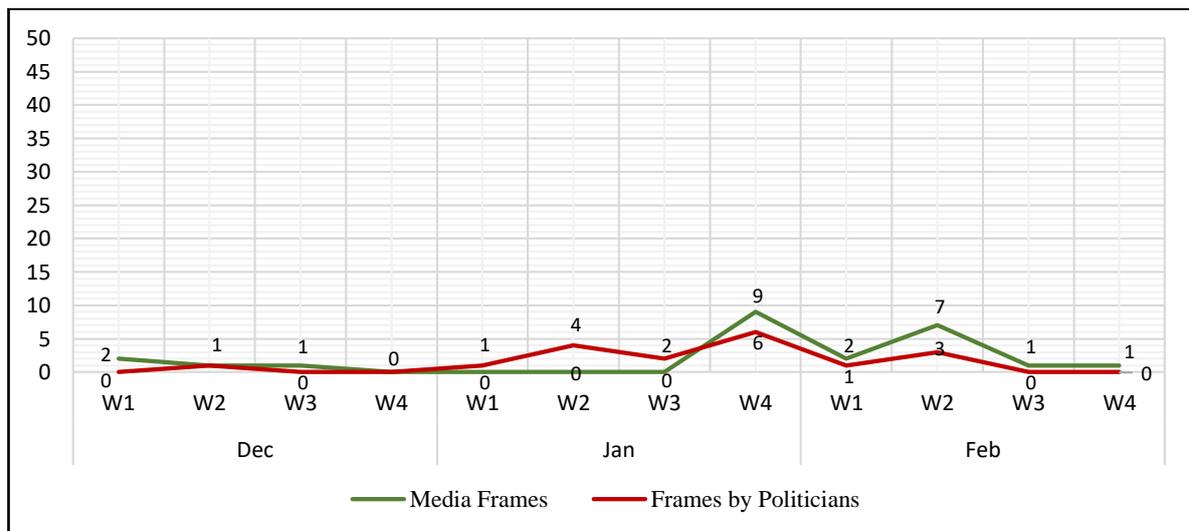

Because of low intensity of responsibility frames especially from politicians, it was difficult to trace the interaction between those two frames in term of textual interlinks. It was

obvious that the increasing or decreasing amount of responsibility frames by media did not give any influences to the politician's frames.

Human Interest Frames: Comparative Trends

The amounts of human interest frames produced by media and politicians experienced an insignificant trend especially throughout December until the first week of January as shown in the figure below. In the second week of January, quantity of politician's human interest frames increased (n=4), but suddenly decreased a week later (n=2), while at the same time, media did not create any frames. In the last week of January, media then created more quantity of human interest frames (n=9) compared to politicians (n=6). After that, their trends were apparently similar, experiencing up and down trends until the end of the period. Based on these comparisons, it can be stated that mutual influences were present although in a less significant amount.

Figure 5. 12. Comparative Trends of Human Interest Frames

Textual interlinks between them did not exist until the last week of January when both media and politicians addressed human interest frames in a significant quantity. Both media and politicians used similar keywords referring to difficulty of fishermen caused by the reclamation project. Among some others, media quoted: "there are almost 20 thousand fishermen in the North Jakarta bay whose life are now going onto deep difficulty caused by reclamation, according to Anies" *(Ada belasan hingga 20.000 nelayan di pesisir utara Jakarta yang kini hidupnya berubah karena reklamasi. Kami akan melakukan semua agar*

warga Jakarta terlindungi," ujar Anies. - Kompas, 27 January). It means that fishermen would definitely go to misery due to the project. Interestingly, human interest frames by media mostly derived from politician's statement.

In the first week of February, media and politicians cited each other's argument by employing some keywords and sentences. Besides, media also included other supporting views coming from environmentalist groups: "Construction of reclamation islands, which are provided for business and upper class society, will cause a total eviction of poor fishermen in the Jakarta bay and it will widen socio-economic gap in the capital city".
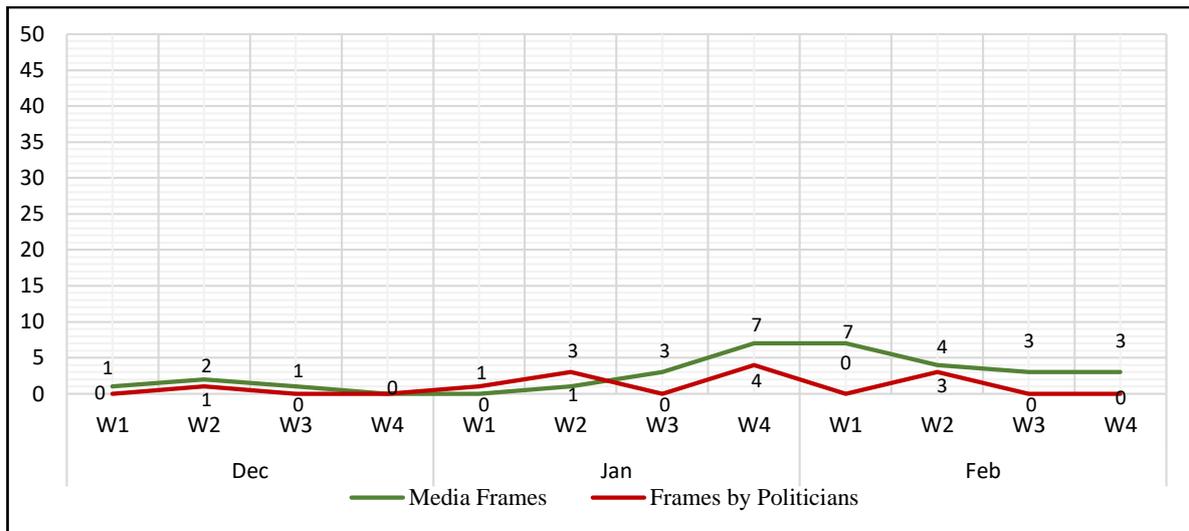
> *"Pembuatan pulau-pulau reklamasi, yang terutama ditujukan bagi hunian dan kegiatan bisnis kelas menengah atas diperkirakan akan menyebabkan peminggiran total kepada masyarakat nelayan miskin Teluk Jakarta dan secara masif akan memperlebar ketimpangan sosial ekonomi di Jakarta,".* (Kompas, 12 February)

It means that private life of fishermen would be extremely impacted by the construction project and new-built artificial islands. These sentences were also in line with statements made by politicians.

Morality Frames: Comparative Trends

Both media and politicians produced small amounts of morality frames especially throughout December until the first three weeks of January. Increasing amounts – but still in very low quantity – of morality frames occurred in the last week of January when media and politician's frames went up concurrently (n=7 and n=4 respectively). A week later, media maintained the amount of morality frames (n=7), while politicians did not consistently present those frames when it dropped in the first week of February (n=0). Quantity of morality frames by media continued to stagnate within last three week of the period (n=4 and n=3), while politicians only made the frames in the second week of February (n=3). Overall, it can be concluded that the trend was relatively stagnant and did not present any strong interplay between media and politicians.

Figure 5. 13. Comparative Trends of Morality Frames

Despite the fact that the trend did not portray interactive dynamic, but media and politicians used more or less similar keywords referring to moral or social values. Among others, politicians put: "this is the most important thing for me, reclamation project is a matter of fairness and morality. The current processes are exclusive and injustice, far from a commitment to create transparency and fairness"

> *"Ini hal yang sangat penting bagi Kami, masalah reklamasi adalah masalah keadilan. Proses yang dilakukan sekarang sangat tidak terbuka, sangat tidak berkeadilan. Jauh dari sebuah komitmen terhadap transparansi dan fairness, dimana nelayan tidak pernah difikirkan dampaknya…"*. (Sandi, 27 January)

Through these sentences, politicians asserted that reclamation project was planned and implemented by ignoring social norms, public participation, and fairness. At the same time, media also used similar keywords, citing flawed reclamation project because of violation of social values.

5.4. Mutual Influences: Round 3

Compared to the first and second round, both media and politicians did the framing more often in this third round. As shown in the table below, media produced 598 frames, increased more than 100% compared to the previous round with only 270 frames. At the same period, politicians posted 176 frames, increased around 75% than before with only 100 frames. It means that within last two months, media attention and politician's debate on the reclamation issue heated up. It was in line with increasing institutional conflict of the project after society

groups had won adjudication to halt the project in March 2017. At that time, the Court issued a verdict stating that the project must be officially stopped, but the Jakarta government blocked the verdict and tried to propose an appeal in order to review the decision (see figure 4.1). It was also hand in hand with intensifying political tensions among governor candidates ahead of the second round of voting on 19 April 2017.

According to the data below, conflict was still dominant within media frames during the third round, accounted for 36,5% of all media coverages. Compared to the second round, its proportion was rising slightly from 33,7%. In this round, economic consequences replaced responsibility frames as the second most common frames with 24,7% of all frames, increased significantly from 17%. Next portion, the media presented reclamation project using responsibility frames as much as 18,9%, dropped from 28,5% in the previous round. As ordinary, morality and human interest frames placed in the fourth and fifth position which contribute to 10,7% and 9,2% respectively. These proportions were more or less similar with the second round. In general, media used five frames in a more proportional way in which there was no one frame that extremely dominant.

Within politician's frames, economic consequences replaced conflict frames as the largest portion accounted for 40,9%, increased sharply from 28,0% in the second round. In the second position, conflict frames contributed to 21,6% of overall politician's frames, dropped significantly from 38,0%. Furthermore, it was interesting that morality and human interests had been used by politicians more often than the media did, placing it on the third and fourth position with 13,6%. The proportion of morality frames were relatively stable compared to the previous round, while human interest frames decreased from around 17,0%. Besides, politicians were still less enthusiastic in using responsibility frames by using it on the least portion with 10,2% or climbed up more than double from only 4,0% in the previous round. It seemed that politicians framed the issue in a relatively similar pattern with the previous round, except for conflict which was replaced by economic consequences in the top position.

These proportions indicate that media did not frame reclamation project with the same pattern comparing to politician's frames. Media mostly emphasized conflict, while politicians prioritized economic consequences. Interestingly, media was not so interested in using morality and human interest frames, but preferred to use responsibility frames. On the contrary, politicians used morality and human interests more often than responsibility frames.

Table 5. 3. Frequency of Frames by Media and Politicians
(March-April)

	Media Frames	%	Frames by Politicians	%
Conflict	218	36,5	38	21,6
Economic Consequences	148	24,7	72	40,9
Morality	64	10,7	24	13,6
Responsibility	113	18,9	18	10,2
Human Interests	55	9,2	24	13,6
Total	**598**	100%	**176**	100%

In using conflict frames, media mostly referred to conflict between government and society (n=74 of 218), while politicians preferred to present their disagreement with other politicians (n=21 of 38). In a slightly smaller amounts, media pointed to conflict among government institutions (n=67) more often than conflict among politicians (n=55). In much smaller frequency, media mentioned conflict between society and private sector (n=10), followed by conflict between government and private sector (n=8), and conflict among groups of society (n=4) as the least. Next, politicians referred to conflict between government and business sector, conflict between government and society, and conflict among government institutions with similar amounts (n=6 each). Interestingly, politicians did not mention any sentences pointing to conflict among groups of society and conflict between society and private sector. These data indicate that media and politicians did not use similar emphasis in choosing conflict frames.

Turn to economic consequences frames, media mostly expressed economic disadvantages for affected group of society (n=56 of 148), while politicians stood on the contrary who were primarily interested in presenting economic benefit for affected group of society (n=31 of 72). Next, economic advantages for inhabitant nearby the project was the second most common frames within media (n=39), followed by economic advantages for business sector (n=22), and economic advantages for the government (n=17). The rests, media used the smallest frequency in economic disadvantages for government and disadvantages for private sector (n=9 and n=5 respectively). On the other hand, politicians addressed economic advantages for the government and disadvantages for affected group of society on the similar amounts (n=14). Economic advantages for private sector were addressed (n=12) more rarely. Moreover, politicians mentioned economic disadvantages for private sector and for government on the smallest amounts (n=1 and n=0 each). In short,
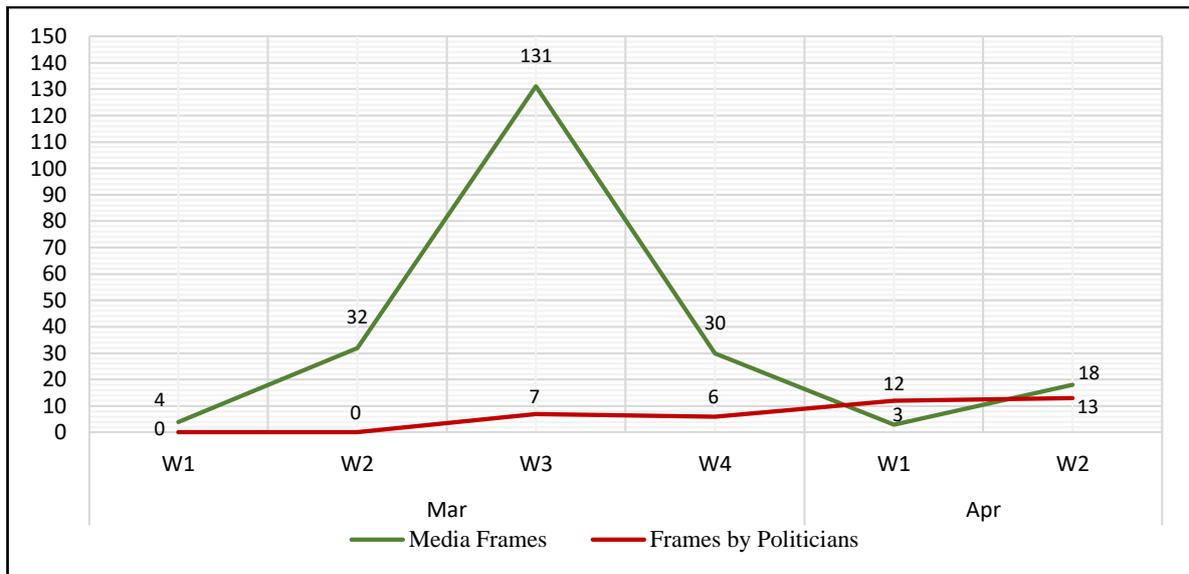
economic consequences frames were also used differently by media and politicians which implies that they had not replicated each other frames.

Different findings were appeared in responsibility frames in which both media and politicians had similar emphasis. Media and politicians mostly addressed the responsibility of government either national or provincial government (n=90 of 113; and n=12 of 18 respectively), followed by responsibility of private sector (n=22; and n=6 each). The least amounts pointed to responsibility of social groups which was mentioned only by media (n=1). In line with responsibility frames, media and politicians also used human interest frames mainly by referring to personal/private lives of individual/affected groups of society (n=55 of 55; and n=24 of 24 respectively). In addition, media employed morality frames mostly by referring to values or moral related to social norms (n=61 of 64). While morality related to religious tenets was only presented in a very small quantity (n=3). Politicians only mentioned morality related to social norms and values (n=24 of 24). These comparisons suggest that both media and politicians had similar emphasis in employing these three kind of frames during this round.

Conflict Frames: Comparative Trends

The figure below shows that media started with slightly higher amounts of conflict frames compared to politicians in the first week of March (n=4 and n=0 respectively). Also, there was insignificant interaction between them in the second week where media increased their conflict frames massively (n=32), while politicians did not mention any conflict frames (n=0). In the third week of March, the quantity of conflict frames by media continued to rise, reaching the highest point (n=131), but fallen down in the fourth week (n=30). It continued to drop until the lowest point in the first week of April (n=3), before rising significantly at the end of the period (n=18). Conversely, politicians started to intensify their conflict frames (n=7) in the third week of March. It then experienced a slight decrease in the fourth week (n=6), but rose more than double during April (n=12 and n=13). Overall, the trend below suggests that both media and politicians experienced a different pattern in producing quantity of conflict frames, where media trends showed up and down point while politicians looked more stable.

Figure 5. 14. Comparative Trends of Conflict Frames

Looking at the detail, although media produced much higher amount of conflict frames compared to politicians in the third week of March, it was found that both media and politicians emphasized similar topic. Also, they cited each other and used more or less similar keywords and phrases. 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. It spurred more intense conflict between society groups and environmentalists with the government in one side, and conflict among government institutions on the other side.

The media captured these polarisation by emphasizing the victory of society over government. However, media also assumed that the government had disagreed with the verdict and intended to propose an appeal as appeared in several titles of their news articles: "PTUN (the Administrative Court) won fishermen during the trial with the Jakarta government regarding to reclamation of I islands" and "This is the reasons of Jakarta government to propose a review concerning to reclamation consent" *(PTUN Menangkan Nelayan atas Gugatan Reklamasi Pulau I - Kompas, 17 March)* and *(Ini Alasan Pemprov DKI Ajukan Banding Gugatan Izin Reklamasi - Kompas. 20 March),* etc. Besides, media also quoted politician's statement underpinning the verdict and blaming maladministration by Jakarta government for several times: "Jakarta governor candidate, Anies Baswedan, believed that government consents given for the construction of F, I, and K islands were not in line with existing procedure" *(Calon gubernur DKI Jakarta nomor pemilihan tiga, Anies*

Baswedan, meyakini bahwa izin reklamasi yang diberikan terhadap pulau F, I, dan K tak sesuai prosuder - Kompas, 17 March). The following paragraph elucidates some government mal-administrations done by the Jakarta government, which has spurred disagreement from society groups: "Jakarta government is considered to violate the procedures as already ordered within national regulations. For instance, Jakarta government neglects regulation plan on Zoning of Coastal Islands, do not have consent for location, and do not have recommendation from the Ministry of Fisheries and Maritimes Affairs"

> *"Pemprov DKI juga dianggap menyalahi prosedur yang diatur oleh peraturan perundang-undangang misalnya dengan tidak mendasarkan kepada Perda Rencana Zonasi Wilayah Pesisir dan Pulau-Pulau Kecil, tidak adanya izin lokasi, tidak ada izin lokasi pengambilan material, tidak adanya rekomendasi dari Menteri Kelautan dan Perikanan untuk pelaksanaan reklamasi."* (Kompas, 16 March)

Politicians also covered the conflict by emphasizing similar point of view. Politicians framed the policy as unfair because reclamation project had been done the Jakarta government by violating national government regulations and by potentially causing economic disadvantages for fishermen. Politicians posted: "Besides violating regulations, the project also damage the marine ecosystem" *(Selain karena banyaknya peraturan yang belum ditaati, reklamasi juga dinilai merusak ekosistem laut. - Anies-Sandi, 17 March).* Moreover, politicians used similar keywords with media frames, saying that the verdict to halt the project was the greatest victory of society over injustice and unfairness authority. Although the quantity of conflict frames by media and politicians were different, mutual quotations and usage of similar keywords were present, indicating that their textual contents were interlinked.

Such strong relationship was also present 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 focus on disagreement among politicians. Although in a relatively smaller amount, usage of similar keywords and phrases was found. Media, for example, wrote about disagreement among politicians regarding to economic benefit of the project by citing against-reclamation politicians as follows: "Reclamation is considered only benefiting certain groups of people. He (Anies-Sandi) has promised to more citizens and fishermen's oriented" *(Reklamasi dinilai hanya menguntungkan sekelompok masyarakat. Terkait reklamasi, dia berjanji jika terpilih akan lebih berpihak kepada nelayan - Republika, 13 April).* Further, media also exposed opposite view from pro-reclamation politicians saying that the project would be beneficial for
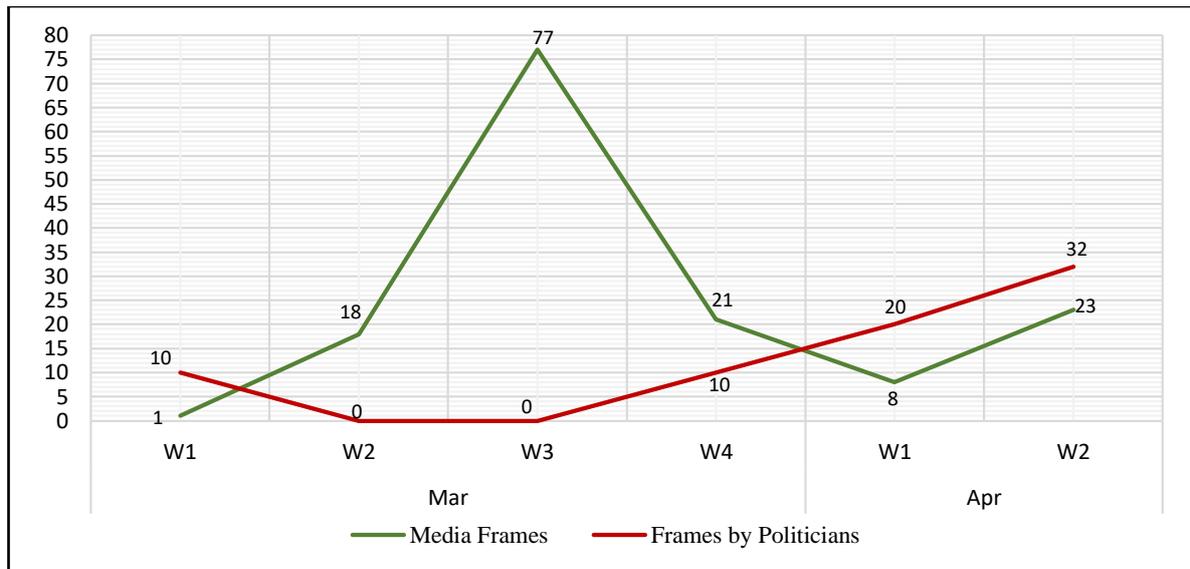
fishermen as a whole. Interestingly, media conflict frames were more often derived from politician's statements and then employing it as titles of their article.

Politicians also moved their focus from the judicial issue to the disagreement with other politicians. Against-reclamation politicians, for example, asserted their commitment to halt the project and pointed out that their opponents were unfair. These contradicting claims among politicians has been captured by media using similar keywords and made direct quotations from politician's statement. However, it was not apparent that politicians derived quotations from media articles. In other words, it can be concluded that media got more influences from politicians in producing conflict frames, while politicians got fewer influence from media.

Economic Consequences: Comparative Trends

In the first week of March, politicians posted economic frames more often than media (n=10 and n=1 each). After that, politician's frames stood at zero point before increasing slightly in the fourth week of March (n=10). Conversely, media drastically increased their economic frames in the second and third week (n=18 and n=77), before decreasing to the lowest point in the first week of April (n=8). Interestingly, both media and politicians increased their economic frames during the last week of the period (n=32 and n=23 respectively). The trends show a similar direction only during the last two week of April which could not be enough to be concluded as strong mutual influences.

Figure 5. 15. Comparative Trends of Economic Consequences Frames

In the first week of March, politicians mainly focussed in highlighting economic disadvantages for the society. A week later, distinct from politicians who emphasized economic disadvantages, media expressed more balance coverages by presenting both economic advantages and disadvantages. Media mentioned economic benefit of the project by citing a government official's word as follow: "Jakarta government talks about potency of absorbing of thousand labors if the construction of 17 lands finished" *(Pemprov DKI Jakarta menyampaikan poteni penyerapan tenaga kerja jiika 17 pulau reklamasi selesain dibangun. - Kompas, 11 March).* The sentence elucidates that the project could potentially absorb more labors either during construction or post-construction phases. While in emphasizing economic loss, media mostly cited statements coming from society group leaders, saying that the project would only be enjoyed by businessman and wealthier people.

Stronger interaction between media and politicians has appeared since the last week of March. Media put more portion of their coverages to present economic disadvantages of the project. By citing society groups and against-reclamation politicians, media wrote that the reclamation project could diminish fishermen's incomes because of more polluted fishing ground: "For instance, construction of G islands pollutes fishing ground nearby the area and consequently diminishing fishermen income" *(Contohnya Pulau G mengakibatkan perairan yang berada di wilayah reklamasi jadi tercemar, akibatnya ikan tidak mau lagi hidup di sana, mengakibatkan penurunan penghasilan masyakarat yang ada di sana. - Republika, 23 March).* Besides, media also justified against-reclamation politician's statement, saying that

the reclamation project could restrict fishermen access to their fishing area. With a smaller portion, media also presented advantages of the project by citing government officials.

In line with media frames, politicians produced economic consequences frames from two perspectives. There was a strong interplay between pro and against reclamation politicians. Pro-governor candidate emphasized economic advantages both for Jakarta government and affected society by saying that the project would generate millions of government income that can be used for societal development: "15% of income from reclamation project is actually allocated for development of public facilities especially for fishermen. Next, all the land reclamation certificates are owned by the government and it would absorb roughly around one million labors. Within 10 years, the income could reach as much as Rp. 158 trillion"

> *Nah sebetulnya pulau reklamasi waktu itu kalau diteruskan 15% dari harga penjualan setiap meter tanah meraka itu dipakai untuk bangun ini semua sebetulnya untuk menolong nelayan. Lalu reklamasi ini, semua pulau yang reklamasi, sertifikatnya dimiliki DKI dan DKI punya 5% juga di dalam. Dan ini akan menyerap 1 juta tenaga kerja. Dan dari uang yang kami hitung selama 10 tahun kalau dengan 15% tadi 158 triliun."* (Basuki, 27 March).

On the contrary, against-reclamation candidate contended that the incumbent governor candidate preferred to serve business interests in undertaking the project, instead of lowest class society.

It was indicated that media and politicians had represented more or less similar emphasis in using economic consequences frames. Media covered both advantages and disadvantages of the project, reflecting polarization among politicians. At this point, media seemed to rely on politician's statement on writing their coverages. On one side, media keep to underpin economic advantages of the project by citing several politician's post as follow: "Ahok (Basuki) asserts that contribution fee from reclamation project could be used by the government to provide housing facilities for employees in the island", "According to Ahok (Basuki) calculation, Jakarta government would gain income as much as Rp. 158 trillion within 10 years"

> *"Ahok kembali menegaskan kontribusi yang didapat dari pelaksanaan reklamasi, bisa dipergunakan pemerintah untuk membantu menyediakan tempat tinggal bagi pegawai di pulau-pulau tersebut…."* (Kompas, 3 April)
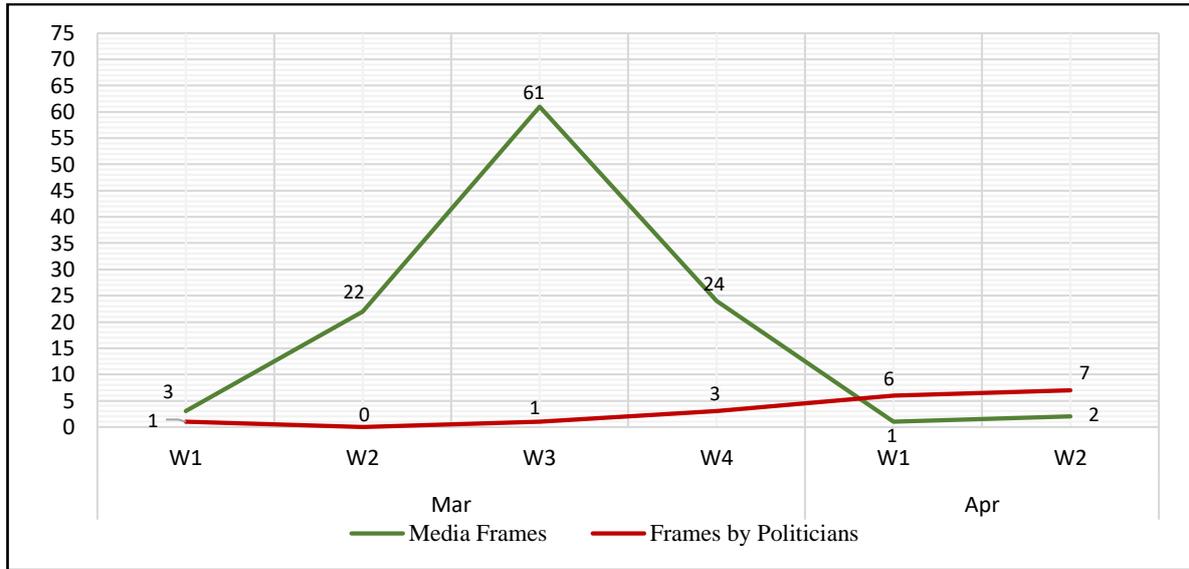
> *"Dengan demikian, menurut perhitungan Ahok, DKI Jakarta akan mendapatkan Rp 158 triliun dalam 10 tahun. Uang ini didapat hanya dari reklamasi."* (Kompas, 13 April).

These paragraphs are essentially saying that the Jakarta government would gain more money from reclamation which can be allocated for society development. On the other side, media also presented the opposite view, saying that the reclamation only beneficial for the businessmen while fishermen would only gain smaller benefits. Therefore, in using economic consequences frames, both politicians and media seemed to rely on each other especially within the last three weeks which can be seen through usage of same keywords. Besides, media coverages reflected the different view among politicians by quoting politician's statement. However, there was little indication pointing to the fact that politicians quoted or cited media articles.

Responsibility Frames: Comparative Trends

In the first week of March, media created a slightly higher amount of responsibility frames than politicians (n=3 and n=1 respectively). During the next two weeks, media increased their responsibility frames drastically (n=22 and n=61), before decreasing in the last week of March (n=24). The amounts continued to drop to the lowest point (n=1) in the first week of April, then increased slightly in the second week (n=2). On the other side, politicians did not create any responsibility frames in the second week of March. A week later, they published insignificant amounts (n=1), but it increased in the last week of March (n=3). Politicians continued to produce responsibility frames during the last two week periods (n=6 and n=7). In general, media and politicians seemed to experience a very different trends in publishing responsibility frames, but interestingly, they created a similar pattern in April.

Figure 5. 16. Comparative Trends of Responsibility Frames

During the first week of March, media and politicians shared similar perspectives arguing that the uncertainty of reclamation project as a whole and polemic during policy making process in particular were responsibility of government institutions. For example, media wrote: "Ministry of Maritime Affairs Coordinator was accused of doing mal administration and in-transparency regarding to feasibility study of the project, leading to public rejection and polemic" *(Menteri Koordinator Bidang Kemaritiman Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan dituding tidak transparan soal hasil kajian Komite Gabungan reklamasi Teluk Jakarta. - Kompas, 7 March).* Media referred to responsibility of central government regarding to lack of transparency in policy making processes. While politicians claimed that the government was responsible in causing the negative impacts of the whole project on the society.

Insignificant interplay had continued until the last week of March before media frames dropped sharply, while politicians' frames increased slightly. At that time, media and politicians did not cite and quote each other in creating responsibility frames. However, media emphasized similar keywords with politicians by highlighting responsibility of government to take over reclamation lands in order to create more benefits for the society. By citing society group leader's statement, media wrote: "reclamation land must be fully owned and managed by the government in order to make sure that the income goes to people nearby the project" *(Reklamasi dengan skala luasan tertentu harus dikelola oleh negara. Sehingga nilai manfaat bagi rakyat jauh lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan nilai komersilnya.*
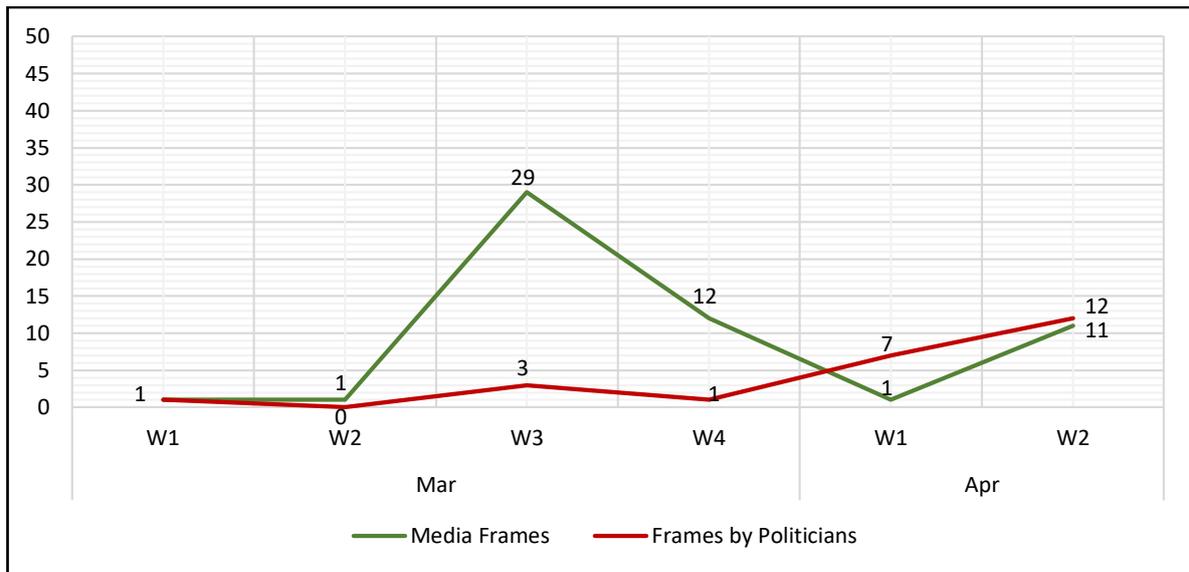
- Republika, 24 March). Essentially, media frames asserted that the government has and should always responsible in managing impacts of the reclamation project.

Such frames were in line with politician's statement saying that, according to national regulation, Jakarta Governor has full authority in steering the project, instead of national government: "reclamation policy, as already noted within Presidential Decree in 1957 and 1997, must be in full authority of Jakarta Government" *(reklamasi ini ketika dibuat Keppres tahun 1957, tahun 1995 dikatakan wewenang sepenuhnya ada pada gubernur DKI Jakarta - Anies, 27 March).* Moreover, both media and politicians mentioned only a few portion of their frames regarding to responsibility of private sector. Media, for example, framed private sector responsibility in making uncertainty of the project because of uncompleted environmental document. Whereas politicians said other things, asserting responsibility of private sector in paying contribution fees and taxes for the government over land reclamation. Employing similar keywords and emphasis continued until the last week of April. Due to the small amount of responsibility frames published by media and politicians, the degree of interplay between them was low.

Human Interests Frames: Comparative Trends

Media and politicians also framed reclamation project using human interest frames. Both media and politicians produced only a small amount of human interest frames during the first two weeks of March. In the third week, media intensified their human interest frames to the highest point (n=29), while politicians did extremely smaller amounts (n=3). After that, the trend of human interest frames by the media fallen down drastically in the last week of March and first week of April (n=12 and n=1), before increasing drastically a week later (n=11). On the other side, politician's post of human interest frames increased significantly during the two weeks of April (n= 7 and n=12). Interestingly, these comparisons suggest that media and politicians shared similar stagnant trend in the first two weeks of March and similar increase during two weeks of April.

Figure 5. 17. Comparative Trends of Human Interest Frames

In the third week of March, media framed the project as a bad decision that could potentially disrupt social order and influence private and social life of local people. Citing society group's statement, media wrote that the reclamation project would bring about several disadvantages not only relating to diminished economic resources but also degraded water quality pushing local inhabitants into further difficulty. In more extreme sentences, media also emphasized that reclamation project could indirectly wipe out fishermen's life: "Indirectly, if construction of 17 new islands finished, it means that all the fishermen would disappear" *(Secara tidak langsung ya, kalau 17 pulau itu berdiri, artinya itu nelayan semua akan musnah di Teluk Jakarta. - Republika, 16 March).* Essentially, media portrayed that reclamation project would exacerbate future life of Jakartans.

A week before, media also covered positive impact of the project. By quoting pro-reclamation politicians, media framed reclamation as the only way in restoring marine ecosystem and avoiding environmental degradation. It was expected to give contribution for better life of people nearby the North Jakarta bay: "Emmy Hafild, claimed that there are no other choices to save North Jakarta, except reclamation. If not, the life of people nearby the project would be hit by severe disaster" *(Emmy Hafild, mengklaim tidak ada cara lain untuk menyelamatkan Teluk Jakarta selain reklamasi. Jika tidak, masyarakat yang tinggal di sekitar sana akan menghadapi bencana, - Republika, 7 March).* Politicians also presented their view using human interest frames saying that reclamation policy would obviously damage environment and marine ecosystem which in turn influence private life of the

inhabitant. Usage of human interest frames in this point seemed to be dominated mostly by media. Media quoted and cited society groups and politician's view, while politicians did not.

In the last week of March, interaction between media frames and frames by politicians was low because politicians used the frames in a very small quantity. There was no direct quotations and citations among them, but media frames were closely linked to politician's frames a week later. Both media and politicians argued that the project could potentially eliminate people lived in near the Jakarta bay because of cruel eviction by the government: "Reclamation is for whom? if majority of people being eliminated. Within a year, cruel eviction to poor family has been done by the government to facilitate the project" *(Untuk Apa Reklamasi Kalau Rakyat Tersingkirkan? Satu tahun setelah itu, lanjutnya, masih tetap terjadi penggusuran untuk mempermulus proyek reklamasi tersebut. - Republika, 24 March).* The sentence means that the eviction of people nearby the project would always be conducted in paving the way for reclamation project. Among other words, politicians posted a week later: "they (fishermen) have family that should be protected, do not let the project neglecting the fate of fishermen" (*Mereka punya keluarga untuk dinafkahi. Jangan sampai karena kepentingan semata, nasib nelayan terabaikan. - Sandi, 6 April).* It means that the future dignity of fishermen's life and their family would be more in danger due to the project.

An intriguing finding can be seen in the last two weeks when media and politicians intensified their uses of human interest frames in almost similar amounts. Almost all human interest frames produced by media are derived from statements from pro and against reclamation politicians. Media wrote that pro-reclamation politicians had promised not to evict people settled nearby the project, and the affected groups of society had rights to get a decent life. Citing the opponent politicians, media expressed disagreement to against-reclamation project by highlighting home eviction in the eastern part of Jakarta in relating to the project.

In a similar vein, politicians posted human interest frames reflecting two different views. On one side, pro-reclamation politicians believed that reclamation of new islands would improve private and social life of affected inhabitants. They claimed that government income gained from the project would be allocated for construction of decent housing and healthier environment. On the contrary, against-reclamation politicians, for example, claimed that reclamation project would not give any benefits for individual due to strong business orientation. Private life of individual would not be improved at all. In a slightly different

topic, anti-reclamation politicians also said that the life of affected society could not be improved by reclamation because the policy would not absorb any local labor: "..luxury housing in the reclamation lands would only be owned by wealthy people, while fishermen can only watch it from distance"
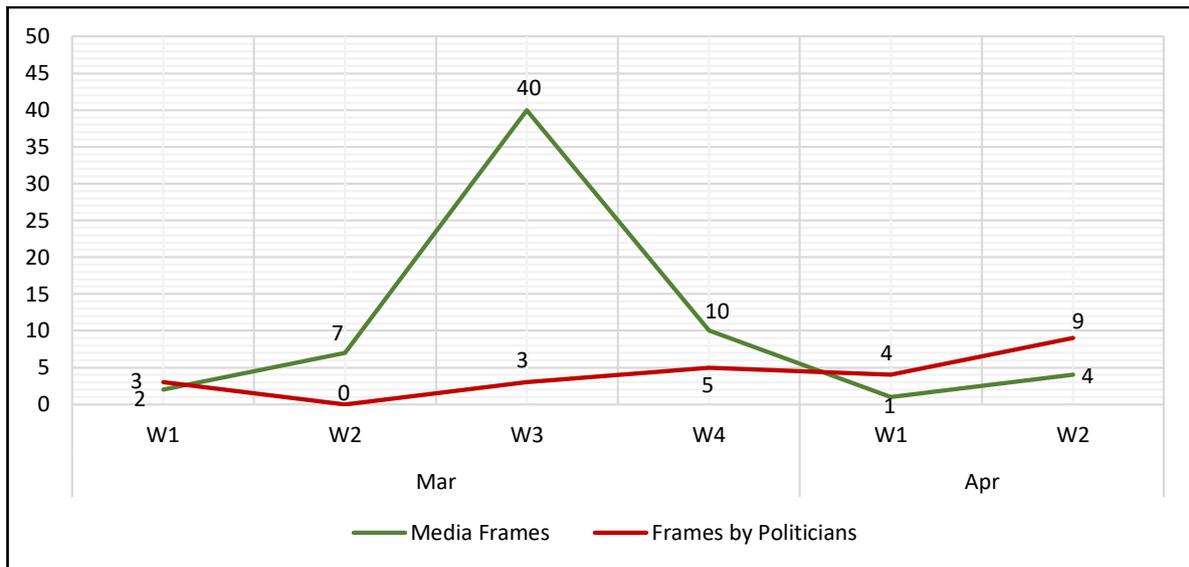
> "*Soal lapangan kerja, reklamasi bukan jawabannya. Justru dengan rehabilitasi pulau, sungai dan pantai di Jakarta, akan terserap tenaga kerja. Kalau dibangun pemukiman mewah di pulau reklamasi, itu haya milik segelintir orang. Nelayan hanya bisa menonton dari jauh.*" (Anies, 14 April)

In short, during the last week of April, both politicians and media presented the same pattern of human interest frames which can be proved by the existence of similar keywords and mutual quotation. Both media and politicians also highlighted human interest aspect of the project by reflecting two contradicting views between pro and anti-reclamation policy.

Morality Frames: Comparative Trends

The figure below shows that media and politicians created morality frames in close amounts in the first week of March (n=2 and n=3 each). A week later, quantity of morality frames by media increased (n=7) and continued to peak in the third week of March (n=40). After that, the amount was down to the lowest point in the first week of April (n=1), before increasing slightly in the last period (n=4). While politicians did not produce any morality frames in the second week of March, but increased in the third week and fourth week (n=3 and n=5 respectively). Although the amount was decreased slightly in the first week of April, it increased more than double in the last period (n=9). In sum, both media and politicians published a contradicting quantity of morality frames especially in March, but the trend showed more or less similar direction within the last two weeks.

Figure 5. 18. Comparative Trends of Morality Frames

In the first week of March, there was little indication pointing to textual interlinks. Either media and politicians used morality frames in a quiet different focus. Media tended to emphasized lack of public participation and transparency during policy making process. While politicians framed the project in less detail way by pointing to lack of government partiality to fishermen and lower class society. Politicians put: "Why Anies-Sandi frankly oppose the project in the North Jakarta? It is about fairness and partiality, government now construct the land not for their own citizens, but for whom?" *(Kenapa Anies-Sandi tegas menolak reklamasi teluk Jakarta? Ini soal keberpihakan, negara menimbun laut, merusak sumber daya alamnya sendiri untuk siapa? - Anies, 1 March).* He questioned to whom reclamation project aimed for.

Other important point occurred in the third week of March when the largest portion of morality frames posted by media were derived from politicians and society group's statement. Fairness and public participation were the keywords and phrases that had been used by media. Quoting a politician's statement, media wrote: "Sandiaga Uno states that their position in seeing reclamation project now is more exclusive and unfair, neglecting public participation" and then "He wanted to put forward fairer solution for the stakeholders including fishermen, investor, and Jakarta government" (*Sandiaga Uno mengatakan bahwa posisi politik Anies-Sandiaga adalah melihat reklamasi saat ini tertutup dan tidak berkeadilan. - Kompas, 19 March),* and then (*Dia ingin mengedepankan solusi berkeadilan bagi semua pihak, baik masyarakat, investor, pengembang dan pemerintah. - Kompas, 19*

March). It means that the project is now conducted through unfair policy making process, lack of transparency and public engagement. In morality terms, it means that the project has neglected social norms and values. At the same time, politicians only posted small amount of morality frames which essentially highlighting the need to create fairness and justice. In this point, although media and politicians did not post morality frames in a close quantity, however textual relations and media references to politician's statement were present until the last week of March.

Throughout April, media used the same way in using morality frames by relying on politicians and society group's statements regarding to fairness and community engagement on the project. In line with media frames, politicians pointed out something regarding to the need to consider morality judgment such as fairness and government partiality to local people. Politicians posted: "talking about reclamation project is talking about partiality to social order, reclamation should be created to fulfill citizen's needs" *(Bicara reklamasi adalah bicara keberpihakan. Reklamasi harus untuk kepentingan rakyat. - Anies, 13 April).* In sum, during the second week of April, media and politicians seemed to have relationship which can be seen through uses of the same keywords. However, it was apparent that media got more influences from politician's statement than the politicians did.

5.5. Finding Summary

In short, mutual influences between media frames and frames by politicians during three round periods can be seen through the table below:

Table 5. 4. Mutual Influences (Findings Summary)

Variables	Round		
	I	II	III
Dominant Frames	Media and politicians used different dominant frames. Conflict was dominant within media frames, while economic consequences dominated politician's frames. Moreover, Media and politicians also used every single frame in their own	Both media and politicians used conflict as their dominant frames. However, media and politicians used conflict and also economic consequences frames with different emphasis. Similarities are found within	Again, media and politicians used different dominant frames. Media mostly used conflict, while politicians preferred economic consequences as dominant frames. Likewise, these two frames were used through different emphasis. However, they

	way, except for morality and human interest frames.	media and politician's frames in using responsibility, morality, and human interest frames.	did the same way in using morality, human interests, and responsibility frames.
Comparative Trend	Overall, media and politians produced different quantity of frames especially within the first month. While during the last two months, they produced almost similar yet low quantity of frames.	Similar with the previous round, both the quantity of media and politician's frames experienced more or less similar trend, but with highly different quantity. Similar quantity was only found in a few moments.	Both media and politicians produces highly different quantity of frames throughout the period. Also, they experienced different trend, except for the last two weeks which showing a more or less similar direction.
Textual Interlinks	Media and politicians presented weak textual interlinks marking by usage of different keywords, sentences, and absence of significant mutual quotations throughout the round.	In general, media and politicians used more or less similar keywords and phrases. Media apparently quoted several politician's statements, but politicians did not. Overall, it was indicated a stronger textual interrelation especially since last week of January until the end of the round.	Overall, although the quantity of media frames and politician's frames were extremely different throughout the March, textual interlinks were present. It can be seen through usage of similar keywords and phrases which were intensifying in the last three weeks. Mutual quotations were found only in several moments.

VI. CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

6.1. Conclusions

The goal of this study was to answer following research question: *What are the mutual influences between media frames and frames by politicians specifically on Jakarta bay reclamation project in the context of Jakarta Governor Election?*

This extensive research indicates several conclusions based on the aforementioned three measurements: *The first*, *media and politician's dominant frames*. Media consistently employed conflict as the most dominant frames throughout the period, whereas politicians generally preferred economic consequences frames. Domination of conflict within politician's frames was only present in the second round. Interestingly, politicians were more interested in presenting morality and human interest frames throughout the period, while the media was not. It is contradicting with general assumption in media tendency to cover human interest aspect of an issue. There was also intriguing finding that responsibility frames were used moderately by media, ranked in second or third position, while politicians used it as the least of all frames.

Further, media and politicians emphasized different aspects within almost every single frame. In framing conflict, media consistently referred to conflict among government institutions throughout, while politicians mostly presented disagreement among governor candidates. Besides, media employed economic consequences mostly by referring to economic disadvantages for the society, whereas politicians presented both advantages and disadvantages for the society. Although media and politicians used more or less similar way in responsibility, human interest, and morality frames, but their frames quantity were extremely low and insignificant. In short, media and politicians presented a weak mutual influence which can be seen through their different dominant frames and emphasis.

The second, *media and politician's trend in producing quantity of frames.* In general, media and politicians have not always been in parallel trends in producing quantity of frames. The study reveals that the project development of reclamation influenced the quantity of media frames, while crucial moments regarding to election process influenced the quantity of both media frames and politician's frames. Although media and politicians shared similar trend in producing quantity of frames during the crucial moment of elections, but they

presented every type of frame through their own way. Overall, the study found that interplay between media and politician's frames with crucial moment of elections was stronger than the mutual influences between media frames and politician's frames.

The third, *media and politician's textual interlinks.* 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 earlier period. Mutual quotations appeared in a very rare 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 to reflect polarization among politicians. During the last round, it was obvious 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.

Overall, it can be concluded that media frames and frames by politicians presented weak mutual influences, measured by their differences of dominant frames and insignificant textual interlinks. Stronger mutual influence between media and politician's frames – especially in term of frames quantity and textual interlinks – occurred only within crucial election events. The study concludes that mutual influences were present between media and politician's frames with crucial election moments, instead of between media frames and frames by politicians. However, it is also important to note that these conclusions are subject to further debate and discussion. There are visibly some limitations that should be improved or should be studied in the future. The next sub-part is devoted to such discussion.

6.2. Discussion

As previously noted in the introduction part, this research is aimed to fill the void in the limited attention of academic scholars in researching interaction between frames and audience's responses. The most common research on framing are conducted to investigate how media set the frames on certain issues or to study how audience process news information and propose alternative interpretation (Pan and Kosicki 1993, p.55). Until recently, academic works researching the interplay between them are rarely found. Hence, this research strives to give contribution on that debate and fill these academic gaps.

Likewise, this study also presents a new approach to framing research. According to Matthes (2009), current framing research is done through a more descriptive way, for example, only by explaining frames within media side without testing any influences to 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 on the mutual influences between media frames and frames by politicians is designed not only to describe certain types of frames employed by media on one side and politicians on the other side, but also trace their relationship. Therefore, this research also contributes to push framing research into 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 are generally conducted using quantitative methods (see Morgan 1993). Several high academic journals or master thesis level researches on framing tend to emphasize quantification of frames derived from presence of keywords, paragraph, sentences without connecting with contextual aspects, which means as de-contextualisation. Differently, this research uses quantification as the first step for further qualitative analysis by taking into account two governance context, i.e. policy development of reclamation and election process. Hence, this research will contribute to encourage framing research to move further from mainstream quantitative research to more qualitative.

Result of this study also provides additional insight to current academic discussion on framing. *Firstly*, the finding reveals that the mutual influences between media frames and frames by politicians are weak. Both media and politician's frames depend on crucial events in different time-context, i.e. policy development of the project and election process. Reclamation project is a complex issue which is different from simple and complicated issue where relationship between elements are orderly arranged and outcomes can be easily predicted. Conversely, complex issue is more dynamics and relationship between elements are subjected to change and unpredictable (see Gerrits 2012, ch.1). Furthermore, complex issue contains substantive, strategic, and institutional complexity (see Klijn and Koppenjan 2016). A large number of actors across 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 obviously a complex issue involving different institutions and has experienced up and down story. Such uncertainty of the project has become a newsworthy issue which strongly influence the quantity 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 quantity of politician's frames, which heavily depend on several crucial events in election phases. It confirmed de Vreese's argument about framing as alternative way of defining issues which is endogenous to the political world (de Vreese 2005, p.53). It means that framing could possibly be employed by politicians in influencing or swaying the opinion of their constituents (see also Callaghan and Schnell 2001, p.188).

Secondly, although media frames were influenced by policy development of the project, the most striking findings suggest that media then seemed to take the issue into political arena. Bennett (2016, p.39) put out that media has tendency to frame certain issues in connection with 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. However, in line with Callaghan and Schnell's finding (2001, p.184), politicians do not always follow media frames but they have tendency to penetrate media by presenting alternative frames to control public opinion – for specific reasons such as election. In this research, Callaghan's conclusion is confirmed by the presence of different dominant frames produced by media and politicians.

Thirdly, finding about conflict as the most dominant frames within media coverages also confirms several earlier researches on the subject. It is in line with Bennett's argument on information bias regarding to media tendency to present situation as 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 to media tendency to insert personal angle into news content (Bennett, ibid; see also Price, Tewksbury, and Powers, 1997).

6.3. Limitations and Future Research

This study also may pose several limitations. From a methodological point of view, this research heavily depends on interpretation of textual data in unravelling mutual influences

between media frames and frames by politicians. In other words, this research overlooks other decisive factors which could possibly give stronger effect to the interplay between media frames and politician's frames. Moreover, this study only compares media as one block and politicians as other single block, by neglecting comparison of frames among news media companies and also neglecting comparison of frames between two block of politicians. It is also important to state that this research focuses only on one specific case within a specific context. It means that the research could be resulted in a quite different conclusion if the topic and context are changed. Lastly, the quantity of media frames which are much higher than the amount of politician's frames creates an unexpected data gap, although it is still acceptable in qualitative research.

Therefore, this work provides several opportunities for further study. *Firstly,* future research may focus on investigation of other factors that potentially give stronger influences to the framing within both media and politicians such as their media ideology, organizational routines, or even their media business orientation. On the other hand, frames by politicians also might be influenced by other perceived more significant factors such as party ideology, communication strategy and so on. These wide range of factors can be researched further in order to trace where are certain frames come from. Such more comprehensive investigation may generate more convincing argument in explaining the mutual influences between media frames and politician's frames.

Secondly, more detail frames comparison between news media companies and frames comparison among politicians can be studied further. As already noted, this study only portrays general comparisons between media and politicians as a single block, whereas presence contradictions within media and within politicians is neglected. *Thirdly,* the future research can also be conducted to measure the mutual influences between media frames and politician's frames on different topic or on the same topic within different context. It could generate another different finding which will give additional insights to strengthen or refute this study. *Thirdly,* next research can also be pointed to the influences of politicization/ mediatisation upon policy development of the reclamation project. Due to the fact that against-reclamation governor candidate has just won the race, media debate to terminate the project continue to escalate until today. It could be an intriguing research to investigate the influences of media coverage and political victory to the future of the project. Such kind of research is no longer exclusively within media frames area but shift to wider spectrum, relating to policy decision topic.

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Antara-News:

http://www.antaranews.com/search?q=reklamasi+teluk+jakarta, p.1-10

Kompas:

http://search.kompas.com/search/?q=reklamasi+teluk+jakarta&submit=Submit+Query, p.1-10

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Online News Article Sample (Kompas)

Jumat, 9 September 2016

Luhut: Proyek Reklamasi Pulau G Teluk Jakarta Akan Dilanjutkan

JAKARTA, KOMPAS.com

— Menteri Koordinator Bidang Kemaritiman <u>Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan</u> menyatakan, pemerintah memutuskan melanjutkan proyek <u>reklamasi</u> Pulau G di Teluk Jakarta.

Proyek tersebut dihentikan <u>Rizal Ramli</u>, Menko Kemaritiman sebelum Luhut, pada pertengahan tahun lalu.

"Kami sudah putuskan untuk dilanjutkan," kata Luhut di Kantor Kementerian Koordinator Bidang Kemaritiman Jakarta, Jumat (9/9/2016).

Berdasarkan hasil evaluasi dan pembahasan di kementeriannya dalam sebulan terakhir, kata Luhut, proyek <u>reklamasi</u> tersebut tidak bermasalah.

Selain itu, tak ada dampak yang membahayakan, baik dari aspek hukum maupun lingkungan.

"Semua yang kami lihat, yang punya dampak ditakutkan dari aspek hukum, legal, lingkungan, dan PLN, itu tidak ada masalah," katanya.

Luhut, yang juga menjabat sebagai Pelaksana Tugas Menteri Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral, mengatakan, jika nantinya diperlukan sejumlah penyesuaian, kementerian terkait siap memprosesnya.

Namun, ia menegaskan bahwa proyek <u>reklamasi</u> di Pulau G bisa dilakukan dengan menggunakan rekayasa teknik yang telah disetujui PT PLN (Persero) serta Badan Pengkajian dan Penerapan Teknologi (BPPT).

"PLN kemarin bicara, BPPT juga sudah bicara. Semua ahli saya sertakan. Jadi jangan kita bicara dipolitisasi. Saya mau semua bicara secara profesional dan kami sudah melakukan *assessment* dan sampai pada kesimpulan bahwa keputusan untuk melanjutkan adalah yang terbaik," jelasnya.

Luhut menuturkan, keputusan untuk melanjutkan proyek <u>reklamasi</u> itu menyangkut reputasi pemerintah dalam memberi peluang investasi.

Pemerintah, lanjut dia, akan konsisten dengan aturan yang melandasi proyek <u>reklamasi</u> itu, yakni Keputusan Presiden No 52 Tahun 1995. Wewenang dan tanggung jawab <u>reklamasi</u> itu ada pada Gubernur DKI Jakarta.

Landasan aturan proyek <u>reklamasi</u> itu diterbitkan Presiden Soeharto pada 13 Juli 1995 dan sempat menjadi perdebatan karena kemudian ada Peraturan Presiden No 54 Tahun 2008 tentang Penataan Ruang Kawasan Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, <u>Bekasi</u>, Puncak, dan Cianjur yang dinilai banyak pihak menggugurkan aturan mengenai <u>reklamasi</u>.

"Walaupun keputusan sudah dari zaman Pak Harto, kita harus konsisten dengan itu. Menurut kami, memang ada penyesuaian di sana sini, dari <u>lingkungan hidup</u> juga, tapi ternyata semua sudah dipenuhi dan bisa jalan," kata Luhut.

Pada pertengahan 2016, <u>Rizal Ramli</u>, Menteri Koordinator Kemaritiman yang sebelumnya, membatalkan proyek <u>reklamasi</u> Pulau G di Teluk Jakarta lantaran dinilai melanggar aturan karena membahayakan <u>lingkungan hidup</u>, lalu lintas laut, dan proyek vital.

Pulau itu juga dinilai mengganggu lalu lintas kapal nelayan yang seharusnya bisa dengan mudah berlabuh di Muara Angke.

http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2016/09/09/17255701/luhut.proyek.reklamasi.pulau.g.teluk.jakarta.akan.dilanjutkan, accessed on 21-01-2017

April 12, 2017, 23:45

Anies: Reklamasi Memberikan Dampak Buruk Bagi Nelayan

ROBERTUS BELARMINUS

Calon gubernur DKI Anies Baswedan menjawab pertanyaan dari komunitas masyarakat yang hadir dalam debat putaran kedua Pilkada DKI 2017. Seorang anggota komunitas bernama Iwan, bertanya bagaimana kebijakan kedua pasangan calon yang ada untuk mensejahterakan nelayan termasuk menghentikan reklamasi.

Iwan juga menanyakan apakah kehidupan nelayan di Teluk Jakarta sebenarnya diakui atau tidak. Menanggapi itu, Anies menyatakan pihaknya akan meningkatkan kesejahteraan nelayan kelak. Salah satu caranya dengan menolak reklamasi.

Menurut Anies, reklamasi berdampak buruk pada nelayan termasuk bagi lingkungan.

"Mengapa kita menolak reklamasi, karena memberikan dampak buruk kepada nelayan kita dan memberikan dampak kepada pengelolan lingkungan," kata Anies, dalam debat putaran kedua Pilkada DKI 2017 dengan tema debat "Dari Masyarakat untuk Jakarta", di Hotel Bidakara, Jakarta Selatan, Rabu (12/4/2017).

Anies mengatakan, ada 13 sungai di Jakarta, yang akan "berhadapan" dengan proyek reklamasi di hilirnya di teluk Jakarta. Hal itu akan memberikan konsekuensi banjir.

"Karena air mengalir dihadapkan pada reklamasi," ujar Anies.

Anies kemudian menjanjikan akan memberi pelatihan kepada nelayan, modal, fasilitas perkapalan, sehingga nelayan bisa merasakan manfaat mencari nafkah di teluk Jakarta. Selain itu, dirinya berjanji akan melatih pula nelayan Kepulauan Seribu.

Menurutnya, pelatihan pendidikan nelayan dan keluarganya di sana minim. Ia berjanji akan mengembangkannya.

"Di sana kita akan kembangkan SMK untuk perikanan dan nelayan dilatih produtif," ujar Anies.

http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2017/04/12/23450571/anies.reklamasi.memberikan.dampak.buruk.bagi.nelayan.

Appendix 2: Online News Article Sample (Republika)

Selasa, 17 January 2017, 14:00 WIB

Terbitkan Pergub Reklamasi, Ahok Kembali Dikecam

Koalisi Selamatkan Teluk Jakarta (KSTJ) kembali mengecam Gubernur DKI Jakarta nonaktif Basuki T Purnama alias Ahok terkait dengan kasus reklamasi. Kecaman itu menyusul diterbitkannya Peraturan Gubernur DKI Nomor 206 Tahun 2016 tentang Panduan Rancang Kota Pulau C, Pulau D, dan Pulau E Hasil Reklamasi Kawasan Strategis Pantai Utara Jakarta (Pergub PRK Pulau C, D, dan E) oleh Ahok pada 26 Oktober lalu.

Salah satu anggota KSTJ, Tigor Hutapea, mengatakan, penerbitan Pergub PRK telah melanggar hukum dan menyalahi etika pemerintahan. Sebab, pergub tersebut dikeluarkan Ahok secara sepihak tanpa partisipasi warga maupun organisasi yang berkepentingan terhadap perlindungan lingkungan. "Penerbitan Pergub PRK Pulau C, D, dan E ini dilakukan secara diam-diam, tidak transparan, dan sangat tidak bertanggung jawab," kata Tigor kepada wartawan, di Jakarta, Senin (16/1).

Dia menuturkan, Pergub DKI Nomor 206 Tahun 2016 jelas menyalahi aturan karena diterbitkan pada saat status proyek reklamasi Teluk Jakarta masih berada dalam moratorium oleh Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan (KLHK). Moratorium itu sebagai bentuk sanksi yang dijatuhkan pemerintah pusat kepada para pengembang reklamasi atas pelanggaran yang mereka perbuat sebelumnya.

Di samping itu, kata Tigor, Pergub DKI Nomor 206 Tahun 2016 juga bertentangan dengan rekomendasi dari kajian yang dilakukan oleh Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan (KKP), khususnya terkait dengan pembangunan Pulau E. Instansi pimpinan Menteri Susi Pudjiastuti itu sebelumnya telah memerintahkan kepada Pemprov DKI dan para pengembang untuk menghentikan pembangunan pulau reklamasi yang belum terbangun. Pihaknya pun berharap, Pelaksana Tugas (Plt) Gubernur DKI Sumarsono mau mencabut Pergub PRK.

Dia menilai langkah yang dilakukan Ahok itu merupakan masalah serius sehingga harus menjadi perhatian Pemprov DKI. "Kami baru mengetahui adanya Pergub ini sepekan yang lalu, dan kami menilai aturan ini diterbitkan hanya untuk menguntungkan para pengembang semata, bukan untuk kepentingan rakyat banyak," ucap Tigor.

Anggota KSTJ lainnya, Nelson Simamora mengatakan, Pergub PRK Pulau C, D, dan E yang dikeluarkan Ahok dua hari sebelum cuti kampanye Pilkada DKI Jakarta 2017 itu juga bertentangan dengan asas-asas umum pemerintahan yang baik (AUPB). Sebab, pergub tersebut dibuat tanpa dasar hukum yang semestinya menjadi acuan, yaitu Peraturan Daerah tentang Rencana Zonasi Wilayah Pesisir dan Pulau-Pulau Kecil (Perda Zonasi).

"Sebelum menerbitkan beleid (Pergub DKI Nomor 206/2016) ini, Pemprov DKI harus punya Perda Zonasi terlebih dulu. Tapi, tahapan ini malah dipangkas secara sepihak oleh Ahok, karena Rancangan Perda Zonasi DKI sendiri sampai saat ini belum lagi disahkan oleh DPRD," ujar Nelson.

Menurut Nelson, tindakan Ahok menerbitkan Pergub PRK Pulau C, D, dan E dengan cara melangkahi prosedur itu sangatlah tidak pantas. Sebagai seorang gubernur, Ahok seharusnya mengerti bagaimana menjalankan tata kelola pemerintahan dengan baik. "Kehadiran pergub ini semakin menunjukkan arogansi Ahok sebagai kepala daerah," kecamnya.   Ahmad Islamy Jamil, **ed:** Erik Purnama Putra

http://www.republika.co.id/berita/koran/urbana/17/01/17/ojwws72-terbitkan-pergub-reklamasi-ahok-kembali-dikecam, accessed on 23-012017

Sederet Dampak Buruk Reklamasi Pulau di Teluk Jakarta

Pembangunan pulau reklamasi di teluk Jakarta dinilai memiliki dampak besar. Kuasa Hukum Koalisi Selamatkan Teluk Jakarta (KSTJ), Tigor Hutapea mengatakan, berdasarkan fakta persidangan, akan ada banyak dampak buruk bagi lingkungan di sekitar pembangunan pulau reklamasi.

"Contohnya Pulau G mengakibatkan perairan yang berada di wilayah reklamasi jadi tercemar, akibatnya ikan tidak mau lagi hidup di sana, mengakibatkan penurunan penghasilan masyakarat yang ada di sana," ujarnya saat dihubungi Republika, Rabu (22/3).

Tigor mengatakan, di persidangan hadir lima ahli dan enam saksi fakta. Tiga saksi fakta dari nelayan teluk Jakarta, dan tiga nelayan dari Serang Utara, Banten.

"Nelayan Teluk Jakarta menjelaskan bahwa pembangunan reklamasi yang dilakukan, membuat perairan di sana tercemar," kata dia menjelaskan.

Nelayan Banten menuturkan, karena pasir untuk menguruk laut diambil dari Banten, maka terjadi abrasi yang cukup besar di Serang Utara. "Ada 750 hektar lahan Bandeng masyakarat di pesisir abrasi akibat pengambilan pasir untuk pulau reklamasi," jelasnya.

Lebih lanjut, dari saksi ahli yang dihadirkan menjelaskan, akibat dari reklamasi nanti, justru akan memperparah banjir Jakarta. Hal tersebut dikarenakan 13 aliran sungai yang masuk ke teluk Jakarta tertahan pulau-pulau reklamasi.

"Akibatnya Jakarta khususnya wilayah pesisir itu akan semakin banjir. Kemudian ada gangguan terhadap arus laut yang tertahan pulau, akibatnya kualitas air semakin buruk," ujarnya.

Dampak berikutnya terkait limbah dari pukau reklamasi tersebut apabila jadi dibangun pemukiman, kata dia, justru akan mempengaruhi kualitas teluk Jakarta. "Itu yang dijelaskan oleh ahli-ahli kita, apalagi berdampak ke Kepulauan Seribu yang masih satu ekosistem," kata dia mengakhiri.

http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/jabodetabek-nasional/17/03/23/on975w282-sederet-dampak-buruk-reklamasi-pulau-di-teluk-jakarta

Appendix 3: Online News Article Sample (Antara-News)

Rabu, 7 September 2016 17:44 WIB

Luhut sebut reklamasi Teluk Jakarta tak bermasalah

Menko Bidang Kemaritiman Luhut Binsar Panjaitan menyebut proyek reklamasi Teluk Jakarta tidak bermasalah meski sempat dihentikan pada pertengahan tahun ini.

"Saya lihat enggak ada masalah. Tadi dilaporkan, semua manageable (bisa diatasi)," katanya di Kantor Kemenko Kemaritiman Jakarta, Rabu.

Luhut menuturkan, pihaknya masih akan menerima laporan dari tim Deputi III Bidang Koordinasi Infrastruktur Kemenko Kemaritiman Ridwan Djamaluddin Rabu sore mengenai evaluasi proyek reklamasi di Teluk Jakarta.

Namun, ia mengaku masih akan melakukan evaluasi tambahan dalam beberapa hari ke depan.

Ia juga mengaku pembicaraan dengan pengembang, PT PLN (Persero) dan sejumlah pihak terkait telah dilakukan.

"Semua sudah jalan, sudah selesai. Tinggal saya masih mau ada sedikit detail supaya tuntas," ujarnya.

Terpisah, Ridwan mengaku telah mencatat sejumlah masalah dan meminta masing-masing lembaga membuat solusinya pada pekan lalu.

"Tapi baru sore ini dilaporkan," katanya.

Ridwan juga mengaku tugas-tugas yang diberikan Luhut sangat spesifik termasuk soal instalasi listrik dan pipa di Pulau G.

Namun, ia enggan mengungkap lebih lanjut solusi apa yang telah dicapai guna menyelesaikan polemik kelanjutan proyek reklamasi Teluk Jakarta itu.

Sebelumnya, Luhut menyebut salah satu masalah di Pulau G telah selesai. Masalah itu adalah mengenai status bahaya proyek tersebut yang terletak hanya 500 meter dari Pembangkit Listrik Tenaga Uap Muara Karang.

Berdasarkan Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 5 Tahun 2010 tentang Kenavigasian, batas aman zona terlarang adalah 500 meter dari sisi terluar instalasi atau bangunan.

PLTU Muara Karang itu sendiri, disebut-sebut sangat mengandalkan air laut sebagai air baku untuk menghasilkan listrik dan mendinginkan pembangkit.

"Jadi soal air yang dibilang cooling water (air pendingin) untuk PLTU di sana dianggap bahaya. Setelah dibuat rekayasa teknik, sepertinya tidak ada masalah. Malah temperaturnya bisa turun satu derajat," jelasnya.

Rizal Ramli, Menko Kemaritiman yang sebelumnya, membatalkan proyek reklamasi Pulau G di Teluk Jakarta lantaran dinilai melakukan pelanggaran berat karena membahayakan lingkungan hidup, lalu lintas laut dan proyek vital.

http://www.antaranews.com/berita/583099/luhut-sebut-reklamasi-teluk-jakarta-tak-bermasalah

Appendix 4: Post by Politicians Sample (Basuki-Djarot)

April 12, 2017
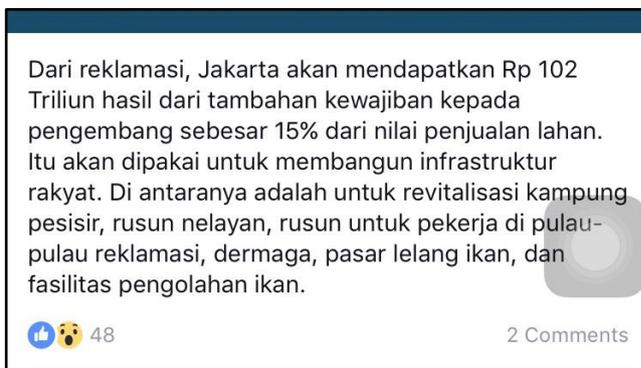
(https://twitter.com/ahokdjarot?lang=en)

Kami tidak pernah mengusir nelayan. Pantai Mutiara ngurus izin untuk meluaskan area, kami tolak. Nelayan berhak tinggal di pulau Reklamasi, karena 50 persen tanah disana punya Pemprov DKI.

April 12, 2017

(https://www.facebook.com/AhokDjarot/)

Dari reklamasi, Jakarta akan mendapatkan Rp 102 triliun hasil dari tambahan kewajiban kepada pengembang sebesar 15% dari nilai penjualan lahan. Itu akan dipakai untuk membangun infrastruktur rakyat. Di antaranya adalah untuk revitalisasi kampung pesisir, rusun nelayan, rusun untuk pekerja di pulau-pulau reklamasi, dermaga, pasar lelang ikan, dan fasilitas pengolahan ikan.

April 12, 2017

Statement during debate

"Jadi ini yang kita mau tanyakan, ini menarik ketika bicara reklamasi. Saya mempunyai kumpulan berita. Ketika 13 Oktober Pak Anies jelas mengatakan menolak reklamasi. 16 Desember 2016 menolak reklamasi. Tapi begitu masuk ke 8 Februari Pak Anis mengatakan mau mengalihkan fungsi lahan reklamasi untuk kepentingan publik. Lalu di Februari lagi bilang menolak reklamasi lagi, tapi bilang pulau reklamasi akan dibangun fasilitas publik yang bisa bermanfaat bagi semua warga. Di 17 Maret bilang kita akan ikutin pengadilan, tadi terang-terangan mengatakan akan menolak reklamasi. Pertanyaan saya, dari 17 pulau reklamasi ada 1 pulau yang sudah dimanfaatkan itu Pulau N, banyak orang yang tidak pernah sadar Tanjung Priok yang baru, itu Pulau N, itu sudah beroperasi hasil reklamasi. Pertanyaan saya, kalau memang itu untuk mengurangi biaya logistik kalau ditolak reklamasi yang sudah terlanjur dibangun itu mau diapakan? mau dibongkar atau mau diapakan? ini yang saya pengen tahu, terus bagaimana cara kita menghadapi keputusan pemerintah pusat Keppres ini dari jaman Pak Harto yang sudah diputuskan termasuk dari Bappenas, bagaimana kita membataakan reklamasi yang akan menghasilkan 1,2 juta tenaga kerja, menyerap 1,2 juta tenaga kerja?" (***Basuki T. Purnama***)

Appendix 5: Post by Politicians Sample (Anies-Sandi)

February 7, 2017

(https://www.facebook.com/aniesbaswedan/)

Reklamasi tidak mementingkan warga DKI Jakarta dan justru meningkatkan ketimpangan, karena itu kita tegas menolak reklamasi dan akan menghentikannya. Ini bukan persoalan sederhana, kita akan berhadapan dengan kekuatan-kekuatan besar. Tapi percayalah akan ada kekuatan yang lebih besar yang akan bekerjasama untuk menghentikan reklamasi ini.

February 8, 2017

(https://twitter.com/sandiuno?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor)

(Lanjutkan) Reklamasi telah membuat belasan ribu nelayan kehilangan mata pencahariannya. Salam Bersama!

February 7, 2017

(https://www.facebook.com/jakartamajubersama/)

Curhatan warga Kampung Aquarium, warga yang terkena gusuran, ketika Mas Anies Baswedan datang berkunjung kembali. Dia curhat soal bangunan rumah permanen yang digusur untuk kepentingan komersil, salahsatunya untuk mendukung reklamasi, tapi pasca digusur malah belum ada pembangunan apapun sampai sekarang.

February 8, 2017

Karena reklamasi, laut jadi kotor dan ekosistemnya terganggu. Ikan banyak yang mati, sehingga penghasilan nelayan tidak sama seperti dulu. Jika kamu percaya pembangunan Jakarta harus adil untuk semua penduduknya, dan kamu mau lingkungan hidup kembali sehat untuk masa depan generasi bangsa, Yuk dukung Mas Anies Baswedan dan Bang Sandiaga Salahudin Uno untuk menghentikan reklamasi.

April 12, 2017

Statement during debate

"Ya saya rasa yang perlu disamakan, saya sepaham Pak Basuki bahwa kita memang perlu memikirkan soal reklamasi, tapi pendekatan kita berbeda, ini soal keberpihakan kita mau berpihak kepada siapa? Jakarta diputuskan punya lahan tambahan, lalu lahan tambahannya untuk siapa? di situ pertanyaan mendasarnya. Dan diberikannya kepada siapa? Keppres 52 tahun 95 menyatakan eksplisit di pasal 4. Wewenang dan tanggung jawab reklamasi ada pada gubernur, karena itu ketika saya gubernur saya akan memanfaatkan otoritas ini untuk rakyat banyak, bukan untuk sekelompok orang. Jadi ketika ada sebuah lahan baru, saya katakan untuk kepentingan publik, ini nomor satu. Yang kedua, yang kedua yang tidak kalah penting, reklamasi itu sendiri yang sekarang dijalankan beda dengan yang ada di dalam Keppres ini, beda sekali. Kalau anda lihat bentuknya di Keppres ini ada bentuknya, yang sekarang berbeda sekali." *(Anies Baswedan)*

Appendix 6: Atlas.ti Coding Sample

Appendix 7: Coding Result Data Sample

Round 1

Conflict Frames	Dec				Jan				Feb				Total
	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	
Media Frames	4	20	1	2	0	0	17	18	8	14	6	1	91
Frames by Politicians	0	6	2	0	2	6	1	7	1	13	0	0	38

Economic Consequences Frames	Dec				Jan				Feb				Total
	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	
Media Frames	1	6	0	1	0	2	3	11	4	13	5	0	46
Frames by Politicians	0	5	0	0	2	5	0	5	2	9	0	0	28

Responsibility Frames	Dec				Jan				Feb				Total
	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	
Media Frames	3	16	0	2	0	2	20	14	10	7	0	3	77
Frames by Politicians	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	4

Human Interests Frames	Dec				Jan				Feb				Total
	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	
Media Frames	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	9	2	7	1	1	24
Frames by Politicians	0	1	0	0	1	4	2	6	1	3	0	0	18

Morality Frames	Dec				Jan				Feb				Total
	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	
Media Frames	1	2	1	0	0	1	3	7	7	4	3	3	32
Frames by Politicians	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	4	0	3	0	0	12