News Framing Analysis of President Joko Widodo's Diploma Controversy: A Comparative Study of *Tempo* and *Kompas* Media

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Abstract

The media plays a very important role in the life of a nation. This is especially true in countries that use a democratic political system, such as Indonesia. The media is a mouthpiece for the general public to obtain important information related to politics, government issues, and issues concerning state officials, such as the identity of state officials or government ownership documents. Furthermore, the media also has an obligation to participate in the process of advocacy, law enforcement, and monitoring all events related to the public interest until completion, as mandated in the regulations established by the press council in the journalism guidebook. This study attempts to describe the controversial case of Joko Widodo's diploma, which was previously claimed to be fake by several parties. This study aims to determine the framing used by Tempo and Kompas journalists in their news coverage of the demonstrations regarding Jokowi's diploma. This study uses a qualitative narrative method and a literature review approach. Data collection techniques include library research, gathering data from books, journals, and other literature. The results of this study show that the two media outlets studied (Kompas and Tempo) presented different news packages, ranging from the news headlines, style of language, sentence structure, to the overall content. Tempo journalists' framing was more procedural and neutral in reporting on the demonstrations surrounding Jokowi's diploma case. Meanwhile, the framing used by Kompas journalists tends to be more emotional, revealing the feelings or disappointment of the demonstrators regarding the case. The factors that cause differences in media construction can be divided into two categories, namely internal factors and external factors. Internal factors include media ideology and orientation, economic interests and media ownership, as well as editorial policies that are implemented. Therefore, the news construction process is not only influenced by the personality of a journalist, but also by many other interventions, both internal and external to the journalist's personality.

Keywords: framing analysis, presidential diploma, news coverage, Kompas and Tempo

INTRODUCTION

The issue of the diploma of the 8th President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, returned to the public spotlight after going viral in 2024. The controversy intensified when an article circulated with a narrative stating that President Joko Widodo claimed to have lost his diploma and was therefore unable to show it to the public. This article began to spread widely in mid-April 2025 through posts on Facebook accounts belonging to *Liy Her, Yeni Asita,* and *Angelina Day.* Based on a report *by Kompas.com,* the title of the article was the result of information manipulation or hoaxes.

A number of President Joko Widodo's supporters and several academics considered the issue of the fake diploma to be a form of disinformation campaign with no factual basis. They referred to the official clarification from

Gadjah Mada University (UGM) and the results of the police investigation as proof of the validity of the diploma in question. Furthermore, this case is also seen as an attempt to assassinate the character of a president who has been constitutionally elected for two terms. On the other hand, there are groups that still doubt the authenticity of the diploma, despite official statements from UGM and the police. They are concerned that educational institutions and law enforcement agencies are under pressure from those in power to cover up the truth. This group continues to demand that this case be brought to an open court so that the public can judge for themselves (Sofiansyah, 2025) .

Ultimately, the case continues to unfold and has become a hot topic of public and media discussion. National media institutions simultaneously reported and broadcasted on the case, including *Tempo* and *Kompas*, two of Indonesia's oldest and most independent media outlets. One of the news stories about Jokowi's diploma published by *Tempo* was related to a demonstration titled "One Hundred People Storm UGM's Faculty of Forestry, Clarification of Jokowi's Diploma." This action was carried out by a group of people at Gadjah Mada University on behalf of TPUA (Team for the Defense of Clerics and Activists) with 100 people on Tuesday, April 15, 2025.

This controversial case is very common in a democracy. Fellow citizens have the right to assess and give opinions on matters concerning other citizens (which are public in nature), thus forming public opinion. It becomes a topic of conversation among many people and the focus of media attention. According to Zaenal Mukarom, public opinion is formed from the opposing views of members. In other words, public opinion arises from differences of opinion among the community (Zaenal Mukarom, 2016). Usually, differences of opinion between groups tend to be conveyed through the media, especially subjective social media. Social media serves to describe the process of exchange, distribution, and reception of content in the form of text, images, or videos by users (Syarifuddin, 2024).

The media is one of the pillars of a democratic country, acting as a counterbalance to institutions of power such as the legislature, judiciary, and executive. Freedom of the press is protected by Press Law No. 40 of 1998. A democratic country is a country that is governed based on the will and power of the people ( ), where sovereignty lies in the hands of the people. According to Jimly Asshiddiqie (former Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court from 2003 to 2008), democracy cannot be separated from the existence of the press. As the fourth pillar of democracy, the press plays an important role in making Indonesia one of the most democratic countries in the world. Therefore, freedom of the press in expression must be protected by the constitution, as stipulated in Article 28 of the 1945 Constitution, which guarantees the right of every individual (including the press) to express their opinions (Haeru Risman et al., 2021) .

In the context of news reporting, all results of the journalistic process can be managed freely in accordance with the law and press ethics. Regarding the construction of a news story, it tends to be subjective or in accordance with the perspective of the reporter or news writer. According to Junaedi (2019), a number of theories about the media have long emphasized that the mass media has a major influence on the audience. In mass communication studies, there is a tradition of theories that place the media as a powerful force, such as the bullet theory and the hypodermic needle theory (Suyono, 2020) .

Framing analysis, initiated by William Gamson and Andre Modigliani, is an analytical tool that views frames as a method of describing or collecting ideas that are systematically arranged to form the meaning of events related to a discourse. Framing is an approach to understanding the perspective or point of view used by journalists when selecting issues and writing news. Gamson and Modigliani refer to this point of view as *a package*. A package is a

series of ideas that highlight the issues being discussed and relevant events (Rachmat Kriyantono, 2021).

According to Mia Nurmaida et al. (2020), media framing can influence changes in public opinion, perspective, and behavior. In analysis, there is a series of activities that include the process of parsing, distinguishing, and sorting information to be grouped based on certain criteria, then finding connections and interpreting their meaning (Tuti et al., 2024) . According to Gitlin in Eriyanto (2008), framing is a strategy to construct and reduce reality by selecting, repeating, and emphasizing certain aspects so that an event or issue appears more prominent and attracts the audience's attention (Boer et al., 2020) . This framing analysis will be used to determine the perspective or method journalists use in packaging and constructing the news reviewed at the end of the first paragraph.

In the results of research conducted by Chairunisa and Abdul Firman Ashaf on online media reporting, which also used William Gamson and Andre Modigiliani's framing analysis, it was found that *Tirto.id* and *VOAIndonesia.com* have slightly different perspectives. This difference lies in the reasoning behind the framing, which explains that *Tirto.id* tends to focus its reporting on the issue of the rupiah exchange rate, while

THEORETICAL STUDY

William Gamson and Andre Modigliani's Framing Analysis is a theory that serves to analyze the perspective or point of view of a journalist in the news production process. This theory offers one component with two derivatives that serve to understand the news construction process carried out by a journalist:

Frame (*media package*)

A frame is a set of ideas or main concepts used by individuals or the media to understand and give meaning to an issue (a central organizing idea for understanding relevant events and indicating what the main issues are).

VOAIndonesia.com highlights the geopolitical aspects of Biden's leadership (Chairunisa & Ashaf, 2022) . Meanwhile, in the results of research conducted by Maulidatus Syahrotin on Charlie's Angels with the same framing analysis, the film *Charlie's Angels* is able to represent women as competent figures who have the power to be agents of change, building a narrative that is in line with the current trend of gender equality in the media. This study concludes that the way the film frames women's empowerment is not solely for entertainment, but also as a response to cultural demands for stronger and more influential representations of women in film (Naqqiyah & Hafidz, 2024) .

The results of research conducted by Sukma and Edi reveal that this study reveals how *Metro TV* constructs a complex narrative, balancing criticism of PSSI and hopes for the future of the national team. These findings provide insight into how the media frames controversial sports issues and their impact on public perception (Nur Sukma Meilisa & Julianto, 2025) . Therefore, based on the background and previous studies presented, this research focuses on the framing of news coverage of Joko Widodo's diploma case published by *Tempo* and *Kompas* media on the demonstration carried out by the Ulama and Activists Defense Team (TPUA) in mid-April 2025.

This frame is supported by other elements of discourse, such as sentences, words, and so on. In general, these main ideas are divided into two categories, namely *framing devices* and *reasoning devices.*

1. F*raming devices*
   These devices are directly related to the main ideas or frames emphasized in news texts. These elements include the use of certain words, sentences, graphics/images, and metaphors. Framing devices provide three main components for analysis:
   a. *Met*aph*ors*.

b. *Catchphrases* (phrases that are interesting, contrasting, or prominent in a discourse. These are usually jargon.

c. *Examples* (linking the frame to examples, theoretical descriptions, and paradigms that explain the frame).

2. Re*asoning device*

This device relates to the cohesion and coherence of a text that refers to a particular idea. In other words, there is a basis for justification and a specific reasoning process that makes the ideas conveyed by the media or individuals seem reasonable, natural, and acceptable. *Reasoning devices* include three main elements of analysis:

a. *Roots* (causal or cause-and-effect analysis).

b. *Appeals to principle* (basic premises, moral claims).

c. *Consequences* (effects or consequences obtained from the frame) in (Rachmat Kriyantono, 2021).

Framing theory is an important approach in communication studies that emphasizes how the media shapes social reality through the process of selecting, emphasizing, and organizing information. Entman (1993) explains that framing has four main functions, namely defining problems, identifying causes, providing moral judgments, and offering solutions. In news reporting practice, framing is not only related to what is reported, but also to how the information is packaged so that it influences how the audience interprets the issue. Thus, the media acts not only as a conveyor of facts, but also as a symbolic actor that shapes public perception of social and political reality (Sofiansyah, 2025) .

METHODS

This research method uses a qualitative narrative method. The qualitative method is an approach that provides an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon, with a more detailed focus on each case, given that the nature of the issues studied can vary (Sahir, 2021) . This type of research falls under the category of library research, in which researchers collect and analyze written sources to describe and evaluate primary and secondary data. In accordance with the research method mentioned above, the author will clearly and accurately describe the content of the news presented by *Tempo* and *Kompas* journalists in relation to the headline of the news story about Jokowi's diploma.

Data collection in this study was conducted through a literature review, examining various books, literature, notes, and reports related to the research topic. After the data was obtained, the next step was to verify and organize it in a structured manner, then analyze it using a qualitative approach and comparative method, namely by comparing one data with another (Tanjung, 2005).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

ANALYSIS OF FRAMING IN NEWS COVERAGE OF THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING PRESIDENT JOKO WIDODO'S DIPLOMA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY *OF TEMPO* AND *KOMPAS* MEDIA

FRAMING

In Nasoha's (2025) view, the validity of academic documents, such as diplomas, is recognized as a legal act in the Indonesian legal system as long as they are issued by an authorized institution. This is explicitly regulated in LawLaw Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, specifically Articles 69 and 70, which emphasize that diplomas are official state documents (*documento publico*) issued by accredited educational units and have legal force within the national education system. The validity of diplomas is regulated by a number of laws and regulations aimed at ensuring the integrity of political leaders. However, in practice, issues related to the authenticity of academic documents often raise doubts about their competence and credibility. This study focuses on analyzing the legal impact of diploma validity on the legitimacy of leadership in the realm of Indonesian democratic politics. The objective is to examine how the legal framework for the validity of diplomas shapes public perception of the legitimacy of and trust in a leader, as well as its implications for national political stability (Sofiansyah, 2025) . Therefore, the media must participate in the process of a healthy democracy.

Tempo and *Kompas* are two mainstream media outlets in Indonesia that played a role in the journalistic coverage of the controversial case regarding the diploma of the 8th President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo. The results of their investigative coverage were published simultaneously on Tuesday, March 15, 2025. Both media outlets raised the same issue, but with different headlines, regarding the demonstration held by the Ulama and Activist Defense Team against Gadjah Mada University related to the polemic surrounding Joko Widodo's diploma in mid-March 2025. *Tempo* published a news article titled "*One Hundred People Storm UGM's Faculty of Forestry, Clarifying Jokowi's Diploma,*" while *Kompas* published a news article on the same case with the headline "*UGM Demonstration Crowd Regarding Jokowi's Diploma, Carrying Banners Reading 'UGM, Be Honest!'*"

Seratusan Orang Geruduk Fakultas Kehutanan UGM, Klarifikasi Ijazah Jokowi

Rombongan TPUA yang diwakili Roy Suryo, Rismon Hasiholan, dan Tifauzia Tiasuma bertemu pihak UGM untuk klarifikasi soal ijazah Jokowi.

15 April 2025 | 12.43 WIB

Massa Demo UGM soal Ijazah Jokowi, Bawa Spanduk "UGM Jujur Saja!"

Kompas.com, 15 April 2025, 11:43 WIB

Wijaya Kusuma, Diamanty Meiliana
Tim Redaksi

Image: *Tempo* media news

Image: *Kompas* media news

Tempo's news article contained very informative messages. The body of the news article describes the phenomenon or incident, the date of the incident, the perpetrators or subjects, the location of the incident, and the purpose of the demonstration. Not only that, Tempo's news report also stated that the protesters were met by a number of parties, including Vice Rector I Wening Udasmoro, Vice Rector III Arie Sudjito, and Dean of the UGM Faculty of Forestry Sigit Sunarta. The following is an excerpt from *Tempo's* indirect reporting:

A hundred people claiming to be from TPUA (Team for the Defense of Clerics and Activists) visited the Faculty of Forestry at Gadjah Mada University or UGM on Tuesday, April 15, 2025. They came to the Faculty of Forestry to clarify the controversy surrounding former President Jokowi's diploma.

On that occasion, three representatives of the team, namely Roy Suryo, Rismon Hasiholan Sianipar, and Tifauzia Tiasuma, were received for a dialogue with the university. In addition to them, there were also senior figures who visited the UGM Faculty of Forestry, namely Amien Rais and Syukri Fadloli from Yogyakarta.

The representatives of the group were met by Vice Rector I Wening Udasmoro, Vice Rector III Arie Sudjito, and Dean of the Faculty of Forestry UGM Sigit Sunarta. The group came to UGM and gathered at the Faculty of Forestry. They then headed to the UGM Roundabout to give speeches.

In addition, *Tempo* also explained the origin of the demonstration, which began when a former lecturer at Mataram University questioned Jokowi's diploma. The doubts were then conveyed in a video posted on YouTube titled "Jokowi's Fake Diploma Based on Font Type and Operating System Analysis" on Tuesday, March 11, 2025.

The news report on the demonstration regarding Joko Widodo's diploma, released by *Kompas* on April 15, 2025, generally described the emotional state of the demonstrators. The news reported that the crowd carried several banners with different messages. Among them were "UGM, be honest...! For the sake of the nation and the country, why defend Jokowi?!" and "The People Demand Proof of Jokowi's Original Diploma." The following is an excerpt from the *Kompas* news report:

The controversy over the authenticity of the diploma of the 7th President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, continues. On Tuesday (04/15/2025), a crowd belonging to the Ulama and Activist Defense Team (TPUA) visited the Faculty of Forestry at Gadjah Mada University (UGM) to seek clarification on the issue.

The crowd gathered in front of the Faculty of Forestry at UGM, carrying banners reading "UGM, be honest...!!! For the sake of the nation and state, why defend Jokowi?!" and "The people demand proof of Jokowi's original diploma."

The Framing of Journalists *from Tempo* and *Kompas* Regarding the News of The Demonstration About Jokowi's Diploma

Package (Issue Packaging)

Tempo and Kompas framed Jokowi's diploma case differently:

Tempo: Focuses on the formal clarification process at UGM, emphasizing that the protests are being handled academically and procedurally. Package: "Rational efforts to verify information."

Kompas: Focuses on the demands of the masses with banners urging UGM to act, highlighting public distrust and suspicion. Package: "Public pressure for academic transparency."

In other words, *Tempo* frames the event as a normal administrative process, while Kompas frames it as social and political pressure. From these two different perspectives, the media tends to give different meanings to readers even though the reported case is the same.

F*raming Devices*

Tempo uses *framing devices* such as:
1. Word choice: "clarification," "met with the Vice Chancellor," "phenomenon," "the beginning of the cause."
2. News structure: Starting with the action, directly linking it to the official academic response (UGM).
3. Narrative: Providing a complete chronology, from doubts to campus actions.

Kompas uses *framing devices* such as:
1. Word choice: "carrying banners," "UGM be honest!," "the people demand."

2. News structure: Focuses on the expression of mass demands, quoting directly from the banners to emphasize the emotion.
3. Narrative: Underlines the people's distrust of educational institutions.

This means that *Tempo* and *Kompas* tend to use different framing. *Tempo* emphasizes procedural and academic aspects, while *Kompas* emphasizes the emotions and demands of the people, represented by a group of demonstrators calling themselves the Team for the Defense of Clerics and Activists.

Re*asoning Devices*

Tempo constructs its reasoning with:
1. *Causal Reasoning*: The problem arose from the doubts of an academic (a lecturer at Unram), which then developed into peaceful action.
2. *Consequence Reasoning:* Clarification will resolve public doubts and maintain UGM's academic reputation.
3. *Appeal to Principle:* The value of academic truth, the importance of objective clarification, and respect for procedures.

Kompas builds reasoning with:
1. *Causal Reasoning:* The lack of clarity from the university has sparked public anger.
2. *Consequence Reasoning*: If UGM is not honest, public trust in national education will collapse.
3. *Appeal to Principle:* The honesty of educational institutions is the moral foundation of the nation.

Comparison Table of *Tempo* vs *Kompas* Framing (Jokowi's Diploma Case) Based on Gamson & Modigliani

Framing Elements	Tempo	Kompas

Package (Issue Packaging)	"Rational efforts to verify information"	"Public pressure for academic transparency"
Metaphor / Catchphrase	Academic clarification, formal procedures, data verification.	Moral pressure, campus integrity, public demands.
Depiction (How to Depict Actors/Events)	UGM and students are depicted as rational, academic, and procedural.	The masses are depicted as representing public unrest towards the institution.
Visual Image / Symbol (Emphasized Symbols)	Images of discussions and clarifications on campus, calm UGM officials.	Images of banners and crowds of demonstrators with angry expressions.
Framing Devices (Framing Devices)	- Word choice: "clarification," "phenomenon," "vice chancellor." - News structure: from action to academic response - Narrative: chronological and analytical.	- Word choice: "banners," "the people demand," "UGM, be honest!" - News structure: focus on mass emotions. - Narrative: emphasizes social and moral pressure.
Reasoning Devices (Reasoning Devices)	**Causal reasoning:** academic doubts → campus clarification. **Consequence reasoning:** maintaining academic reputation. **Appeal to principle:** scientific truth, objective procedures.	**Causal reasoning:** university ambiguity → public outrage. **Consequence reasoning:** potential crisis of trust in education. **Appeal to principle:** institutional honesty and morality.
Root Cause (Root Cause According to the Media)	Public misunderstanding that needs to be clarified scientifically.	UGM's delays and secrecy, which have triggered mistrust.
Moral Judgment	Clarification is the right and professional step.	Transparency is the moral obligation of the campus.
Treatment Recommendation (Implied Solution)	UGM must complete the clarification in an academic and open manner.	UGM must provide authentic evidence to restore public trust.

Tone / News Orientation	Neutral-rational, focusing on procedures and data.	Emotional-critical, focusing on public pressure and morality.

Based on the above review, it can be concluded that *Tempo* attempts to rationalize that clarification is a normal process, while *Kompas* constructs a narrative that there is moral urgency and the potential for a crisis of trust. However, according to Sniderman and Theriault in Brewer & Gross (2005), the influence of framing in the political sphere is likely not as significant as shown by experimental research results, because the existence of various competing frames can cancel each other out, making them unable to effectively change public opinion (Chong & Druckman, 2007) .

The results of the journalistic process carried out by these two media outlets are a form of the democratic system at work in Indonesia, with freedom of opinion and expression for all citizens. According to Latipah Nasution (2020), freedom of expression is a fundamental right in life that is guaranteed and protected by the state. The exercise of freedom of expression can be realized through writing, books, discussions, or participation in press activities (Wahyuni & Sharfina Desiandri, 2024) .

Freedom of expression is based on Article 28E of the 1945 Constitution. In addition, demonstrations are activities carried out by one or more people to express their opinions verbally, in writing, or in other forms in public, which is guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution. This is also regulated in Article 22 paragraph (3) of Law No. 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights, which guarantees that every individual has the freedom to have, convey, and disseminate opinions according to their conscience, both verbally and in writing through print and electronic media.

Based on the above regulations, it can be interpreted that demonstrations carried out by a group of people and the dissemination of information about the government by the media are forms of democratic mandate that must be carried out in a country. The media and the people become an integral part of the control over the running of the government system. *Tempo* and *Kompas,* as mass media institutions, are closely related to the running of the government system. They deliver messages of persuasion and education, and even play a major role in shaping public opinion to influence the general public. Merrill and Lowenstein state that mass media, such as newspapers, are under the press system, which in turn is bound by the prevailing political system. In other words, in conveying information to the public or delivering messages, newspapers must comply with the regulations set by (Aridho et al., 2024) .

According to Stier (2015), the press and media are often the primary targets of attacks by political leaders who systematically seek to reduce democratic freedoms in order to strengthen their control. In some situations, reducing the space for independent voices can be an early sign of efforts to weaken other democratic institutions. Authoritarian regimes tend to exploit the press and media, and consider censorship and suppression of the media as an integral part of their strategy (Ramadlan & Masykuri, 2021) . Several cases that have occurred in Indonesia, such as the pig head terror, the severed rat head terror aimed at *Tempo* media*,* and verbal and nonverbal violence against several journalists, have become strong symbols of threats to the role of the media.

In some cases, the media does have different styles in delivering news or information. Each media outlet frames an event according to the perspective of the writer or reporter. As an art of expressing opinions and information to the public, policymakers are prohibited from taking repressive actions against journalists for any reason, which would

cause the public to lose trust due to the restriction of press freedom. According to Freedom House data cited by Repucci (2019), press freedom has declined in almost all parts of the world in the last ten years. Of the countries classified as free in the 2019 Freedom House report, 19 percent or 16 countries have experienced a decline in press freedom scores in the last five years (Ramadlan & Masykuri, 2021) .

Factors Affecting Differences in the Construction of News Coverage of the Controversy Surrounding President Joko Widodo's Diploma

In this modern era, the dynamic flow of information presents a dilemma for every individual. Many phenomena are quickly exposed to the public but are prone to hoaxes. One event can be reported with different headlines or narratives, and even tend to be biased, especially information sourced from each individual's social media. The construction of mass media is understood as the process of forming and reaching a common understanding of social reality that is channeled through the mass media. In this case, the media functions to shape perceptions, instill values and norms, and even form the identity of society.

According to Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann in their work *The Social Construction of Reality: Essays in the Sociology of Knowledge* (1966), construction is an act in which humans continuously create a shared reality through social interaction. Reality is not something that exists naturally, but rather the result of a process of externalization (adaptation to the socio-cultural world as a human creation), objectification (reflected in intersubjective interactions), and internalization (reabsorption of that reality into individual consciousness) (Husna et al., 2025) .

According to Hall (2020) and Couldry & Hepp (2018), the media does not only function as a window to view the world, but also as an active agent of social construction in shaping reality, while at the same time reinforcing or challenging the dominance of certain values. Therefore, the public is required to be critical of how the media frames issues, because what is presented is not a neutral reality, but rather the result of discourse construction influenced by interests, values, and power structures (Arilla Nindya Shafabella1, Gilang Setyo Nugroho1, 2024) .

In general, many factors influence the construction of a news story, both internal and external factors. Internal factors include ideology and orientation, economic interests and media ownership, and editorial policies. External factors include power relations, audience segmentation and targeting, as well as power structures and national political dynamics.

Internal Factors
1) Ideology and Orientation

Every news agency or media outlet has objectives and concepts that serve as the basis or foundation for conveying information. The ideology of a news agency inevitably becomes its identity and distinguishing feature in conveying information and packaging news. According to Winarni & Lestari (2019), it is difficult to avoid the construction of reality that is shaped by media ideology. However, as the fourth pillar of democracy, the values of journalistic professionalism must be upheld, because the media has a major influence in educating the public and acts as an agent of social change. Therefore, journalists are required to be sensitive in determining the news to be presented, in order to minimize bias and personal interests. What must be upheld by a journalist is the freedom to convey information without intervention from any party (Palupi & Irawan, 2020) .

Tempo Media has a vision of "Becoming a reference in efforts to increase public freedom to think and express opinions and build a civilization that values intelligence and diversity" (Tempo Media Group). Meanwhile, *Kompas* Media's vision is: To become the largest, best, most integrated, and most widespread company in Southeast Asia through knowledge-based efforts that create an educated, enlightened society that values diversity and is just and prosperous.

2) Economic Interests and Media Owners

The media is part of the opposition in a democratic system. Therefore, the media economy is developed independently, without subsidies or even basic salaries from the state. The economic interests of each media outlet also differ, tending to be based on their respective ideologies. In addition, media owners or founders influence the news or information produced. Media outlets that have interests or are founded by political figures generally produce unbalanced political information, as they depend on the interests of their owners.

Historically, *Tempo* was founded by Goenawan Mohamad, a cultural figure and journalist, along with several other colleagues. *Tempo Media Group* is a publicly listed private company registered on the Indonesia Stock Exchange (IDX), with a share ownership structure divided between a number of institutions and partly owned by the public. The shareholders of PT Tempo Inti Media Tbk. include PT Jaya Raya, Yayasan Jaya Raya, Yayasan Karyawan Tempo, Yayasan 21 Juni, and the general public. Based on the institutional background of and

its ownership structure, *Tempo's* coverage of the demonstrations surrounding the alleged fake diploma of President Joko Widodo shows *a framing* that tends to be rational, procedural, and neutral.

Kompas was founded by Jakob Oetama and Petrus Kanisius Ojong. Jakob Oetama is known as an academic and former politician who served as a member of the People's Representative Council from the Golongan Karya (Golkar) Party during the 1966–1982 period, as well as a member of the People's Consultative Assembly from the Regional Representatives during the 1987–1999 period. Meanwhile, Petrus Kanisius Ojong is an academic and former journalist for a number of national media outlets. Based on the background of its founders, *Kompas'* coverage of the demonstrations surrounding the alleged fake diploma of President Joko Widodo shows a tendency toward more emotional *framing* (Kompas.id, 2020).

3) Editorial Policy

Editorial policy is a strategic decision made by the editorial team of a media institution. This policy is final and serves as the main reference in determining the suitability of content for publication in the public sphere. The editorial team generally consists of an Editor-in-Chief, Managing Editor, Editors, and Journalists, each of whom has different roles and responsibilities. The Editor-in-Chief holds the highest responsibility for all content produced and plays a role in determining the direction of reporting and overseeing the entire production process. The Managing Editor is tasked with implementing editorial policy in day-to-day operations, coordinating the

publishing process, and reporting work results directly to the Editor-in-Chief.

Editors are responsible for editing manuscripts, proofreading, and ensuring the accuracy and suitability of news items in accordance with media editorial standards. Meanwhile, reporters act as the front line, tasked with finding, gathering, and presenting up-to-date information in the field. Thus, the content published by a media outlet is not the work of individuals alone, but the result of collaboration and collective consideration by all members of the editorial team.

External Factors

1) Power Relations

Power relations are the relationship between media institutions and those in power or majority groups. Power relations can influence the production of news or information by the media. According to Foucault (2002), power is not merely repressive, but also productive because it works through a network of relationships involving various actors, such as the government, NGOs, and the community. These power relations are dynamic, constantly changing, and open up opportunities for resistance and cooperation (Euginia et al., 2025) . Based on Foucault's argument, it can be understood that the media tends to have relationships or interests with power. Therefore, those in power who have relationships with the media tend to influence the process of producing information, especially coverage related to the activities of those in power.

Historically, *Tempo* is a media outlet that has no power relations or emotional ties with the government. As discussed earlier, *Tempo* was founded by Goenawan Mohamad, a cultural figure and critic who consistently argues based on academic and humanitarian values. In addition, *Tempo* also demonstrates its commitment to journalistic principles through its vision and mission, which emphasize critical thinking and depth of information. Unlike *Kompas,* although it was founded by an academic and former journalist, this media outlet has a track record of active involvement in the government system during the leadership of President Soeharto.

2) Target Audience

The existence of the public or society is also part of the external factors that influence the framing of information or news produced by the media. In general, each piece of content has a different target audience. When the media targets a millennial audience, the content produced must also be millennial or modern so that the information can be conveyed effectively. According to Damayanti, Mayangsari, & Putra (2016), the media shapes the construction of reality through reporting by choosing a certain point of view, determining the source of information, and defining the actors in an event. Language plays a major role in describing reality, formulating concepts, and narrating them so that values that can be understood and interpreted emerge (Boer et al., 2020) .

3) Power Structures and National Political Dynamics

The media always deals with the issues and political dynamics of a country. However, the media still has an obligation to cover and broadcast whatever situation occurs. An example of the role of the media is in the case of

the large demonstrations in Indonesia that occurred on August 28, 2025. In this incident, the media had full responsibility for controlling the highly dynamic flow of information. In the news production process, the media must be careful with false, provocative, and wild information in order to produce factual, up-to-date, and balanced news. Sometimes, in incidents that are close to *chaos*, the media faces a dilemma, which affects the quality of the news produced.

CONCLUSION

Based on Gamson and Modigliani's theory, this study shows that the media has different characteristics and traits in presenting information about an event. As in the case of the controversy surrounding Joko Widodo's diploma, *Tempo* tends to construct a rational, procedural, , and neutral framing of the Jokowi diploma case. Meanwhile, *Kompas* tends to construct a more emotional framing, centered on moral demands and the crisis of public trust. Although both media outlets report on the same issue, they shape different social realities through their choice of framing and reasoning. However, the framing used by the media or journalists does not interfere with the process of disseminating information or messages; rather, it is a very suitable way of conveying news. With different news packaging, the public or readers find it easier to select and determine which information is appropriate and easy to understand.

There are two factors that influence differences in media construction: internal factors and external factors. Internal factors consist of media ideology and orientation, economic interests and media ownership, and editorial policy. Meanwhile, external factors include power relations, audience segmentation and targeting, as well as the structure of power and national political dynamics. These factors give rise to different framing between each news agency. However, the media is still required to comply with journalistic rules established by the press council as guidelines in the journalistic process, from data search and collection to the production of data into news that is ready for public consumption.

This research can contribute to the development of political communication studies in the digital age, particularly in the context of the relationship between *mainstream media* and social media. The issue of the President's diploma, which originated on social media and was then responded to by mainstream media, shows a new dynamic in the formation of digital public opinion. This enriches our understanding of how the media acts as an arena for the reproduction and clarification of information amid the flow of disinformation. In addition, this study also provides an important lesson that institutional transparency, such as official clarification from universities, plays a significant role in reducing public disinformation. The government and higher education institutions need to strengthen responsive and data-driven public communication to prevent information gaps that can be exploited by actors spreading hoaxes.

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