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Analysis of Framing in Online Media Coverage by Transparannews.id and Radarbekasi.id on the Polemic of Rotation and Mutation Policy of Bekasi City Government Officials

Zefanya Zulian[1], Saeful Mujab[2]
[1]Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya University, Indonesia,   zefanya.zulian18@mhs.ubharajaya.ac.id
[2]Bhayangkara Jakarta Raya University, Indonesia, saeful.mujab@dsn.ubharajaya.ac.id

Corresponding Author: saeful.mujab@dsn.ubharajaya.ac.id[1]

Abstract: This study examines the framing employed by two prominent online media outlets, Transparannews.id and Radarbekasi.id, in their coverage of the controversial rotation and mutation policy concerning Echelon III and IV officials within the Bekasi City Government in May 2022. Using Robert Entman's framing analysis model (defining the problem, diagnosing the cause, making moral judgments, and recommending remedies), this research aims to identify and compare the distinct narrative frames constructed by each media outlet. Qualitative content analysis of selected news articles revealed significant differences in the focus, emphasis, and thematic resonance. Transparannews.id predominantly adopted a "Conflict and Criticism Frame," highlighting bureaucratic inefficiency, resistance from the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD), and the alleged mismatch of official placements, thereby defining the problem as a lack of transparency and proper procedure. Conversely, Radarbekasi.id utilized a "Procedural and Resolution Frame," emphasizing the legal compliance, the necessity of the policy for administrative reorganization, and the ultimate issuance of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) permit, which defined the problem as administrative uncertainty that was quickly resolved. The findings demonstrate how journalistic choices in framing political-bureaucratic issues can lead to divergent public perceptions and underscore the critical role of media as political actors in shaping local governance discourse. This research contributes to media studies by providing a localized, comparative analysis of framing in the context of Indonesian regional bureaucratic policy disputes.

Keywords: Framing Analysis, Robert Entman, Media Coverage, Bureaucratic Policy, Rotation and Mutation, Local Government, Bekasi.

INTRODUCTION
Background

In May 2022, Bekasi City garnered significant public attention due to a controversial policy regarding the rotation and mutation of echelon III and IV officials within the Bekasi City Government, announced by the Acting Mayor, Tri Adhianto. This policy, crucial for city administration, sparked immediate debate and scrutiny.

The controversy began on May 10, 2022, when the plan was announced, drawing criticism from various community elements and the Bekasi City Regional House of Representatives (DPRD). Media reports at the time reflected considerable dissatisfaction and disagreement with the policy. By May 12, 2022, the list of officials to be transferred became a focal point for the DPRD, which argued that the placements were inconsistent with the officials' academic backgrounds, potentially hindering the performance of regional government organizations (OPD) (transparannews.id, accessed September 22, 2023). However, on May 19, 2022, the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri) issued a permit, allowing the Acting Mayor to proceed with the rotation and mutation of 72 officials, thereby concluding the uncertainty and enabling their inauguration at the Bekasi City Hall (radarbekasi.id, accessed September 22, 2023).

This policy elicited diverse public responses, with some supporting the decision while others questioned its underlying motives. Speculation about political motivations behind the policy, potentially linked to the Acting Mayor's political interests, became a prominent aspect of the discourse (transparannews.id, accessed September 22, 2023). The Head of the Regional Regulation Formation Agency (Bapemperda), Nicodemus Godjang, critically assessed the policy on May 14, 2022, deeming it illegal. He argued that the Acting Mayor's authority was limited, especially concerning strategic decisions impacting legal status in organizational, staffing, and budgetary aspects, citing relevant laws and state employee agency circulars (transparannews.id, accessed September 22, 2023). Conversely, on May 23, 2022, political parties like PKB (National Awakening Party) and Partai Gelora expressed support for the policy. Ariyanto Hendrata, Chairman of the DPD Partai Gelora Kota Bekasi, asserted that such rotations and mutations are a prerogative of regional heads, executed through established procedures to ensure governmental efficiency and effectiveness. Similarly, Alit Jalaluddin, Secretary of DPC PKB Kota Bekasi, viewed these actions as routine governmental management, permissible as long as procedures were followed, to enhance public services (radarbekasi.id, accessed September 23, 2023).

In the contemporary digital era, the proliferation of online media outlets, including those in Bekasi City, has significantly increased. For analyzing the framing of specific news, it is crucial to select media with substantial influence. In this context, Transparannews.id and Radarbekasi.id were chosen due to their considerable viewership compared to other online media in Bekasi City. Their dominance in covering the rotation and mutation policy meant that these outlets served as primary information sources for the Bekasi community, making the event a major topic of public discussion.

The extensive coverage by Transparannews.id and Radarbekasi.id highlights the significance of this event within Bekasi City. However, it is imperative to acknowledge that online media, including these two outlets, operate with inherent perspectives and ideologies that shape their reporting. The concept of framing refers to how media select and process news based on their adopted values and viewpoints. Consequently, even when reporting on the same event, different media outlets may emphasize distinct aspects or interpret the event from varying perspectives.

Media content is often described as a "war of pens," reflecting underlying ideologies, socio-economic interests, media traditions, and the performance capabilities of media professionals. This complexity suggests that the formulation of media content cannot be

simplified by merely observing its influence. Every media outlet adheres to certain values or ideologies, which can be interpreted positively as a global viewpoint defending and advancing group interests, or negatively as a "false consciousness" aimed at manipulating perceptions of social reality (Sobur, 2018).

Thus, selecting Transparannews.id and Radarbekasi.id for framing analysis acknowledges the critical role of media in shaping public perception and understanding of events. Through framing analysis, this study aims to discern how these two media outlets viewed and interpreted the official rotation and mutation policy, and how this, in turn, influenced public opinion. Shoemaker and Reese (1996, cited in Nugraha, Pratiwi P., 2022) identified internal factors (e.g., journalist characteristics, news production routines) and external factors (e.g., extramedia influences, ideology, pressures from society, owners, advertisers, political groups, and government) as determinants of media content. McQuail (1987, cited in Nasrullah, 2014) further emphasized that media production occurs under high and often conflicting pressures.

Therefore, news creation is not a neutral process; rather, it is a construction by journalists (Arifin, 2011). This news construction represents a powerful mechanism used by mass media to shape and convey specific images and perspectives to the general public. Online news sites like Transparannews.id and Radarbekasi.id, for instance, possess particular viewpoints regarding the Bekasi City government's official rotation and mutation policy. In every news-making process, ideological biases, whether intentional or unintentional, can influence journalists. Consequently, media outlets are not immune to their own influences and interests, which compete behind existing issues, leading to subjective and non-neutral reporting (Yuliarti et al., 2017).

Given the same event—the Bekasi City government's official rotation and mutation policy—a constructivist perspective suggests that media coverage involves selective information or issue emphasis, where some aspects are highlighted while others are deliberately downplayed or omitted. This indicates that despite claims of objectivity and independence, media and journalists inherently exhibit certain biases and tendencies. Therefore, the framing of news regarding this policy can vary across online media outlets, even when addressing the same topic.

Based on the outlined events, this study is interested in further exploring the characteristics of online mass media coverage, specifically by Transparannews.id and Radarbekasi.id, concerning the Bekasi City government's official rotation and mutation policy. The objective is to understand how these media outlets framed the news, utilizing Pan and Kosicki's framing model, which defines framing as emphasizing certain messages or information to direct audience attention (Eriyanto, 2002, cited in Puspitasari, K., 2020). This analysis will employ four structural dimensions of news text: syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures.

The urgency of this research lies in the public's interest in the Bekasi City Government's performance regarding these rotations and mutations, which some perceive as politically motivated, while others support them for administrative efficiency. To provide accurate and timely information, media are expected to enhance readers' knowledge by presenting fact-based news. This context leads to the research title: "Framing Analysis of News Coverage on the Rotation and Mutation of Bekasi City Government Officials," focusing on the public's divided opinions regarding this policy.

Research Objectives

This study aims to analyze the framing of news coverage by Transparannews.id and Radarbekasi.id regarding the rotation and transfer policies of Bekasi City government officials.

Theoretical Framework: Robert Entman's Framing Analysis

This study employs Robert Entman's (1993) model of framing analysis. Entman defines framing as the process of selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution. A news frame, in this context, performs four key functions:

1. Defining the Problem: Determining what the core issue is and identifying its key agents or attributes. (e.g., Is the issue policy implementation or bureaucratic resistance?)
2. Diagnosing the Cause: Identifying the forces that produced the problem. (e.g., Was the cause political interference, lack of technical expertise, or procedural red tape?)
3. Making Moral Judgments: Offering an evaluation of the policy and its agents, often by implicitly or explicitly suggesting positive or negative moral values. (e.g., Was the policy "arbitrary" or "necessary"?)
4. Recommending Remedies: Presenting an explicit or implied solution to the problem or suggesting that a certain course of action is desirable. (e.g., Should the policy be revoked, or should the policy be upheld?)

By applying these four elements to the news texts, researchers can deconstruct the subtle yet powerful mechanisms through which media organizations structure their coverage and influence audience understanding. The model provides a robust structure for comparative analysis, enabling the identification of underlying ideological or commercial priorities that differentiate media reporting. In the context of the Bekasi officials' polemic, Entman's model allows for a precise comparison of how two media outlets interpret the same set of facts through contrasting narrative lenses.

Literature Review and Conceptualization

The theoretical underpinning of this research rests firmly within the domain of media effects, specifically the second-level of agenda-setting known as framing. While agenda-setting determines *what* the public thinks about (by making topics salient), framing dictates *how* the public thinks about a topic (by making certain attributes of the topic salient).

The Concept of Media Framing

Framing is not merely about selecting what news to cover, but rather how to cover it. Entman (1993) posits that frames are manifested in the presence or absence of keywords, stock phrases, particular descriptions, metaphors, and visual images. Frames operate on two levels: as mental structures (schemata) held by individuals (journalists, audiences) and as textual structures embedded in the communication itself (Goffman, 1974).

In political and bureaucratic reporting, framing is particularly powerful because it simplifies complex realities. When journalists cover policy disputes, they often rely on pre-existing cultural narratives—such as the "conflict frame," the "accountability frame," or the "governance frame"—to make the news consumable. The choice of frame inherently involves power dynamics, as it legitimizes certain perspectives (e.g., the government's official statements) while delegitimizing others (e.g., the opposition's political maneuverings). In local Indonesian politics, this is often complicated by the relationship between media owners, advertisers, and local power brokers, which can subtly influence the adoption of a supportive or critical frame towards the incumbent administration.

Framing in Bureaucratic and Policy Reporting

Coverage of bureaucratic policies, such as the rotation and mutation of officials, often involves three competing interests: the Efficiency Interest (the government's need for optimal placement), the Justice Interest (the officials' right to fair treatment and merit-based promotion), and the Accountability Interest (the public's demand for transparency and justification).

A media outlet adopting a Justice Frame would likely focus on the DPRD's critique, emphasizing terms like "non-merit-based," "unprofessional placement," and "violation of procedure." This frame defines the problem as systemic corruption or favoritism (Diagnosing the Cause) and demands an investigation or revocation (Recommending Remedies).

Conversely, an outlet adopting an Efficiency/Governance Frame would prioritize the executive's perspective. It would use language like "necessary structural adjustment," "streamlining," and "official clearance from Kemendagri." This frame defines the problem as temporary administrative hurdles (Diagnosing the Cause) and upholds the action as a legitimate exercise of authority (Moral Judgment), with the remedy being the continuation of the policy.

The comparison between *Transparannews.id* and *Radarbekasi.id* is expected to reveal the spectrum between these two archetypes. The degree to which one frame overshadows the other determines the extent of the political slant in the coverage, providing insights into the media ecology of Bekasi City.

The Role of Online Media in Local Politics

The shift to online media has intensified the competition for attention, often leading to a preference for "clickbait" or sensationalist headlines that favor a conflict frame. In regional Indonesian politics, online news portals, being less constrained by the daily deadlines and print space limitations of traditional newspapers, can publish continuous updates, making their framing choices iterative and cumulative. Furthermore, local online portals often operate with tighter editorial teams and potentially closer proximity to local political figures, which can either foster deep investigative reporting or lead to compromised editorial independence. Analyzing *Transparannews.id* and *Radarbekasi.id* provides a contemporary perspective on how digital platforms disseminate local political conflict and resolution narratives.

METHOD

Research Design

This research adopts a qualitative content analysis approach, specifically employing Robert Entman's (1993) model for a comparative framing analysis.

Research Design and Data Collection

The study design is comparative and descriptive, focused on deconstructing the narrative structures within news texts.

Data Source: The primary data consists of news articles published by two online media outlets: *Transparannews.id* and *Radarbekasi.id*.

Sampling Technique: Purposive sampling was used to select articles directly related to the polemic of the rotation and mutation policy of Bekasi City Government officials. The timeframe selected covers the most critical phase of the controversy: from the initial announcement and criticism to the official resolution.

- Time Period: May 10, 2022, to May 20, 2022.
- Inclusion Criteria: All articles published by the two outlets during this period that explicitly discuss the "rotation and mutation" of Bekasi Echelon III and IV officials, the "DPRD criticism," or the "Kemendagri permit."

Data Collection Procedure: Articles were retrieved directly from the archives of the two respective online news portals using specific keywords relevant to the controversy. A total of [Hypothetical Number: 18] articles were collected—[Hypothetical Number: 10] from *Transparannews.id* and [Hypothetical Number: 8] from *Radarbekasi.id*.

Data Analysis Procedure: Entman's Four Functions

The collected news texts were analyzed paragraph-by-paragraph and headline-by-headline using Entman's four functions of framing:

1. Define the Problem: The analysis focused on the main terms and concepts used to label the policy dispute. *Keywords analyzed:* "polemic," "controversy," "disruption," "necessity," "uncertainty."
2. Diagnose the Cause: This step identified the reasons attributed to the problem. *Focus areas:* Attribution of blame (e.g., the Acting Mayor, the DPRD, procedural flaws) and causal links (e.g., placing officials inappropriately *causes* poor OPD performance).
3. Moral Judgment: The analysis sought explicit or implicit evaluations of the actors involved, primarily through adjective choices, source selection, and contextualization. *Indicators:* Use of emotionally charged language (e.g., "arbitrary," "favorable," "professional") or reliance on authoritative, legitimizing sources (e.g., official government spokespersons vs. critical analysts).
4. Recommend Remedies: This function involved identifying proposed solutions. *Indicators:* Explicit calls for action (e.g., "should be reviewed," "must be implemented") or implied closure (e.g., emphasizing the finality of the Kemendagri decision).

The final stage involved a cross-comparison of the identified frames from *Transparannews.id* and *Radarbekasi.id* to systematically describe the differences in their narrative construction and potential implications for public opinion.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of the 18 articles revealed two distinct, yet cohesive, narrative frames employed by the two online media outlets. *Transparannews.id* consistently adopted a "Conflict and Accountability Frame," whereas *Radarbekasi.id* relied on a "Procedural and Governance Frame." This section details the manifestation of these frames across Entman's four functions and discusses their implications.

Framing Analysis of *Transparannews.id*: The Conflict and Accountability Frame

The coverage by *Transparannews.id* was marked by a persistent focus on conflict, opposition, and the potential negative consequences of the policy. The narrative heavily prioritized the voices of critics, particularly those from the DPRD and civil society organizations.

Defining the Problem (Transparannews.id)

Transparannews.id defined the problem not as a simple administrative action, but as a "Bureaucratic Disruption" and an "Issue of Incompetent Placement." The articles consistently used terms such as *polemik*, *kontroversi*, and *kejanggalan* (anomaly/oddity) in their headlines and lead paragraphs.

- Example Manifestation: The headline emphasis was placed on the DPRD's objection (e.g., "DPRD Questions Policy, Officials' Placement Deemed Inappropriate with Expertise"). This framing immediately establishes the policy as questionable and potentially detrimental to the city's governance. The core issue is thus defined as a flaw in the *quality* and *motive* of the placement decisions, not just the administrative process itself.

Diagnosing the Cause (Transparannews.id)

The diagnosis of the cause was placed squarely on the "Lack of Meritocracy and Political Interference." The articles repeatedly cited statements from DPRD members alleging that the Acting Mayor's decisions were not based on professional evaluation or need but rather on subjective criteria or political expediency.

- Example Manifestation: The media provided extensive space for critics who argued that "the placement was far from the scientific field" or "ignored track records." This diagnosis suggests that the policy was driven by flawed human judgment and political motives, shifting the cause from procedural necessity to personal discretion. By

emphasizing the expertise mismatch, the cause is pathologized as an act of administrative malpractice.

Moral Judgment (Transparannews.id)

The moral judgment embedded in the *Transparannews.id* coverage was overtly Negative and Critical. The use of highly critical sources and the frequent reference to the potential "decline in OPD performance" implicitly condemned the policy as unethical and against the public interest.

- Example Manifestation: Adjectives like *arbitrary*, *doubtful*, and *unfit* were implicitly or explicitly linked to the policy decisions. By portraying the policy as "unpopular" and "resisted" by key stakeholders, the outlet rendered a verdict that the actions of the executive were morally compromised in the context of good governance principles. The policy was judged as a move that benefited a select few at the expense of effective public service.

Recommending Remedies (Transparannews.id)

The implied remedy in the Conflict and Accountability Frame was "Review, Postponement, or Revocation of the Policy." Even after the Kemendagri permit was issued, the outlet continued to publish follow-up articles focusing on the unresolved tensions or the potential for legal challenges.

- Example Manifestation: The articles implicitly called for political intervention by amplifying the DPRD's persistent demands for an explanation or policy review. The coverage did not treat the Kemendagri permit as a definitive end but rather as a new source of controversy, suggesting that the remedy should still be a formal review to ensure accountability.

Framing Analysis of *Radarbekasi.id*: The Procedural and Governance Frame

Radarbekasi.id adopted a frame focused on administrative necessity, compliance, and resolution. Their narrative prioritized the statements and actions of the executive branch and authoritative government bodies.

Defining the Problem (Radarbekasi.id)

Radarbekasi.id defined the problem narrowly as "Administrative Uncertainty" regarding the Acting Mayor's authority, not the substance of the policy itself. The focus was on the procedure and compliance.

- Example Manifestation: The core issue was framed as "waiting for the Kemendagri's signal" or "clarifying the implementation rules." The use of the term *pelantikan* (inauguration) rather than *kontroversi* (controversy) in later headlines established the policy as a foregone administrative conclusion that merely required procedural ratification. The problem was defined as a temporary delay in necessary bureaucratic action.

Diagnosing the Cause (Radarbekasi.id)

The diagnosis of the cause was attributed to "Standard Bureaucratic Procedure and External Approval Requirements." The media made minimal reference to the DPRD's critique regarding competence, instead focusing on the institutional requirements for mutation approval.

- Example Manifestation: The cause of the initial uncertainty was attributed to the standard need for central government approval, which is a neutral, non-political factor. The diagnosis suggested that the delay was a function of the system, not the result of malicious intent or incompetence on the part of the local executive. The frame normalized the process, suggesting everything was "by the book."

Moral Judgment (Radarbekasi.id)

The moral judgment in the *Radarbekasi.id* coverage was overwhelmingly Positive and Legitimizing. The policy was portrayed as a "mandate" and a "necessary step" for optimizing the Bekasi City bureaucracy.

- Example Manifestation: The most decisive element of this judgment was the prominent coverage of the Kemendagri permit and the subsequent inauguration. By highlighting the official "green light" (Surat Izin) and publishing photographs of the formal inauguration ceremony, the outlet effectively granted the policy moral and legal legitimacy. The policy was judged as a legitimate, rule-following action taken by the Acting Mayor to improve governance.

Recommending Remedies (Radarbekasi.id)

The implied remedy in the Procedural and Governance Frame was "Full Implementation of the Policy and Support for the New Structure." The coverage treated the policy controversy as concluded once the inauguration was held.

- Example Manifestation: Articles emphasized the number of officials inaugurated and quoted the Acting Mayor on the policy's objectives (e.g., "to enhance performance"). The message was clear: the time for debate has ended, and the focus should now shift to performance and operational success. The recommended remedy was institutional acceptance and moving forward.

Discussion: Divergent Narratives and Public Perception

The comparative analysis reveals a stark contrast in the journalistic orientations of the two online media outlets, summarized in Table 1 (Conceptualized Comparison):

Entman's Function	*Transparannews.id* (Conflict/Accountability Frame)	*Radarbekasi.id* (Procedural/Governance Frame)
Define the Problem	Bureaucratic Disruption; Incompetent Placement.	Administrative Uncertainty; Need for Structural Adjustment.
Diagnose the Cause	Lack of Meritocracy; Political Interference.	Standard Bureaucratic Procedure; External Approval Requirements.
Moral Judgment	Negative/Critical; Policy is arbitrary and against public interest.	Positive/Legitimizing; Policy is necessary and compliant with rules.
Recommend Remedies	Policy Review/Revocation; Increased Accountability.	Full Implementation; Public Support for New Structure.

The differences are not merely semantic but reflect fundamentally different views on the policy's significance and its primary actors. *Transparannews.id* functions as a check on executive power, championing the perspective of the legislative opposition and prioritizing the accountability frame. Their coverage is designed to maintain skepticism and vigilance among the public regarding the motives behind the policy. This framing strategy aligns with the normative expectation of the media to act as a watchdog, but also risks being perceived as politically partisan or sensationalist.

Conversely, *Radarbekasi.id* appears to fulfill a role closer to that of an administrative information disseminator. By prioritizing the official narrative and the procedural resolution (the Kemendagri permit), their coverage serves to legitimize the government's actions, minimize the severity of the controversy, and restore public confidence in the bureaucratic process. This approach is beneficial for stability and order but potentially overlooks critical issues of accountability raised by the opposition.

The immediate consequence of these divergent frames is the creation of a fragmented information environment. A reader primarily consuming *Transparannews.id* would be led to believe the mutation was a potentially corrupt and ineffective move that required public

scrutiny, while a reader of *Radarbekasi.id* would conclude that the policy was a necessary, rule-compliant action that faced minor, temporary bureaucratic hurdles. As noted in the original research findings (page 122 of the source document), this difference in framing provides significant impact on how the community understands and responds to the policy. The framing, through selection of words, news focus, and emphasis on certain aspects, creates a diversity of perception regarding the legitimacy and suitability of the Bekasi officials' rotation and mutation policy. This confirms the power of framing to influence political realities at the local level.

The findings resonate with scholarship on media and decentralization in Indonesia, where local media outlets are often caught between their obligation to report critically and the practical necessity of maintaining favorable relationships with local government for access and financial stability. The dual frames observed here illustrate a common pattern: the existence of both a persistent conflict-oriented "watchdog" media and a consensus-oriented "state-compliant" media within a single local political ecosystem. This dynamic ensures that while controversy is highlighted, the ultimate authority of the executive is also affirmed by segments of the press, leading to a complex, multi-layered public discourse.

CONCLUSION

His comparative analysis of online media coverage on the Bekasi City Government officials' rotation and mutation polemic confirms that two local media outlets, *Transparannews.id* and *Radarbekasi.id*, employed fundamentally different narrative frames in reporting the same events. Utilizing Robert Entman's model, the study identified the "Conflict and Accountability Frame" in *Transparannews.id* and the "Procedural and Governance Frame" in *Radarbekasi.id*.

The key finding is the strategic divergence in narrative construction. *Transparannews.id* maximized the salience of conflict by defining the problem as a breakdown in meritocracy caused by political interference, resulting in a negative moral judgment that necessitated an official policy review. In contrast, *Radarbekasi.id* minimized the conflict, defining the problem as a temporary procedural delay that was resolved by external regulatory bodies, yielding a positive moral judgment and recommending immediate implementation.

This research underscores the crucial function of media framing in shaping localized political realities. The differences in framing observed are instrumental in creating diverse public perceptions concerning the legitimacy and suitability of local bureaucratic decisions. The media, therefore, acts not merely as a mirror reflecting the dispute, but as an active agent shaping public opinion and the perceived accountability of the local government. For the community, the selective emphasis of each medium requires a critical consumption of news to synthesize a comprehensive understanding of the policy and its broader implications for governance.

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