



## Influencers as Policy Intermediaries: A Framing Analysis of Kompas.com and Tempo.co

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### INFORMASI ARTIKEL

Naskah masuk: 12 Desember 2025  
Direvisi: 14 Januari 2026  
Diterima untuk publikasi: 30 Januari 2026  
Tersedia online: 31 Januari 2026

### KATA KUNCI

Framing, Ideologi media, Media daring, Kebijakan publik

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### ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengkaji pemberitaan media tentang Pembangunan Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) Nusantara yang membutuhkan dukungan publik, sehingga pemerintah melibatkan *influencer* media sosial sebagai bagian dari strategi komunikasi kebijakannya. Peran media daring menjadi penting dalam membingkai keterlibatan *influencer* tersebut. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pembingkai media daring Kompas.com dan Tempo.co terhadap peran *influencer* dalam pembangunan IKN Nusantara periode Juli–Agustus 2024. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif dengan paradigma konstruktivis melalui analisis *framing* model Pan dan Kosicki yang mencakup struktur sintaksis, skrip, tematik, dan retorik. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan Kompas.com membingkai keterlibatan *influencer* sebagai dukungan patriotik terhadap pembangunan nasional, sementara Tempo.co menyoroti secara kritis praktik pemerintahan yang bersifat performatif dan pencitraan publik. Penelitian ini menegaskan peran *framing* media dalam membentuk persepsi publik serta menggambarkan posisi *influencer* sebagai perantara komunikasi kebijakan publik.

### INTRODUCTION

The IKN project represents a strategic national policy to relocate Indonesia's capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. The government's decision was driven by Jakarta's chronic challenges: overpopulation, land subsidence, flooding, and the island of Java's dominance in national development. The new city, "Nusantara" is envisioned as a smart, green, and sustainable capital, integrating nature with built environments. It is framed as a symbol of Indonesia's equitable development and future-oriented transformation. According to *Oxford Economics*, the initiative is among the largest

infrastructure investments in the country's history.

**Figure 1.**

*Indonesia Map on Jakarta and IKN as the Capital City*



Source: Tempo.co with adjustment and additional green line, 2024

In 2024, the Indonesian government strategically engaged influencers to promote the IKN development project, with key figures visiting the site and publicizing their experiences through social media. To build public legitimacy and enthusiasm, the government—through the IKN Authority (Otorita IKN) and related ministries—has adopted a digital-first communication approach, heavily relying on social media influencers and online storytelling. Reports note that Indonesia has invited influencers to promote IKN by sharing content about the construction's progress, economic potential, and lifestyle appeal. During several presidential visits, influencers accompanied the delegation, amplifying the project's visibility across platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube. This reflects the use of key opinion leaders (KOLs) as extensions of state communication tactic rooted in digital public diplomacy and brand endorsement logic.

However, critical analyses argue that this influencer-based communication risks reducing transparency and genuine participation, as it often amplifies top-down narratives without engaging communities or environmental stakeholders. This government-initiated effort aimed to build public awareness and support for IKN's infrastructure development, signaling transparency, efficiency, and digital transformation in urban planning.

In the era of digitalization, the world is evolving rapidly, and media plays a pivotal role in reflecting this modern lifestyle. The internet has transcended spatial and temporal boundaries, offering vast quantities of accessible information. As of January 2024, according to We Are Social, over 5.35 million Indonesians were internet users, with 61.1% following news online. Among the most popular online news platforms are Kompas.com and Tempo.co.

Public opinion, shaped by mass communication, reflects the social perceptions of society. Mass media channels such as Kompas.com and Tempo.co facilitate the

exchange of information and perspectives, particularly regarding the relationship between influencers and national progress. Social media, in particular, has become a powerful tool for influencing public opinion, with influencers leveraging these platforms to advocate for political participation and social change.

Based on previous studies, the first relevant work is titled *“Media Ideology in News Coverage on Nusantara as Indonesia’s New Capital City”* (Marsun et al., 2021). The research employed a qualitative approach using media representation analysis grounded in textual theory. Situated within a constructivist paradigm, the study applied Robert M. Entman’s framing analysis. According to the researchers, media ideology shapes the structural characteristics of media organizations; their identity is formed by their vision and mission. Entman’s framework outlines four elements of framing: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies. The application of these elements centers on the information being conveyed. The study argues that two primary interests, economic and political power, shape media content. Moreover, earlier scholars have examined the economic and political implications that influence the accuracy, plausibility, objectivity, subjectivity, neutrality, and bias in media publications. The similarity with previous studies lies in the use of qualitative methods grounded in framing theory. While the earlier study examined the visions and missions of Detik.com, Tempo.co, and Kompas.com, the present research analyzes the content of two news portals, Kompas.com and Tempo.co, to provide insights into how influencers shape the construction of the new capital city (IKN).

The second relevant study is titled *“Community Media as a Form of Participatory Democracy (A Study on ‘Warta Desa’ in Pekalongan, Central Java)”* (Dwifatma, 2021). This research also used a qualitative methodology, specifically in-depth interviews, to understand how community-based media foster

participation. Unlike traditional media, which once fully controlled public agendas, audiences today can direct the circulation of diverse content. The study highlights journalists' concerns about media structures that restrict their autonomy and journalistic responsibility. In contrast to mainstream media, community media have emerged as platforms that facilitate the use of local languages and authentic storytelling. Community media theory suggests that people are more willing to participate in public discussions and share information when communication is locally grounded. The main similarity with the current study is the use of qualitative methods. Media framing shapes audience engagement and has broad implications for participatory democracy and citizen journalism. However, a key difference concerns issues of access: previous researchers argue that structural constraints often hinder citizens' ability to directly participate in democratic processes (Kahpi et al., 2020).

The third relevant study is titled *"The Role of Influencers in the Presidential Election during the 2024 General Elections"* (Arighi et al., 2024). Using a descriptive qualitative approach, the researchers analyzed secondary sources—including books, academic publications, archives, and official documents—to understand the influence of social media personalities during the 2024 presidential election campaign. The study demonstrates that influencers, connected through social media platforms, play a crucial role in the dissemination of political information. Social media users tend to consistently support particular political actors (Anjani & Irwansyah, 2020). Influencers serve as a balancing force between competing powers, contributing to checks and balances that affect public representation and government policy (Anjani & Irwansyah, 2020). The researchers applied political campaign theory, social media theory, and political branding theory to analyze how influencers shape political perception. The study employed triangulation by comparing different

sources, methods, and theories to address potential discrepancies. Its limitations include its focus on Instagram and TikTok. What makes the study distinctive is its examination of government personal branding strategies through qualitative analysis. By contrast, the present research analyzes online news framing on Kompas.com and Tempo.co concerning influencers' roles in IKN development.

The fourth study is titled *"Mass Media and the Construction of Reality (A Framing Analysis of News on the IKN Law in Tempo.co and MediaIndonesia.com)"* (Permadi et al., 2024). The authors used a qualitative approach focusing on media construction. Data were collected from news articles published by MediaIndonesia.com and Tempo.co regarding the IKN Law. Only five articles were selected as representative of each media outlet's conceptual framing. The study adopts Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis to uncover representational structures in media texts. Similar to earlier studies, it used framing theory to analyze IKN-related legal reporting on MediaIndonesia.com and Tempo.co. However, the current study differs in that it examines coverage on Kompas.com and Tempo.co.

The fifth study is titled *"Analysis of Public Opinion Based on Agenda-Setting Theory in the Planning Process of IKN Relocation"* (Masitah & Dewi, 2022). Using a descriptive qualitative approach, the researchers employed theoretical review, literature study, web content analysis, and textual examination. The study highlights agenda-setting theory in explaining how public opinion forms regarding the planning of IKN relocation on Twitter. It also analyzes online media through agenda-setting as a communication theory used to shape public perceptions. The difference between this study and previous research is that the earlier study focused on public opinion formation regarding relocation planning, whereas the present research analyzes how influencers are framed in IKN development news.

Based on the review of previous studies, this research identifies several similarities and differences. The primary distinction lies in examining the evolving framing of media coverage. What differentiates the present study is its exploration of pro-con divergences between the two selected media outlets. Kompas.com, by virtue of its vision and mission, tends to align with government perspectives and emphasizes democratic and dignified reporting. Conversely, Tempo.co is known for valuing public autonomy and freedom of expression. Furthermore, the present research fills a gap by incorporating agenda-setting theory, an element not applied simultaneously in earlier studies involving both media platforms. This research aims to frame news about influencers in IKN development in Kompas.com and Tempo.co and identify whether differences or similarities exist between the two.

Given the significance of the issue, especially since many citizens remain unaware of IKN's infrastructural progress, prompting the government to enhance public transparency, this study examines the effectiveness of influencers through a framing analysis of both online media outlets. This research investigates how persuasive communication between influencers and the public is mediated by the media. Specifically, it employs Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis to explore how the narrative around influencers in the IKN project was constructed by two leading Indonesian news platforms, Kompas.com and Tempo.co. The study positions influencers as information networks within public policy discourse and seeks to understand how media framing shapes public understanding and reception. Therefore, this research seeking on how did Kompas.com and Tempo.co frame the role of influencers in the development of IKN during July–August 2024? The objectives are to analyze the media framing strategies of Kompas.com and Tempo.co in covering the influencers' involvement in the IKN project, to compare how each outlet's ideological

stance influences its narrative, and identify patterns of media framing and their potential impacts on public perception.

## LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY

The theoretical foundation of this study includes media ideology, online media, agenda setting, public policy, and framing theory. Media ideology refers to how a media outlet's vision and mission shape its framing and discourse. Online media, such as Kompas.com and Tempo.co, play a crucial role in disseminating information rapidly. Agenda-setting theory explains how media influence public perceptions by highlighting specific issues, while public policy theory contextualizes how governments make decisions and communicate policies to the public. Framing theory, particularly Pan and Kosicki's model, serves as the main analytical tool to examine the syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures in media texts.

Media ideology plays a critical role in determining how discourse is processed and transmitted through online platforms. Understanding ideology helps identify how public perceptions are formed. Agenda setting is applied to compare how different online media highlight certain issues to raise public awareness and concern about matters presented in their coverage.

The traditional approach to framing involves selecting certain aspects of perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicated text to promote a specific definition of a problem, a causal interpretation, a moral evaluation, or a recommended course of action (Eriyanto, 2019). When constructed as reality, framing makes some elements more noticeable by emphasizing definitions of problems, their origins, decision-making processes, and proposed solutions. Certain components become more memorable and significant through repetition or clarification. By selecting and emphasizing specific aspects of

reality, media simplify complex issues and make them easier for audiences to understand.

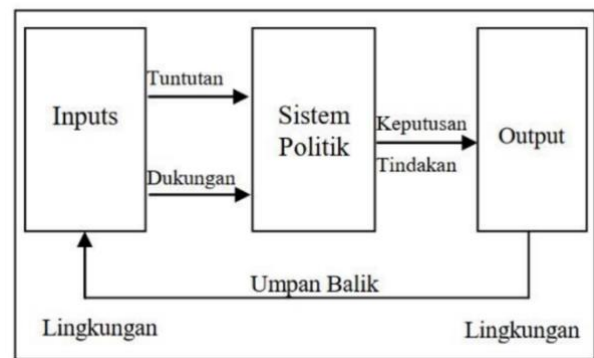
Influencers behave in ways aligned with information systems, norms, and policies designed to disseminate information to the general public. Social media celebrities with substantial followings who can shape behavior through their posts are known as influencers (Devos et al., 2022). In today's technological era, influencers, especially those active on social media, attract considerable public attention. Trends, particularly among millennials, are often shaped by influencers. Social media has become a primary source of political influence. Influencers increasingly collaborate with political actors to strengthen their visibility, while politicians use influencers to attract more supporters (Arighi et al., 2024). Influencer engagement can help strengthen substantive democratic practices by encouraging inclusive public discussion.

Figure 2 illustrates David Easton's political systems model, which describes the policy-making process. From this perspective, influencers play an important role in the input and feedback processes. As representatives of civil society, influencers are expected to influence government policy through their followers on social media. Their participation is crucial in expressing and promoting public interests, offering support, and articulating demands as societal aspirations.

Influencers also play a major role in the feedback stage, where actors monitor, assess, and analyze policy decisions to ensure their effective implementation in the future. Using influencers enables the fair transmission of public satisfaction or dissatisfaction regarding products or political decisions. Their presence is taken seriously, both in terms of public sentiment and political consequences (Ilham et al., 2022).

**Figure 2.**

*David Easton's Political Systems Model*



Source: Ilham et al. (2022)

Therefore, framing examines the extent to which influencers present themselves through their behavior and whether differences exist in how their roles are perceived by the public. Given that influencers often visualize issues as directly connected to everyday life, they can attract public sympathy by increasing credibility, particularly regarding sustainability, environmental issues, or policy impacts.

Through framing analysis, the researcher also seeks to understand public policies implemented by the government and how influencers are framed within those policies. The goal is to examine how online media construct narratives through framing techniques to generate particular interpretations of news related to influencers in the development of the new capital city. Accordingly, this study adopts Pan and Kosicki's (1993) four-element framing model, syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical analysis, to identify the framing structures used by Kompas.com and Tempo.co.

This study adopts a qualitative descriptive approach within a constructivist paradigm. Using Pan and Kosicki's framing analysis, it examines how Kompas.com and Tempo.co framed the role of influencers in the IKN development project during July–August 2024.

Kompas.com, founded in 1995, has become one of Indonesia's largest online news platforms, known for its tagline 'Seeing the World Clearly.' With a reputation for reliable journalism, it aims to provide accurate and

objective news to the Indonesian public. Its editorial team, led by Editor-in-Chief Amir Sodikin, emphasizes balanced reporting and data-driven content. Tempo.co, established in 1971, is renowned for its investigative journalism and critical stance, particularly during the New Order era. Operating under the tagline 'Speaking Facts,' Tempo.co focuses on independent and fact-based reporting. The platform is managed by an experienced editorial team committed to journalistic integrity and public accountability. The research subjects are news articles collected through purposive sampling, focusing on the framing of influencers in relation to the development of IKN. Using keywords such as IKN, influencer, Raffi Ahmad, and Pembangunan Ibu Kota, the researchers collected 22 news articles (July-August 2024): 12 Kompas.com, and 10 Tempo.co.

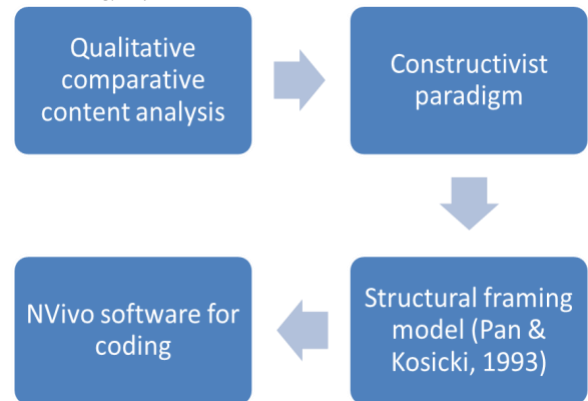
The researcher ensures the validity of the data by re-checking and verifying that the findings correspond to empirical reality as represented in the news texts. This verification process is essential for ensuring that the conclusions drawn are accurate and grounded in the analyzed data (Sa'adah et al., 2022).

Data was analyzed based on four framing elements: syntax (headlines, leads, quotations), script (narrative structure, 5W+1H), thematic (coherence, causal logic), and rhetoric (language use, metaphors, visuals). Primary data consisted of news articles, while secondary data included relevant literature and prior research.

Data processing involved coding, reduction, and presentation, followed by verification to ensure validity. The analysis focused on comparing how the two media outlets framed influencer involvement, highlighting similarities and differences shaped by each outlet's editorial policies and ideological leanings (the flow of this data collection and analysis is shown in Figure 3).

**Figure 3.**

*Methodology's flow*



Source: researcher

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The analysis revealed distinct framing strategies between Kompas.com and Tempo.co. Kompas.com framed influencer involvement as a patriotic and progressive effort, aligning influencers with the government's vision of a digital and modern Indonesia. In contrast, Tempo.co adopted a critical lens, questioning the substantive impact of influencer campaigns and highlighting concerns over transparency and governance.

These contrasting frames reflect the broader ideological positions of each media outlet, demonstrating how media not only report events but actively shape public discourse and meaning. The framing differences also underscore the role of media in either normalizing or challenging state narratives, particularly in the context of national development projects.

The result and discussion present and explain the main research findings, which are grounded in five theoretical pillars: media ideology, online media, agenda setting, public policy, and framing. The results are based on non-participant observation of online news coverage through articles published on Kompas.com (seven news items) and Tempo.co (eight news items).

To analyze framing, the discussion first considers the media ideologies of Kompas.com and Tempo.co. The analysis confirms that ideology plays a crucial role in determining how



discourse is processed and conveyed by both online and social media. In mass media, dominant ideology is usually shaped by the outlet's own orientation (Simarmata, 2014). In this study, Kompas.com and Tempo.co exhibit different orientations in their presentation of news; this becomes the core analytical frame that influences how each outlet constructs its perspective.

This difference is relevant because Kompas.com tends to adopt a more neutral, stability-oriented stance, while Tempo.co is more critical, particularly on political and social issues—especially in its coverage of influencers in IKN development. These distinct ideological orientations allow Kompas.com and Tempo.co to shape their news delivery in line with their respective characteristics. Thus, understanding online news coverage requires examining how ideology is implemented in framing when Kompas.com and Tempo.co construct “facts”, since this framing approach is directly used by journalists when writing about issues.

In terms of online media, the findings reinforce that online platforms play an important role for many people because they enable rapid dissemination of news (Nur, 2020). In the present analysis, online media are central to the spread of information about influencers and IKN development, particularly given that many members of the public still lack understanding of IKN's infrastructural progress. This information gap has prompted the government to take steps to increase public transparency. The coverage has spread widely and gone viral, generating criticism, as reflected in quotes from sources in Kompas.com and Tempo.co. Online media report events through descriptive narratives or accounts of incidents, with a particular focus on how journalists construct and present news articles.

Once the news coverage has been identified, the next main analytical stage is agenda setting. Agenda setting is based on empirical findings from the data. First,

Kompas.com does not present reality in its entirety but filters and shapes it in a neutral and relatively objective manner, consistent with its vision and mission to provide dignified and democratic information to the public. Second, Tempo.co focuses on selected issues and makes the public perceive some issues as more important than others, reflecting its normative commitment to freedom of expression. This allows the researcher to identify clear differences in viewpoint between the two online media in their reporting on influencers in IKN development.

Before moving into the framing stage, the study also applies public policy theory to understand how government policies involving influencers are formulated and communicated. The concept of “public policy” encompasses several dimensions, including the domain of activity, collective goals, and programmed objectives. In this context, the government places influencers as key actors whose goals are partly shaped by interests beyond the state, for example, inviting influencers to visit IKN and observe the progress of the new capital project. When media devote substantial attention to such issues, they elevate their salience (Rokim, 2019). This interaction between media and policy suggests that media coverage can influence governmental decisions. Overall, the role of influencers in IKN development is understood not only as promoting the project but also as contributing to transparency and communication between government and citizens.

The study then proceeds to the framing stage. Framing theory seeks to provide a schema for how individuals perceive society (Eriyanto, 2019). The researcher applies Pan and Kosicki's (1993) framing model to analyze news presentation. In this study, the framing scheme emphasizes the issue of influencers as key actors in the feedback process of decision-making. Influencers are positioned as important in the circulation of information, particularly in evaluating and assessing policy decisions to

ensure their effective implementation. Using influencers becomes a mechanism for fairly expressing public enthusiasm or dissatisfaction with particular products or political decisions. Framing thus examines the extent to which influencers present themselves through their behavior and whether their roles are represented differently in news coverage. Such representations can attract public sympathy and enhance influencers' credibility, particularly in relation to environmental sustainability or the broader impact of public issues.

The findings also relate to previous research titled "*Mass Media and the Construction of Reality (A Framing Analysis of News on the IKN Law in Tempo.co and MediaIndonesia.com)*". In that study, Tempo.co and MediaIndonesia.com publicized content on mass media and the construction of news related to the IKN Law. MediaIndonesia.com tended to emphasize sources that supported public policy, framing the ratification of the IKN Law as aligned with the public interest. In contrast, Tempo.co highlighted viewpoints from government, academics, and the public, framing the ratification as rushed and characterized by inadequate governmental responses. That study also applied Pan and Kosicki's (1993) framework, syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical dimensions. The present research adopts the same structural framing approach but applies it to online news on influencers and IKN development in Kompas.com and Tempo.co. The results of the framing analysis of Kompas.com and Tempo.co on online news about influencers in IKN development can be summarized as follows.

No.	Concept	Kompas.com	Tempo.co
1.	<b>Media Ideology</b>	<p>Kompas.com positions itself as an institution committed to a dignified and democratic public, as reflected in its headlines and lead paragraphs, which tend to support the image of government cooperation with celebrities. This support is presented as relevant and legitimate.</p> <p>The government's public transparency efforts—such as inviting celebrities to IKN—are framed as strengthening information for the broader Indonesian public, making it easier for readers to access and “research” the news.</p> <p>Headlines emphasize factual accuracy and systematic structure with clear objects. The vocabulary used—such as <i>bertolak</i> (depart), <i>prestisius</i> (prestigious), <i>konvoi</i> (convoy), <i>meninjau</i> (inspect), <i>transparansi</i> (transparency), and <i>wacana</i> (discourse)—frames IKN development as a positive and prestigious initiative. The coverage is identified as tendentious because it mainly features influencers who support government policy, presenting IKN as a success without foregrounding</p>	<p>Tempo.co frames itself as a platform for independent ideas, fair speech, and critical contributions, emphasizing freedom from external pressure. Its headlines and lead paragraphs frequently support critical perspectives and progressive promotion, reflecting a liberal orientation toward political ideology and public discourse.</p> <p>Political observation in Tempo.co's coverage often becomes strongly critical. Human-interest features are used to question whether influencers contribute to long-term project success or simply “polish the image” of IKN. The focus is on the sustainability and long-term outcomes of the project.</p> <p>Headlines highlight factual content, but the stories take a critical and democratic stance. Tempo.co strongly foregrounds expert commentary that can shape readers' understanding. The language is heavily personified, using terms such as</p>

**Tabel 1.**  
*Framing analysis' results*



		environmental or social pressures.	<i>antipati</i> (antipathy), <i>memoles citra</i> (polishing the image), <i>gap</i> , <i>meng-counter</i> (to counter), <i>objektif</i> , <i>warna lain</i> (another color), <i>mangkrak</i> (neglected), <i>ujung tanduk</i> (on the brink), <i>cover both sides</i> , <i>narasi</i> (narrative), and <i>bonus demografi</i> (demographic bonus).		relatively moderate way, and influencers themselves are not framed as highly contentious figures.	The coverage is fact-based and objective but more likely to influence the public agenda and public opinion. The language style is sharper and more critical, and it often foregrounds political analysts' critiques, turning influencer involvement in IKN into a contentious policy and public issue.
2.	<b>Online Media</b>	As a news-construction platform, Kompas.com uses the tagline "Jernih Melihat Dunia" ("Seeing the World Clearly") and, according to Databoks 2024, reaches around 39% of online readers. The site provides a wide range of sections: News, Elections, IKN, Technology, Automotive, Football, Lifestyle, Trends, Environment, Health, Money, Property, Food, MSMEs, Education, and Travel.	Tempo.co, with the tagline "Bicara Fakta" ("Speaking Facts"), reaches around 15% of online readers (Databoks 2024). The site offers sections such as Latest, Most Popular, Elections, News, Multimedia, Celebrities, Lifestyle, Sports, Automotive, Technology, Interactive, Fact Check, and Ramadan.		Kompas.com emphasizes high-quality, relevant news presentation that avoids cornering or dramatizing the issue. The outlet maintains professionalism and objectivity by consistently presenting updated, factual, and neutral coverage. It applies strong journalistic values with smart, sharp, and fact-based reporting that remains easy to read and relevant to the audience.	
3.	<b>Agenda Setting</b>	Kompas.com constructs its agenda through news, articles, and documentary-style coverage disseminated via the internet. In this study, Kompas.com's framing of influencers in IKN development is predominantly <b>pro</b> . The language used is not overtly provocative; government responses and other expert opinions are presented in a	Tempo.co also builds its agenda through news, articles, and documentary pieces disseminated online. In this study, Tempo.co's framing of influencers in IKN development is predominantly <b>contra</b> . It adopts a more confrontational stance, valuing transparency and freedom of expression.			
4.	<b>Public Policy</b>				Media coverage is closely linked to public policy in the context of IKN development. Government policy, such as inviting influencers to visit IKN, is shaped in interaction with media narratives. Public policy is potentially affected by external actors and factors, including influencers.	Similarly, Tempo.co's coverage shows strong interaction between media narratives and public policy. Government initiatives to invite influencers to IKN for ceremonial events such as the inauguration of the Pulau Balang Bridge and toll roads are framed more critically.
					When media give extensive attention to influencer visits, the issue becomes highly salient. Kompas.com's coverage suggests that such interactions between media and policy can influence governmental decisions. Influencers are framed not only as promoters of the project but also as contributors to transparency and communication	Tempo.co's reporting often emphasizes expressions like " <i>memoles citra</i> " (polishing the image), positioning influencer involvement as potentially cosmetic rather than substantive. This indicates a harder news stance and a more critical reading of public

	between the government and the public.	policy decisions related to IKN.
5. <b>Framing (Pan &amp; Kosicki, 1993)</b>	<p><b>Syntax:</b> The syntactic structure of Kompas.com's coverage on influencers and IKN development follows the inverted-pyramid model, with headlines and leads that immediately present the core facts. The purpose of influencer visits is framed as supporting IKN inspection and progress, thereby shaping reader perspectives. The articles resemble <i>opinion news</i>, as they include quotations and viewpoints from influencers and key figures. Background paragraphs present information as objective and independent, fostering trust in the validity of the facts. Articles typically end with a closing quotation from a source.</p> <p><b>Script:</b> The script structure uses complete 5W+1H elements, making the content clear and accessible. Kompas.com's reporting forms coherent statements that help readers understand the news as a whole.</p> <p><b>Thematic:</b> Thematic structures are organized through coherent sentences and propositions. Quotations and sentence links in paragraphs help readers construct a clear understanding</p>	<p><b>Syntax:</b> Tempo.co also uses an inverted-pyramid structure, but the tone is more critical. Influencer visits to IKN are framed in ways that highlight potential political communication strategies and public image management. The coverage resembles <i>opinion news</i> because it draws heavily on political analysts' commentary. Background information is framed as open criticism and free expression, supporting objective interpretation while still emphasizing critical evaluation. Articles are closed with quotations from sources.</p> <p><b>Script:</b> Script structures in Tempo.co also apply complete 5W+1H elements, providing clarity and encouraging readers to examine the issue in depth.</p> <p><b>Thematic:</b> The thematic dimension highlights coherence among sentences and propositions, emphasizing causal connections and problematizing issues within the news narrative.</p>

of reality and highlight important relationships between concepts.	<b>Rhetorical:</b> Rhetorically, Tempo.co uses photos and sharp lexical choices (often metaphorical or evaluative) to reinforce a critical stance and make the constructed reality more vivid and problem-oriented.
<b>Rhetorical:</b> Rhetorically, Kompas.com uses general-news photos, videos, and standardized Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI) vocabulary. Lexical choices and images make the representation of reality explicit and straightforward.	

Source: research result, 2025

## CONCLUSION

Based on the type of data analysis employed, this study uses a qualitative descriptive method within a constructivist paradigm, with non-participant observation as the data collection technique. The researcher presents news information using Pan and Kosicki's (1993) framing model. The findings indicate that presenting news through observation of online media coverage on influencers in IKN development can support the construction of individual perceptions of reality by displaying evidence-based truth, reinforced by general news photos and videos. The main conclusions of the study are as follows:

1. Based on the overall framing analysis conducted on the two online media outlets, Kompas.com and Tempo.co, both present news in a manner that appears objective and supportive of freedom of expression. From the reader's perspective, there is a shared effort to present visual evidence of events through photographs, which reveals a similarity in the framing of news about the role of influencers in IKN development during the July–August 2024 period. However, despite reporting on the same events, the two online media exhibit differences in how the news is constructed. Kompas.com emphasizes relevant presentation and maintains objectivity

from a primary point of view so as not to overly problematize the issue. In contrast, Tempo.co adopts a more transparent and opinion-rich style, encouraging readers to be more critical of the issues that are openly presented to the public.

2. Kompas.com tends to present news in an ostensibly objective format, focusing on the realization of government policies so that the information is easily understood by the public. However, this approach can result in news content that does not fully represent the underlying reality. In this regard, Kompas.com's coverage is more supportive of government decisions on the involvement of influencers in IKN development and therefore tends to be pro-government. Tempo.co, on the other hand, demonstrates a more contra stance, as its coverage focuses on critical commentary by observers regarding influencer participation in monitoring IKN development. Tempo.co presents detailed factual data and incorporates extensive quotations from experts, thus making a stronger effort to construct a perception of the "actual" facts.

The study concludes that media framing may have a role in shaping public perceptions of influencer involvement in state-led initiatives. While Kompas.com supports the government's messaging, Tempo.co offers a critical counter-narrative, fostering public debate on policy transparency and accountability. The findings emphasize the need for critical media literacy and ethical considerations in using influencers for public policy communication.

As the recommendations, future studies could employ interview-based methods and apply public opinion theory to analyze readers' opinions on each news post shared by influencers. The researcher also suggests the use of social media theories specific to each influencer to better assess the effectiveness of

message patterns communicated through social media posts.

For the practical recommendations, the researcher advises news editors to strengthen the construction of reality so that news coverage more accurately reflects actual conditions. News should be more objective, and publication is especially crucial for issues related to government policy, even though each media outlet has its own editorial style and organizational interests. Most importantly, online media should provide accurate, independent, and clear information that not only informs but also educates the public in line with the public interest. The researcher also encourages readers to engage critically with information: to read carefully, present and filter content in line with the reliability of quoted sources and the authenticity of information, particularly in relation to issues concerning influencers and IKN development.

Therefore, recommendations include expanding future research to incorporate audience reception studies and social media analysis to understand how different publics interpret and engage with framed narratives. Additionally, comparing Indonesian cases with international examples could enrich the understanding of influencers as policy intermediaries in diverse political and cultural settings.

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