

Framing Gibran's Vice Presidential Candidacy: A Gioia Model Analysis of Media Influence on Public Opinion in Political Communication

Anggriani Alamsyah*

Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, Jl. H. M. Yasin Limpo No. 36 Samata Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan 92113, Indonesia
anggriani.alamsyah@uin-alauddin.ac.id

* corresponding author



ARTICLE INFO

Article history

Received: April 01, 2024

Revised: July 17, 2024

Accepted: October 24, 2024

Keywords

Gioia Framing Model

Media Framing Analysis

Inductive Framing

Public Opinion

ABSTRACT

This study examines how online media frames Gibran Rakabuming Raka's candidacy for vice president alongside Prabowo Subianto in the 2024 Indonesian presidential election. It explores how media influences public perception and prioritizes issues by focusing on agenda-setting and framing theories. Unlike traditional deductive framing models, the Gioia method allows for inductive analysis, enabling the emergence of new categories from data and providing a fresh perspective on political framing. Data was collected from a selection of news articles published in October and November 2023. These articles were manually coded to identify key themes. Through Gioia's three-stage process, the study highlights the unique ways in which media framing can direct public interpretation by emphasizing specific themes, causal explanations, and evaluative judgments. The findings suggest that media framing significantly impacts the formation of public opinion and can influence political perceptions by selectively presenting information that aligns with particular narratives. The study demonstrates that online media framing can shape public opinion, contributing to the notable achievements of the Prabowo-Gibran campaign, despite various controversies. This research adds to the field of political communication by applying interpretive framing analysis to a real-time political event and suggests a potential framework for future studies on the media's influence in electoral contexts.

This is an open-access article under the [CC-BY-SA](#) license

 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.12928/channel.v12i2.749>



INTRODUCTION

The media plays a significant role in shaping public perception regarding what issues are considered important or overlooked. Editors, editorial staff, and broadcasters influence political reality by selecting and presenting news stories (Alfani et al., 2023; Dwinarko et al., 2023; Lestaluhi & Jaali, 2023; Susanti et al., 2023). Readers are not only exposed to specific issues but also contribute to their importance and the positioning of these stories. During election campaigns, the media reflects the candidates' positions on various topics, which can evolve into the campaign's agenda (McCombs et al., 2012; M. Zhang et al., 2024). McCombs and Shaw (1972) conducted a study to investigate how news media affects the significance of public issues. They employed two research methods to test the agenda-setting hypothesis. By analyzing news content and survey responses, they compared the media's agenda with public perspectives. The results indicated that while news media might not necessarily change public opinion, it is "very successful" in influencing the public on what to think, a concept originally proposed by Cohen in 1963 (Ryan, 2020; Wanta & Alkazemi, 2018). The agenda-setting theory asserts that the amount of attention the mass media gives to a particular subject (including its emphasis and coverage) is closely tied to public opinion on that subject (McCombs et al., 2012; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Yang & Zhang, 2023). There are two main ways the media can influence people. The first is through agenda setting, where specific topics

are highlighted. The second is priming, which affects the factors that people consider when making decisions regarding political issues or candidates (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Solheim, 2021). Basically, the media “directs” its audience on what they should think about.

Politicians can significantly influence the media agenda, and through agenda-setting theory, they can also direct the decisions of their parties (Hameleers & Minihold, 2020; Kleinnijenhuis et al., 2007). During election periods, political parties often utilize the media to promote their policies and highlight specific issues, sometimes manipulating the truth to control media narratives. By analyzing these actions, parties can be categorized as either trustworthy or deceptive (Hameleers & Minihold, 2020). The concept of agenda-setting suggests a strong correlation between the emphasis placed on specific issues by mass media—such as coverage volume and placement—and the importance that mass audiences attribute to these issues (McCombs et al., 2012; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; M. Zhang et al., 2024). In the realm of politics, voters tend to learn about issues that the mass media emphasizes. Lang and Lang, in their work found in “Reader in Public Opinion and Communication,” specifically observe the function of agenda-setting in the media. They note that mass media focuses on particular issues, shapes public perceptions of political figures, and continually presents information on what the public should think, know, and feel (McCombs et al., 2012).

McCombs categorizes agenda-setting research into five groups (Gilardi et al., 2022; Wanta, 2010); 1) The original hypothesis, which asserts that news media can shape people’s thoughts by highlighting the importance of certain social issues and facilitating knowledge acquisition through social learning. 2) Contingent conditions, which examine the driving and inhibiting factors of the agenda-setting effect, including individual and message variables. 3) Sources of the media agenda, referred to as “agenda-building,” which explores how media agendas are formed from various sources of influence. 4) Policy agenda, which looks at how media coverage impacts public opinion and political decision-making. 5) The second level of agenda-setting, where Ghanem (1997) categorizes different types of attributes, including cognitive attributes (sub-issues) and affective attributes (related to the emphasis of media coverage). Agenda-setting can be viewed as the media’s authority in selecting and organizing the events or news that it chooses to display, out of all the events that occur. Political agenda-setting is heavily influenced by the media owner’s position, whether they support or oppose the government.

Media influences public perception through agenda-setting, determining what the audience should think. It also shapes how events are discussed through a process known as framing (Yang & Zhang, 2023). Framing involves the media selecting specific aspects of a phenomenon and portraying them in a particular manner (Akihary et al., 2023). This selective presentation significantly impacts interpretation and understanding, ultimately shaping opinions and perceptions. Framing reflects the author’s interpretation of a phenomenon. According to Entman, framing is the process of emphasizing certain aspects of reality to define a specific problem, provide a causal interpretation, make moral judgments, and suggest recommendations regarding the issue at hand. Entman suggests that frames can help describe problems, identify causes, make ethical evaluations, and determine the most appropriate solutions (Entman, 1993; Ho-sam-sooi et al., 2021).

Framing theory posits that a subject can be examined from various angles, which can promote certain values that influence its interpretation. This can lead to highlighting one value over another, thereby impacting how certain values and considerations are perceived (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Entman, 1993; Odebiyi & Sunal, 2020). Framing is potent enough to bring up issues or events about which the audience may have limited knowledge or to relate familiar issues to existing beliefs, attitudes, and values (Attar & King, 2023; Beattie & Milojevich, 2017; Doehler, 2023; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). In summary, framing gives the media the authority to position news by focusing on the core of the problem, its causes, the moral values it embodies, and proposed solutions. However, the effects of framing cannot be separated from the audience’s internal experiences; their previous knowledge and experiences significantly influence how they respond to media framing.

When a person receives information about a specific issue and has limited knowledge or access to alternative interpretations, they are likely to form a particular understanding or perception based on the information they process. This theory suggests that the quantity and quality of information available to individuals significantly influence their understanding of a topic (Odebiyi & Sunal, 2020). Typically, framing favors the perspective of dominant groups who use the power of communication—such as text, visuals, speech, and news reports—to shape human awareness and influence how people construct social realities about others (Entman, 1993; Odebiyi & Sunal, 2020; Scheufele, 1999). Framing can also affect the decision-making process. For instance, when consumers receive information about security or privacy that highlights advantages rather than disadvantages, they may prioritize the importance of security and privacy. Therefore, it is essential to explore how framing impacts perceptions of privacy and security (Ho-sam-sooi et al., 2021).

Goffman’s work from 1974 serves as the foundation for the framing analysis tradition. The term “frame” refers to how individuals or groups interpret their experiences related to social problems. Framing analysis, a type of content analysis, seeks to identify “interpretive schemes” that show how experiences related to social issues are organized. The ideas that people absorb shape their thoughts and behaviors, a concept further supported by the work of Snow, Richford, Worden, and Benford (1986) (Kaiser, 2019; Lecheler & de Vreese, 2013; Lecheler & De Vreese, 2011; Lundahl, 2021). A systematic interpretive approach known as frame analysis is conducted to explore how experiences are organized. The

objective is to identify the principles guiding individual or collective actions related to social events by understanding, discovering, and labeling those events (Odebiyi & Sunal, 2020; Schneider, 1975; Snow et al., 1986). Political actors often employ value framing to construct frames of emphasis that utilize political values (Hänggli & Kriesi, 2010; Kaiser, 2019; Miskolci et al., 2023). This tool proves to be effective in shaping individual opinions within society (Beattie & Milojevich, 2017; Kaiser, 2019; Schemer et al., 2012; Shen & Edwards, 2005).

Manipulation of public opinion can be achieved through the selective presentation of information, a technique known as framing. By intentionally excluding certain interpretations that are relevant to citizens, media framing can set ideological boundaries for public discourse on political issues (Akihary et al., 2023; Beattie & Milojevich, 2017; Entman, 2007). The editorial choices and frameworks of the media can be understood through the way they frame their journalistic activities (Yustitia & Ashrianto, 2022). Framing acts as a filtering process through which the media presents events. This framing can influence how people perceive reality—a reality shaped by the media, which typically outlines problems, identifies causes, makes moral judgments, and proposes appropriate solutions, as Robert Entman suggests. However, the outcomes of framing can vary significantly. Additionally, framing can have a considerable impact on the decision-making processes of individuals, groups, or governments.

Online media, as a prominent news source, plays a vital role in shaping public opinion (M. Zhang et al., 2024). The rapid dissemination of information, coupled with users' ability to create and share content and the growth of online communities, can reinforce specific perspectives and create disparities in public sentiment. Candidate programs, strategies, and campaigns are popular topics in online media (Zuhdi et al., 2023). Citizen journalists and influencers provide their commentary, analysis, and opinions on the presidential election. However, online media is also associated with negative aspects such as smear campaigns, hoaxes, and the distortion of candidate information. The Indonesian Presidential Election in 2024 cannot be divorced from media discussions, which will undoubtedly contribute, whether positively or negatively, to the formation of public opinion.

The presidential election in Indonesia is always an intriguing topic, especially since it has occurred five times during the reform period, each with its own unique narrative. Since the onset of reform, the democratic process in Indonesia has attracted significant attention from around the world. The elections were initially regarded as some of the most democratic globally. However, this perception has diminished with the emergence of a new scenario: Gibran, the son of Joko Widodo, the current President for the term 2019-2024, is set to run as the vice president alongside Prabowo, who was Joko Widodo's rival in two previous presidential elections. Gibran's candidacy as Prabowo's vice president faces several challenges, including concerns about his age and lack of leadership experience. The current situation reflects a tendency to overlook regulations that would normally prevent the pairing of Prabowo and Gibran. The Supreme Court, as the ultimate guardian of democracy, is expected to maintain its impartiality as a respected institution.

This "red carpet" treatment is not only rolled out by state institutions but also by online media, where journalists seem to support the candidacy through their writings when they should be acting as one of the pillars of democracy. Unlike other studies that employ framing theory from Robert Entman or Pan & Kosicki, this research utilizes the inductive framing approach proposed by Gioia & Chittipeddi (Gioia et al., 2013; Gioia & Chittipeddi, 2007). This method focuses on creating new categories from the data rather than relying on existing ones. When applied to political communication, framing begins with the collection of raw data, leading to an initial categorization stage that demands cognitive and interpretive skills from researchers, followed by theorizing in the second stage of analysis. Gioia & Chittipeddi's work emphasizes ethnographically based framing and utilizes an interpretive approach when examining the initiation of strategic changes at a large and well-known university. Although their research does not specifically focus on media framing, their approach can also be applied to studies on media framing. In their paper, they disregard hypothesis testing in favor of inductive reasoning (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Gioia et al., 2013; Gioia & Chittipeddi, 2007; A. Zhang et al., 2023).

This paper aims to explore how the media has framed Gibran's candidacy for vice president alongside Prabowo by employing an inductive framing approach as outlined by Gioia. This study contributes to the fields of political communication and framing analysis by examining media framing through an inductive lens. It moves away from deductive analysis by utilizing real-time media contexts to construct frames and demonstrates how societal discussions are influenced by various media effects.

METHOD

Framing analysis, as developed by Gioia (1983), is a qualitative research method that explores how individuals or groups construct meaning around specific problems or phenomena based on their experiences. This approach emphasizes the language, symbols, and narratives used to define and interpret events, thereby shaping people's perceptions and actions (Gioia et al., 2013; A. Zhang et al., 2023). In this study, the stages of framing analysis follow Gioia's method. The first step involves selecting topics related to Gibran's election as vice president from various online media outlets. The news articles were randomly chosen from October and November 2023. We began by reading these selected articles to gain a general understanding of their content and tone. Next, we manually encoded the media texts (A. Zhang et al., 2023). Through stages of coding and categorization based on the similarities of the codes, the stories were grouped into

initial categories. Template frame elements were developed from the text, enabling researchers to investigate aspects of media framing relevant to the research context (A. Zhang et al., 2023). In the second step, categories were formed from the initial category to provide a more in-depth explanation of each theme (Gioia et al., 2013; Shankaran et al., 2023; Wu et al., 2022). Over the years, this systematic approach has proven valuable in conducting research and demonstrating the rigor of our concept development and theory building, despite its limitations (Gioia et al., 2013; Magnani & Gioia, 2023).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Two-Step Media Framing Category

Table 1. Gioia Two-Step Category on Media Framing

Raw Data	Step One Category	Step Two Category
Gibran's Candidacy, Observer: It's Not About Prabowo, But Jokowi's Intention to Perpetuate His Power (Tribunnews.Com, 10 November 2023)	Political Dynasty	
Gerindra Admits Prabowo-Gibran's Electability Affected by Dynastic Political Rumors (Tribunnews.Com, 12 November 2023)		
Gibran Considered Unfitted Candidate for Vice President, TKN Prabowo-Gibran: Thank You for Your Concern (Kompas.com, 06/11/2023)	Impropriety	Gibran's Personality
Considered Panic, Losing in 2024 Presidential Election, TKN Prabowo-Gibran: We Prove It (Tempo. co, 12 November 2023)		
Gibran raises Prabowo's popularity - Heroes' Day Ceremony (Antara, 11 November 2023)	Influence on Prabowo	
Today, Gibran Vice President of Prabowo, Flew to Palembang (Sumsel.Tribunnews, 12 November 2023)		
Gibran as Prabowo's Vice Presidential Candidate, Golkar Reiterates: It Is Not Nepotism (Vivo.Co.Id 10 November 2023)	Old Party Support	
4 Wing Organizations of the Democratic Party Declare Support for Prabowo-Gibran (detikNews, 23 Okt 2023)		
Gelora Party Reveals Reason for Supporting Gibran's Candidacy (Antara, 20 Oktober 2023)	New Party Support	Parties' Relation
PSI Officially Supports Prabowo-Gibran in the 2024 Presidential Election (tirto.id - 24 Okt 2023)		
Obtained Support of Political, Gibran Ready to Be Sanctioned by PDIP (detikNews, 21 Okt 2023)	Relationship with PDI-P	
Solid Coalition from Supporting Parties, Prabowo-Gibran's Electability Is Getting Stronger (bisnistribunjabar, 11 November 2023)	Coalition Support	
Minister of Jokowi's Administration Supports Prabowo-Gibran in the 2024 Presidential Election (tempo.co, 31 Oktober 2023)		
Mahfud Says Gibran's Candidacy as Prabowo's Vice Presidential Candidate Remains Valid (Viva.co.id, 8 November 2023)	Legal	
Prabowo-Gibran Showed Gratitude with the MKMK Decision: The Discourse on Thwarting Gibran's Candidacy Have Failed (tribunnews.com, 7 November 2023)		
Can Gibran Fail to Become Prabowo's Vice President after MKMK's Ethics Decision? This is what Refly Harun said (tribunnews.com, 8 November 2023)	Not Legal	Legal Standing
Gibran Considered a Legally Flawed Vice Presidential Candidate, TKN Prabowo-Gibran: Ethical Violations Do Not Cancel the Constitutional Court's Decision (Tempo.co, 11 November 2023)		
Indo Barometer: Prabowo-Gibran 43.5 Percent, Indonesia's Leader for the Next Period (Republika.id, 12 November 2023)	Highest Electability	Chances of Victory
Prabowo-Gibran, the Top Presidential and Vice Presidential Pair, Indo Barometer Version (detikNews, 11 November 2023)		
Indo Barometer Survey: Only Prabowo-Gibran Might Win in One Round Election (Liputan6.com, 12 November 2024)	One-Round Victory	
Indo Barometer Survey: Prabowo-Gibran Has a Chance to Win One Round in the 2024 Election (VivaJabar, 12 November 2023)		

Raw Data	Step One Category	Step Two Category
Cak Imin's Casual Response to NU's Support for Prabowo-Gibran (Tribunnews.com, 12 November 2023)	Formal	Political Support
List of Retired Generals that Supporting Prabowo Subianto - Gibran Rakabuming (Kontan.co.id, 7 November 2023)		
Millennial Voter Makes Electability of Prabowo-Gibran's, <i>Moncer</i> Towards the 2024 Presidential Election (Viva.co.id, 12 November 2023)	Non-Formal	
Solid Support from Millennial, Boosting Prabowo-Gibran's Electability Towards the 2024 Presidential Election (Liputan6.com, 12 November 2023)		

1. Gibran's Personality

The first element that can be identified is Gibran as a person, as the son of the president who is nominated to be Prabowo's vice presidential candidate. His impropriety as a candidate due to Supreme reasons, and appointments that reflect political dynasties, could have a positive or negative impact on Prabowo.

a. Political dynasties

The picture concerns Jokowi who is looking for a formula to perpetuate his power, which is essentially an attempt to form a political dynasty. Earlier, Jokowi proposed three periods of presidencies and 70% longer periods that were refused by the public. The reason for Jokowi is to propose the candidacy of his soon-to-be paired with his ex-rival in the 2019 presidential election, Prabowo.

b. Impropriety

Data from one pollster proved that 48.9 percent stated inappropriate, while 38.2 percent who stated appropriate were strengthened by polemics over the decisions of the Supreme Court (MK) and the Honorary Council of the Supreme Court which were considered negative. This polemic ended with the candidacy of Gibran for the Presidential Election in 2024.

c. Influence on Prabowo

The media reported that 89.7 percent of the vice president figure was one of the indicators in determining their political choices, while 8.0 percent felt unimportant and two percent refused to answer, which was reinforced by the readiness of supporting parties to work hand in hand to support Gibran. However, this survey was held with only one pollster, so the validity needs to be examined.

2. Parties' Relations

Indonesia's political system adheres to a parliamentary system, so the nomination of a candidate, whether presidential or regional head, depends heavily on the parties' endorsement of the candidate. Although the PDI-P finally 'released' Gibran, support from the parties' coalition in TKN (National Campaign Team) provided a solid effort for him.

a. Old Party Support

Media reviews illustrate that there is nothing wrong with Gibran's candidacy to be vice president, it will have been decided by people. A party's elite suggests that Gibran's candidacy is a legal procedure so as his right to be elected by people.

b. New Party Support

The party is excited because it considers Gibran as the successor of Prabowo and Jokowi's reconciliation, while other news reviews PSI's support because Prabowo and Gibran can continue development and programs that are under the direction of the nation's next generation.

c. Relationship with PDI-P

Media reviews depict Gibran's readiness to accept the consequences of the PDI-P, his main supportive candidacy to become mayor of Solo Residence.

d. Coalition Support

Media reviews reviewed the strengthening support of the coalition parties, which resulted in high electability. In addition to getting support from the coalition, the ministers showed their partiality to Prabowo-Gibran.

3. Legal Standing

To prevent obstacles from a legal standing, Gibran's team proposed an amendment to the age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. This amendment then creates a dichotomy of reviews in the media, regarding the validity of this Constitutional Court decision.

a. Legal

The media that carried the news that Mahfud further said that the Supreme Court's decision regarding the minimum age requirement for presidential candidates and vice-presidential candidates in case number 90/PUU-XXI/2023 against Law Number 7 of 2017 concerning Elections, was final and binding. Attempts to thwart Gibran's candidacy as vice president Supremely failed miserably.

b. Not Legal

Media discussions that illustrate the impossibility of canceling the decision regarding Gibran's nomination to be vice president, as revealed by Refly Harun, Gibran's position as Prabowo's vice president will not waver, even though the decision is reviewed by the MKMK ethics commission. This is supported by another review that according to Herzaky, TKN's Deputy Communication Commander, said the judges' ethical violations do not necessarily overturn the Supreme Court's decision.

4. Chances of Victory

Prabowo-Gibran are pictured always occupying the first rank in every survey. One-round victory is treated as an affirmation that continues to be echoed by Prabowo-Gibran supporters, so it is firmly attached to the minds of people with insufficient political literacy.

a. Highest Electability

The article quoted pollsters as saying that Prabowo-Gibran has advantages in terms of assertiveness and courage which are the main factors to lead Indonesia in the future. Media bombarded voters with surveys that Prabowo-Gibran was always in the first position.

b. One-Round Victory

Quoting the opinion of the leader of the pollster who presented the data and concluded that the election will be one round. One round election is one main idea that always appears in most of the online media before the election.

5. Political Support

Media-exposed endorsements do not merely come from the political elite, religious figures, former generals, and young voters. These people act as opinion leaders to influence voters to stand with their position.

a. Formal

Discussion about the solidity of NU figures and retired generals to support Prabowo-Gibran. NU (Nahdhatul Ulama) is one the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia, so it is a potential vote-getter for the presidential election. Retired generals are the former elite that have their followers to become Prabowo-Gibran's voters.

b. Non-formal

Media reviews quoting pollsters that Gibran was chosen as Prabowo's vice president strengthened the couple's electability in the eyes of young voters, as millennials' vice president.

B. Framing Gibran's Vice Presidential Candidacy

From the 25 articles in our research data, there were similar reviews indicating 'support' for Gibran's candidacy as Prabowo's vice president. A common theme in these articles is their emphasis on sensationalism, which uses conflict or controversy to engage readers. Online newspapers, like other media, can be influenced by media bias, reflecting the partiality of journalists and newsmakers in their reporting. This bias can manifest through the portrayal of one candidate favorably while sidelining others (Dallmann et al., 2015; Spinde et al., 2021). In the context of Gibran's personality, the media depicts President Jokowi, the current leader of Indonesia, actively promoting Gibran's role in the 2024 Presidential Election. At the same time, the media also highlights concerns about Gibran's eligibility due to age restrictions for vice presidential candidates, although these restrictions were eventually lifted by the Supreme Court. Overall, the media tends to portray Gibran as a key figure who could significantly enhance Prabowo's electability. This aligns with Entman's concept of framing, which focuses not only on what is discussed but also on 'how' an event is presented, thus making some issues appear more significant than others (Carnibella & Wells, 2022; Entman, 1993).

Another aspect of media framing is bias (Book et al., 2023; Hatani, 2023; Susánszky et al., 2022; Teschendorf, 2024; Travan et al., 2023; Z. Xu, 2023), where the media emphasizes one side of a story, often influenced by editorial bias, audience preferences, or political agendas. This selective focus is evident in the legal standing of Gibran's candidacy for vice president in 2024. Initially, the media highlighted the controversy surrounding Gibran's eligibility, which was supposed to be affected by age restriction rules. This issue was related to a decision made by his uncle, Anwar Usman, who was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at that time. He decided case 90/PUU-XXI/2023 regarding the minimum age for presidential and vice presidential candidates. Although there was significant public scrutiny, the Honorary Court of the Supreme Court chose to dismiss Anwar Usman from his position as Chief Justice, but did not invalidate the ruling regarding the minimum age. Eventually, Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Mahfud MD confirmed that Gibran Rakabuming Raka's candidacy as Prabowo Subianto's running mate was indeed legally valid. Thus, it is evident that the media aims to capture public attention and steer it toward a particular viewpoint (Entman, 2003; Santos & Carvalho, 2022).

The next interesting observation is the use of specific terms and imagery (Agnihotri et al., 2022; Fadlan, 2022; Pratama & Saragih, 2022; Sullivan, 2023; M. Xu, 2022), which are often employed by the media to evoke emotional responses from readers. This is achieved by labeling particular individuals or groups in ways that can shape public opinion and perception. Some of the terms that fit this criterion include "political dynasty," "inappropriateness," "nepotism," "legal

defects,” “moncer,” and “boost electability.” These terms have been applied to Gibran’s candidacy for vice president. At first glance, terms like “dynastic politics,” “inappropriate,” “nepotism,” and “flawed human” seem negative. However, the content of the news does not necessarily reflect this negativity. In fact, news stories that incorporate these terms tend to “justify and endorse” Gibran’s candidacy as Prabowo’s vice president. The terms “moncer” and “boost electability” align with the news content, which indicates that Gibran has the support of millennials and has therefore increased his appeal among young voters for Prabowo. This suggests that media framing often starts with narratives that sound negative, yet ultimately emphasizes certain positive values. The use of “moncer” and “boosting electability” can influence audience perceptions (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Entman, 1993; Odebiyi & Sunal, 2020).

Media framing can also be observed in the construction of media narratives (Balya & Damaiyanti, 2023; Hu et al., 2023; Hutchen et al., 2024; Ni, 2023; Rustandi, 2020; Smadi et al., 2022), which interpret events in a way that is easily understandable for their audiences. Online newspapers have become essential sources of information, gaining popularity and often replacing traditional media such as television, radio, and print. Although news outlets are widely perceived as biased, many people still trust these sources, a viewpoint supported by academic research (Spinde et al., 2021; Wolton, 2019). One notable aspect of media narrative construction is found in the category of political support for Gibran’s candidacy, particularly formal support. Formal backing has come from a group of retired generals, as highlighted by Kontan.co.id, which presented the names of retired generals involved in Prabowo-Gibran’s winning team. These individuals hold positions such as members of the advisory board, expert council, deputy chairman of TKN, and delta commander. This article presents Gibran’s support from retired generals without any embellishments, directly reinforcing his candidacy.

Framing often involves highlighting conflict and controversy, as noted by various researchers (Christensen, 2019; Leidecker-Sandmann, 2021; Liersch & Stegmaier, 2022; Mateu & Domínguez, 2019; Walker et al., 2019). The media emphasizes these elements to engage with its audience, although this approach can sometimes oversimplify complex issues. In the context of Gibran’s candidacy, there exists a narrative suggesting that his legal standing is questionable due to the involvement of his uncle, Anwar Usman. Usman played a significant role in the passing of Decision Number 90/PUU-XXI/2023, which pertains to the qualifications for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. However, reports indicate that Usman’s dismissal as chairman of the Supreme Court does not necessarily invalidate his previous decision, thereby maintaining the validity of Gibran’s candidacy. This illustrates how the media highlights potential legal flaws in Gibran’s situation, yet ultimately sways public opinion to view his candidacy positively. This showcases how media framing can set ideological boundaries for public discourse on political issues (Beattie & Milojevich, 2017; Brown & Mourão, 2021; Entman, 2007).

C. Media Influence on Public Opinion in Political Communication

Political considerations also play a significant role in media framing (Dimitriadis & Ambrosini, 2024; Kapuściński & Richards, 2022; Rizkavirwan & Tirtadarma, 2022; Silviana & Martanto, 2021; Zvijer, 2022). Media coverage often appears to support specific political agendas, influenced by the editorial stance of media organizations. Prejudices may arise based on tone, language, and the selection of sources (Jim et al., 2022). Bias is evident when media representations favor one perspective or opinion on an issue, which can be identified in articles (Baumer et al., 2015; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Analysis of 25 media articles for this research reveals that nearly all of them tend to ‘support’ Gibran’s candidacy as Prabowo’s vice president. This support is evident in the narratives chosen and the sources cited, reflecting a preference for Gibran’s election as Prabowo’s running mate. Moreover, adherence to the ‘5 W + 1 H’ (who, what, where, when, why, and how) standard is sometimes lacking in these articles. This impression of ‘partiality’ is not new in journalism, particularly in online media, which is the focus of this research. Experts have previously noted the phenomenon of partisan selective exposure, where media consistently presents reviews that align with specific political predispositions. This selective exposure creates a fragmented audience, preventing readers from accessing a common information base (Bou-Hamad & Yehya, 2020; Stroud, 2010). Audiences typically have pre-existing political positions, leading them to choose media sources that align with their views. Additionally, media generated by artificial intelligence can create content tailored to audience preferences, leading to the appearance of only confirming posts in a user’s timeline—a phenomenon known as confirmation bias (Knobloch-Westerwick et al., 2020; Knobloch-Westerwick & Kleinman, 2012). In 2005, Mullainathan and Shleifer argued that individuals have specific preferences they seek to validate, influencing media behavior and contributing to a bias against news that contradicts their existing beliefs (Jim et al., 2022).

Political communication is a constant presence in our daily lives, shaped by the dynamics of the state, government, political actors, and society. Denton and Woodward (Afzal, 2014) describe political communication as a discussion about the allocation of public resources (revenue), the assignment of official authority (determining who has the power to make legal, legislative, and executive decisions), and the imposition of official sanctions (what the state values or punishes). Additionally, Doris Graber notes that political communication can occur through nonverbal language and political actions, which may include boycotts, protests, demonstrations, or cancel culture directed at political elites or their families. In Indonesia, some of the most significant recent political communication activities revolve around

presidential and legislative elections. These democratic events serve as the pinnacle of the electoral process in nearly all countries that embrace this system during these events, political campaigns act as a means of introducing candidates to the public. Like any other form of communication, campaigns require at least five key components: the communicator, the communicant, the message content, the media, and feedback. In the context of Indonesia's 2024 presidential election, campaigning commenced well in advance of the official schedule set by the KPU (General Elections Commission). Various online media sources, which are the focus of this study, provide support for this statement. Prominent themes in the national online media include discussions about one-round elections, backing from major parties, candidates appealing to millennials, and claims of high electability. Online media has become a favored tool for candidates (Cernicova-Buca, 2014; Haugsgjerd & Karlsen, 2022; Massuchin et al., 2018; Steffan & Venema, 2020) since it is generally 'easier and cheaper' to utilize for campaigning.

One important factor that makes communication 'political' is not the source but rather the content and purpose (Afzal, 2014; Cervi et al., 2023; Kariryaa et al., 2022; Olof Larsson, 2023; Subekti et al., 2023). The use of media for campaign purposes has proven to be effective for presidential candidates. Many candidates and their teams believe that utilizing media is crucial for promoting and advertising their campaigns, rather than for informing or educating voters (Chauhan, 2024; Moekahar et al., 2022; Muswede, 2022; Subekti et al., 2022). However, digital campaigning is not a one-person effort (Felesky, 2008; Javaid et al., 2023; MacMonegle et al., 2024; Rosadi et al., 2022; Zuhdi et al., 2023). Gordon Reyner from the Daily Telegraph noted that Barack Obama not only made history as the first African-American president, but he also transformed the way elections are conducted. He and his team demonstrated the significant impact of social media and technology, showing that individuals can effect change when provided with the right tools and support. Jascha Franklin-Hodge of Blue State Digital emphasized that the new media campaign and its team illustrate that technology is not just "a tool in the arsenal, but a transformative force." Campaigns now harness the power of the internet to engage people in the political process at an unprecedented scale (Asker & Chang, 2009; Faradis et al., 2023; Moir, 2023; Sahlan, 2023; Trevisan, 2022).

The review above is certainly well understood by the winning teams of any campaign, as well as by Gibran's supporting team. Whether Gibran's supporters admit it or not, they are fully aware of the power of the media and utilize it effectively. The majority express positive sentiment toward Gibran's candidacy for vice president alongside Prabowo. This formation of opinion is evident in news reports focusing on the one-round election. For instance, a report from Liputan6.com is titled "Indo Barometer Survey: Prabowo-Gibran May Win in One Round." It states, "The trend among undecided voters has reached 43.3 percent for Prabowo-Gibran, while Ganjar-Mahfud have 33.3 percent, and Anies-Muhaimin have 23.3 percent. The support for Prabowo-Gibran is climbing, indicating a likelihood of winning in one round." (*Survei Indo Barometer: Hanya Prabowo-Gibran Yang Mungkin Menang Satu Putaran - Pemilu*, 2023).

The media, including online platforms, have the freedom to choose which issues to cover and the manner in which they present them. This decision is a key factor in how events are framed (Ahmad, 2022; An et al., 2022; Horoub, 2023; Ru et al., 2020). A journalist's initial involvement in elections begins with selecting which candidates to feature and determining the quality and quantity of coverage they receive. This choice significantly impacts voter perception. Research indicates that some candidates can become virtually invisible if they fail to attract sufficient media interest (Brichacek et al., 2016). This observation highlights that Prabowo-Gibran received more attention than the other two candidates. Online news media possess a unique level of 'freedom' in their reporting. According to international regulations, online communication represents a new frontier, where content can be free, democratic, and expansive. This approach allows for the production and dissemination of precise messages that resonate with contemporary societal lifestyles (Cernicova-Buca, 2014; Dame Laoera & Wibowo, 2023; Shabahang et al., 2021).

Framing analysis examines how the media influences public opinion by selectively presenting information and interpreting events. This approach looks at the processes involved in meaning-making, persuasion, and social change, all of which contribute to shaping public opinion (Beattie & Milojevich, 2017; Kaiser, 2019; Schemer et al., 2012; Shen & Edwards, 2005). Political actors often use framing as a strategic tool to gain an advantage (Hänggli & Kriesi, 2010; Kaiser, 2019).

CONCLUSION

Using Gioia's Inductive Framing Analysis, this study demonstrates that media does more than simply influence public opinion; it also shapes beliefs and evaluations of events, as suggested by Chong and Druckman. In contrast to Wanta and Alkazemi's assertion that media only affects the topics people think about, our findings indicate that media can actively shape how individuals interpret and feel about events. In this case, online media coverage of Gibran's candidacy fostered a positive sentiment toward the Prabowo-Gibran pair by highlighting Gibran's connections to Jokowi and emphasizing key factors relevant to his candidacy, such as party support, legal considerations, and electoral prospects. The Gioia method allowed for flexible categorization of media frames, revealing nuances within these narratives that reflect targeted political communication strategies. This study reinforces the idea that online media serves as a powerful tool for shaping political discourse and campaign support. Future research should further explore this method in conjunction with

other framing approaches to enhance our understanding of media's influence on political communication.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author conveys sincere appreciation to the Political Science Department, Faculty of Ushuluddin and Philosophy, Universitas Negeri Alauddin Makassar, for the supportive attention in the completion of this article.

REFERENCES

- Afzal, R. (2014). Study of Political Communication in reference to democratic societies. *Journal of Mass Communication, 11*.
- Agnihotri, A., Bhattacharya, S., Yannopoulou, N., & Liu, M. J. (2022). Examining social media engagement through health-related message framing in different cultures. *Journal of Business Research, 152*, 349–360. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2022.08.005>
- Ahmad, N. (2022). What drives journalists' perceptions of media powers as political image-makers in the emerging democracy of Indonesia? *Global Media and Communication, 18*(3), 323–343. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17427665221132183>
- Akihary, S., Marta, R. F., & Panggabean, H. (2023). Media Framing of Identity Politics through Prejudice and Stereotype Towards the 2024 Election. *Jurnal Kajian Jurnalisme, 7*(1), 14. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v7i1.46191>
- Alfani, H., Rustanta, A., Oktivera, E., & Lee, S. (2023). Media Framing Against Identity Political Orientation as a Representation of Political Interests Ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election. *KnE Social Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.18502/kss.v8i12.13685>
- An, Y., Jin, H., Liu, Q., & Zheng, K. (2022). Media attention and agency costs: Evidence from listed companies in China. *Journal of International Money and Finance, 124*, 102609. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jimonfin.2022.102609>
- Asker, J., & Chang, V. (2009). Obama and the Power of Social Media and. *STANFORD Graduate School of Business, M321*.
- Attar, D., & King, G. (2023). Media framing of the Intifada of the Knives. *Media, War and Conflict, 16*(4), 563–581. <https://www.mendeley.com/catalogue/346e9e78-a605-349b-abe3-c0965054de59/>
- Balya, M., & Damaiyanti, V. P. (2023). Framing Media Online Terhadap Puan Maharani Sebagai Bakal Calon Presiden Dalam Pemilihan Presiden 2024. *Huma: Jurnal Sosiologi, 2*(2), 152–163. <https://doi.org/10.20527/h-js.v2i2.74>
- Baumer, E. P. S., Elovic, E., Qin, Y. C., Polletta, F., & Gay, G. K. (2015). Testing and comparing computational approaches for identifying the language of framing in political news. *NAACL HLT 2015 - 2015 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies, Proceedings of the Conference, 1472–1482*. <https://doi.org/10.3115/v1/n15-1171>
- Beattie, P., & Milojevich, J. (2017). A Test of the “News Diversity” Standard: Single Frames, Multiple Frames, and Values Regarding the Ukraine Conflict. *International Journal of Press/Politics, 22*(1), 3–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161216673194>
- Book, L. A., Tanford, S., & Baloglu, S. (2023). Effects of media portrayal on perceived cruise risk, image, and intentions. *Tourism Management Perspectives, 48*, 101126. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2023.101126>
- Bou-Hamad, I., & Yehya, N. A. (2020). Partisan Selective Exposure in TV Consumption Patterns: A Polarized Developing Country Context. *Communication Research, 47*(1), 55–81. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650216681896>
- Brichacek, A., Lund, R., Nelson, A. Bonner, S., & DeWees, K. (2016). *Six ways the media influence elections*. Retrieved March 25, 2024. <https://journalism.uoregon.edu/news/six-ways-media-influences-elections>
- Brown, D. K., & Mourão, R. R. (2021). Protest Coverage Matters: How Media Framing and Visual Communication Affects Support for Black Civil Rights Protests. *Mass Communication and Society, 24*(4), 576–596. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2021.1884724>
- Carnibella, F., & Wells, R. (2022). Framing of policy responses to migrant horticultural labour shortages during Covid-19 in the Italian print media. *Journal of Rural Studies, 95*(September), 278–293. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2022.09.007>
- Cernicova-Buca, M. (2014). Online Communication for Electoral Purposes: a View on Political Practices in Timis County. *Romanian Sociology / Sociologie Românească, 12*(3), 62–69. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=sih&AN=103307318&lang=pt-br&site=ehost-live&authtype=ip,cookie,uid>
- Cervi, L., Tejedor, S., & Blesa, F. G. (2023). TikTok and Political Communication: The Latest Frontier of Politainment? A Case Study. *Media and Communication, 11*(2). <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v11i2.6390>
- Chauhan, H. (2024). Political Campaigns and Social Media: The Lok Sabha Elections 2019. *International Journal for Research in Applied Science and Engineering Technology, 12*(3), 685–690. <https://doi.org/10.22214/ijraset.2024.58907>

- Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10, 103–126. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.10.072805.103054>
- Christensen, H. R. (2019). Spiritual Nontroversies: Framing Conflicts and Controversies of Religion and Spirituality in Danish News Media. *Journal of Religion, Media and Digital Culture*, 8(1), 55–75. <https://doi.org/10.1163/21659214-00801004>
- Corley, K. G., & Gioia, D. A. (2004). Identity ambiguity and change in the wake of a corporate spin-off. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 49(2), 173–208. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4131471>
- Dallmann, A., Lemmerich, F., Zoller, D., & Hotho, A. (2015). Media bias in German Online newspapers. *HT 2015 - Proceedings of the 26th ACM Conference on Hypertext and Social Media*, 133–137. <https://doi.org/10.1145/2700171.2791057>
- Dame Laoera, B., & Wibowo, T. O. (2023). Indonesian online news and digital culture: a media ecology perspective. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi (Indonesian Journal of Communications Studies)*, 7(2), 355–368. <https://doi.org/10.25139/jsk.v7i2.6190>
- Dimitriadis, I., & Ambrosini, M. (2024). Framing Asylum at the Local Level: Experts' Narratives of Conflictual Dynamics in the Post-Reception Period in Italy. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 25(1), 257–279. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-023-01075-z>
- Doehler, S. (2023). Taking the star-spangled knee: the media framing of Colin Kaepernick. *Sport in Society*, 26(1), 45–66. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2021.1970138>
- Dwinarko, D., Sjafrizal, T., Muhamad, P., & Akbar, M. R. (2023). Actors Distortion of News Agencies Framing Surveys in Online Mass Media about Political Parties Bearer Presidential-Candidates 2024. *Journal of Social Science*, 4(1), 195–214. <https://doi.org/10.46799/jss.v4i1.507>
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
- Entman, R. M. (2003). Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House's Frame after 9/11. *Political Communication*, 20(4), 415–432. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600390244176>
- Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 163–173. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00336.x>
- Fadlan, M. (2022). TANGGAPAN PRESIDEN JOKOWI TERHADAP WACANA PENUNDAAN PEMILU (Analisis Framing Kompas.com, Mediaindonesia.com dan Sindonews.com). *Hujjah: Jurnal Ilmiah Komunikasi Dan Penyiaran Islam*, 6(2), 61–79. <https://doi.org/10.52802/hjh.v6i2.476>
- Faradis, A., Ainya, N., Fauzah, N., Ichsan, A., & Anshori, M. (2023). Media Sosial dan Persepsi Publik: Analisis Strategi Kampanye Digital Calon Presiden Indonesia 2024. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional*, 643–652. <https://www.mendeley.com/catalogue/b0c6e831-989c-3a22-8fe0-94591fd315dd/>
- Felesky, L. (2008). *Social media strategy: inside Obama's online campaign* | CBC News. CBC News. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/science/social-media-strategy-inside-obama-s-online-campaign-1.764782>
- Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1), 1–37. <https://doi.org/10.1086/229213>
- Gilardi, F., Gessler, T., Kubli, M., & Müller, S. (2022). Social Media and Political Agenda Setting. *Political Communication*, 39(1), 39–60. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2021.1910390>
- Gioia, D. A., & Chittipeddi, K. (2007). Sensemaking and sensegiving in strategic change initiation. *Strategy as Practice: Research Directions and Resources*, 12(February), 137–151. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511618925.008>
- Gioia, D. A., Corley, K. G., & Hamilton, A. L. (2013). Seeking Qualitative Rigor in Inductive Research: Notes on the Gioia Methodology. *Organizational Research Methods*, 16(1), 15–31. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428112452151>
- Hameleers, M., & Minihold, S. (2020). *Constructing Discourses on (Un) truthfulness : Attributions of Reality , Misinformation , and Disinformation by Politicians in a Comparative Social Media Setting*. 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650220982762>
- Hänggli, R., & Kriesi, H. (2010). Political framing strategies and their impact on media framing in a swiss direct-democratic campaign. *Political Communication*, 27(2), 141–157. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600903501484>
- Hatani, F. (2023). Framing biases and language choices: how the Japanese media broadcast foreign aid policy for Africa. *Critical Perspectives on International Business*, 19(5), 640–660. <https://doi.org/10.1108/cpoib-04-2022-0023>
- Haugsgjerd, A., & Karlsen, R. (2022). Election Campaigns, News Consumption Gaps, and Social Media: Equalizing Political News Use When It Matters? *International Journal of Press/Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612221112014>
- Ho-sam-sooi, N., Pieters, W., & Kroesen, M. (2021). Investigating the effect of security and privacy on IoT device

- purchase behaviour. *Computers & Security*, 102, 102132. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cose.2020.102132>
- Horoub, I. (2023). Understanding media empowerment: citizen journalism in Palestine. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 10(1), 32. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-01526-z>
- Hu, H., Krishen, A. S., & Barnes, J. (2023). Through narratives we learn: Exploring knowledge-building as a marketing strategy for prosocial water reuse. *Journal of Business Research*, 158, 113655. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2023.113655>
- Hutchen, J., Berseth, V., & Nguyen, V. (2024). Whose Authority Drives the Narrative?: Framing the Spread of Mountain Pine Beetle in Canadian News Media. *Environmental Communication*, 18(4), 465–483. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2024.2306580>
- Javaid, A. M., Sohail, M., Shaukat, M. R., Sohail, I., & Razaq, R. (2023). Effectiveness of Digital Social Media Campaign Strategies for SMEs in Pakistan. *Research Journal for Societal Issues*, 4(1), 144–163. <https://doi.org/10.56976/rjsi.v4i1.51>
- Jim, J. L., Perdiguerro, J., & Guti, I. (2022). *International Review of Law & Economics Bias in media coverage of antitrust actions* ☆. 72(August). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.irl.2022.106085>
- Kaiser, J. (2019). Disentangling the Effects of Thematic Information and Emphasis Frames and the Suppression of Issue-Specific Argument Effects through Value- Resonant Framing and Emphasis Frames and the Suppression of Issue-Specific Argument Effects through Value-Resonant. *Political Communication*, 0(0), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2019.1658662>
- Kapuściński, G., & Richards, B. (2022). Destination risk news framing effects – the power of audiences. *The Service Industries Journal*, 42(1–2), 107–130. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02642069.2018.1441402>
- Kariyaa, A., Rundé, S., Heuer, H., Jungherr, A., & Schöning, J. (2022). The Role of Flag Emoji in Online Political Communication. *Social Science Computer Review*, 40(2), 367–387. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439320909085>
- Kleinnijenhuis, J., Hoof, A. M. J. van, Oegema, D., & Ridder, J. A. de. (2007). A Test of Rivaling Approaches to Explain News Effects: News on Issue Positions of Parties, Real-World Developments, Support and Criticism, and Success and Failure. *Journal of Communication*, 57(2), 366–384. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00347.x>
- Lecheler, S., & de Vreese, C. H. (2013). What a Difference a Day Makes? The Effects of Repetitive and Competitive News Framing Over Time. *Communication Research*, 40(2), 147–175. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650212470688>
- Lecheler, S., & De Vreese, C. H. (2011). Getting Real: The Duration of Framing Effects. *Journal of Communication*, 61(5), 959–983. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01580.x>
- Leidecker-Sandmann, M. (2021). Negativity (Election Campaign Coverage). *DOCA - Database of Variables for Content Analysis*. <https://doi.org/10.34778/2f>
- Lestaluhu, S., & Jaali, L. (2023). POLITICAL REALITY IN PRINT MEDIA (FRAMING ANALYSIS OF THE GOLONGAN KARYA PARTY, MALUKU PROVINCE, IN THE MORNING AMBON EKSPRES AND KABAR TIMUR DAILY). *Journal of Digital Media Communication*, 2(1), 8–20. <https://doi.org/10.35760/dimedcom.2023.v2i1.8220>
- Liersch, C., & Stegmaier, P. (2022). Keeping the forest above to phase out the coal below: The discursive politics and contested meaning of the Hambach Forest. *Energy Research and Social Science*, 89(February), 102537. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2022.102537>
- Lundahl, O. (2021). Media framing of social media addiction in the UK and the US. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 45(5), 1103–1116. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ijcs.12636>
- MacMonegle, A., Bennett, M., Speer, J. L., O'Brien, E. K., Pitzer, L., Jaarsma, A., Nguyen Zarndt, A., & Duke, J. (2024). Evaluating The Real Cost Digital and Social Media Campaign: Longitudinal Effects of Campaign Exposure on E-cigarette Beliefs. *Nicotine and Tobacco Research*, 26(Supplement_1), S19–S26. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ntr/ntad185>
- Magnani, G., & Gioia, D. (2023). Using the Gioia Methodology in international business and entrepreneurship research. *International Business Review*, 32(2), 102097. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ibusrev.2022.102097>
- Massuchin, M. G., Lima, D. S., Sousa, S. G. de, & Sousa, N. N. de. (2018). Campanha online em disputas locais: um estudo das apropriações do Facebook pelos candidatos nas eleições de 2016. *Fronteiras - Estudos Midiáticos*, 20(1), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.4013/fem.2018.201.03>
- Mateu, A., & Domínguez, M. (2019). The green battle in the media: A framing analysis of environmental press coverage. *Communication & Society*, 32(4), 275–290. <https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.4.275-290>
- Mccombs, M. E., Shaw, D. L., & Shaw, L. (2012). *THE AGENDA-SETTING FUNCTION OF MASS MEDIA* *. 36(2), 176–187.

- Miskolci, R., Figueiredo, F. de, & Balieiro. (2023). The Moralization of Politics in Brazil. *International Sociology*, 38(4). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/02685809231180879>
- Moekahar, F., Ayuningtyas, F., & Hardianti, F. (2022). Social media political campaign model of local elections in Pelalawan Regency Riau. *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi*, 10(2), 242. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jkk.v10i2.41680>
- Moir, A. (2023). The Use of TikTok for Political Campaigning in Canada: The Case of Jagmeet Singh. *Social Media + Society*, 9(1), 205630512311576. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20563051231157604>
- Muswede, T. (2022). Impact of Digital Media on Political Campaigns. *African Journal of Political Science*, 10(1), 41–50. <https://doi.org/10.36615/ajpsrasp.v10i1.1152>
- Ni, Y. (2023). Analyzing the Narrative Framing Pitfalls of Social Media Based on Propaganda Model. *Journal of Education, Humanities and Social Sciences*, 13, 118–123. <https://doi.org/10.54097/ehss.v13i.7869>
- Odebiyi, O. M., & Sunal, C. S. (2020). The Journal of Social Studies Research A global perspective ? Framing analysis of U . S . textbooks ' discussion of Nigeria. *The Journal of Social Studies Research*, xxx, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jssr.2020.01.002>
- Olof Larsson, A. (2023). The rise of Instagram as a tool for political communication: A longitudinal study of European political parties and their followers. *New Media & Society*, 25(10), 2744–2762. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211034158>
- Pratama, R., & Saragih, M. Y. (2022). Zhong Dang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki Framing Model Analysis on Citayam Fashion Week News in Tempo.co and Tirto.id Online Media. *Daengku: Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Innovation*, 2(4). <https://doi.org/10.35877/454RI.daengku1096>
- Rizkavirwan, D., & Tirtadarma, E. (2022). Personal Branding on Instagram: Visual Framing Analysis on The West Java Governor Candidates Online Campaign. *Ideology Journal*, 7(1), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.24191/ideology.v7i1.325>
- Rosadi, R. R., Wiradharma, G., & Arisanty, M. (2022). Wonderful Indonesia Campaign As Indonesia's Nation Branding On Digital Media. *KOMUNIKA*, 5(2). <https://doi.org/10.24042/komunika.v5i2.13514>
- Ru, Y., Xue, J., Zhang, Y., & Zhou, X. (2020). Social connections between media and firm executives and the properties of media reporting. *Review of Accounting Studies*, 25(3), 963–1001. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11142-020-09552-x>
- Rustandi, R. (2020). Analisis Framing Kontra Narasi Terorisme dan Radikalisme di Media Sosial (Studi Kasus pada Akun @dutadamaajabar). *Jurnal Komunikatif*, 9(2), 134–153. <https://doi.org/10.33508/jk.v9i2.2698>
- Ryan, C. (2020). The value of agenda-setting in media relations: Examining how the Business Community Anti-Poverty Initiative used agenda-setting to leverage its role as a policy actor in New Brunswick's 2014 provincial election. *The McMaster Journal of Communication*, 12(2), 8–28. <https://doi.org/10.15173/mjc.v12i2.2465>
- Sahlan, M. (2023). Digital Theocracy Strategy In The 2024 Presidential Election Campaign: Its Influence On Public Opinion And Voter Choice. *Eduvest - Journal of Universal Studies*, 3(10), 1883–1891. <https://doi.org/10.59188/eduvest.v3i10.936>
- Santos, I., & Carvalho, M. (2022). *The media 's role in shaping the public opinion on education : A thematic and frame analysis of externalisation to world situations in the Portuguese media*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17454999211057753>
- Schemer, C., Wirth, W., & Matthes, J. (2012). Value resonance and value framing effects on voting intentions in direct-democratic campaigns. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(3), 334–352. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211426329>
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103–122. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x>
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). *Framing , Agenda Setting , and Priming : The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models*. 57, 9–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00326.x>
- Schneider, I. (1975). Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience. In *American Journal of Psychiatry* (Vol. 132, Issue 10, pp. 1093-a-1094). <https://doi.org/10.1176/ajp.132.10.1093-a>
- Shabahang, R., Aruguete, M. S., & Shim, H. (2021). Online news addiction: Future anxiety, fear of missing out on news, and interpersonal trust contribute to excessive online news consumption. *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.30935/ojcm/10822>
- Shankaran, S., Clegg, S. R., Killen, C. P., Smith, H., & Scales, J. (2023). Enabling Collaborative Research in Project Management by Creating Gioia Data Structures as a Boundary Object. *Project Management Journal*, 55(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/87569728231212411>
- Shen, F., & Edwards, H. H. (2005). Economic individualism, humanitarianism, and welfare reform: A value-based account of framing effects. *Journal of Communication*, 55(4), 795–809. <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/55.4.795>
- Silviana, N., & Martanto, U. (2021). Media dan Politik: Studi Kasus Konstruksi Citra Politik Jokowi-Ma' ruf dan Prabowo-Sandiaga di Koran Jawa Pos Dalam Pemilu 2019. *Jurnal Politik Indonesia (Indonesian Journal of Politics)*, 6(2),

- 94–103. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jpi.v6i2.30422>
- Smadi, H., Obeidat, M., & Haider, A. S. (2022). Paratextual (re)framing of media coverage of Christchurch Mosque Shootings: A translation-oriented study. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2029251>
- Snow, D. A., Rochford, E. B., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation. *American Sociological Review*, 51(4), 464. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095581>
- Solheim, Ø. B. (2021). Are we all Charlie? How media priming and framing affect immigration policy preferences after terrorist attacks. *West European Politics*, 44(2), 204–228. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2019.1683791>
- Spinde, T., Rudnitskaia, L., Mitrović, J., & Hamborg, F. (2021). Automated identification of bias inducing words in news articles using linguistic and context-oriented features. *Information Processing and Management*, 58(3), 102505. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ipm.2021.102505>
- Steffan, D., & Venema, N. (2020). New medium, old strategies? Comparing online and traditional campaign posters for German Bundestag elections, 2013–2017. *European Journal of Communication*, 35(4), 370–388. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323120903681>
- Stroud, N. J. (2010). Polarization and partisan selective exposure. *Journal of Communication*, 60(3), 556–576. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2010.01497.x>
- Subekti, D., Mutiarin, D., & Nurmandi, A. (2023). Political Communication in Social Media: A Bibliometrics Analysis. *Studies in Media and Communication*, 11(6), 299. <https://doi.org/10.11114/smc.v11i6.6214>
- Subekti, D., Nurmandi, A., & Mutiarin, D. (2022). Mapping Publication Trend of Political Parties Campaign in Social Media: A Bibliometric Analysis. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2022.2104424>
- Sullivan, K. (2023). Three levels of framing. *WIREs Cognitive Science*, 14(5). <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcs.1651>
- Survei Indo Barometer: Hanya Prabowo-Gibran yang Mungkin Menang Satu Putaran - Pemilu. (2023). Liputan6.Com. <https://www.liputan6.com/pemilu/read/5450869/survei-indo-barometer-hanya-prabowo-gibran-yang-mungkin-menang-satu-putaran>
- Susánszky, P., Kopper, Á., & Zsigó, F. T. (2022). Media framing of political protests-reporting bias and the discrediting of political activism. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 38(4), 312–328. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1060586X.2022.2061817>
- Susanti, T., Anom, E., & Iswadi, I. (2023). Optimizing Public Communication in the Digital Era: A Case Study of the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology in Indonesia. *CHANNEL: Jurnal Komunikasi*, 11(2), 144–149. <https://doi.org/10.12928/channel.v11i2.468>
- Teschendorf, V. S. (2024). The role of German media and the (European) public sphere: Framing biases of the press using the example of the Italian sovereign debt crisis 2018. *Journalism*, 25(2), 446–465. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849221145225>
- Tewksbury, D., & Scheufele, D. A. (2009). News Framing Theory and Research. In *Media Effects* (3rd ed., pp. 17–33). Erlbaum. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429491146-4>
- Travan, V., Litchfield, C., Osborne, J., & Richards, K. (2023). Framing the space of performance enhancing drug use in sport: Nationalism bias in the Australian Media. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics*, 15(4), 743–755. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2023.2228816>
- Trevisan, F. (2022). Beyond accessibility: Exploring digital inclusivity in US progressive politics. *New Media & Society*, 24(2), 496–513. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211063187>
- Walker, J. M. M., Godley, B. J., & Nuno, A. (2019). Media framing of the Cayman Turtle Farm: Implications for conservation conflicts. *Journal for Nature Conservation*, 48, 61–70. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jnc.2019.01.001>
- Wanta, W. (2010). *Applying Agenda-Setting Research in an International Context : A Roadmap for Future Research*. I(2008).
- Wanta, W., & Alkazemi, M. (2018). *Agenda-Setting : History and Research Tradition Agenda-Setting : History and November*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118783764.wbieme0030>
- Wolton, S. (2019). Are Biased Media Bad for Democracy? *American Journal of Political Science*, 63(3), 548–562. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12424>
- Wu, J., Gong, X., & Liu, Y. (2022). Research on the influence mechanism of employees' innovation behavior in the context of digital transformation. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13(December), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.1090961>
- Xu, M. (2022). How Mainstream and Alternative Media Shape Online Mobilization: A Comparative Study of News Coverages in Post-Colonial Macau. *Journalism and Media*, 3(3), 453–470. <https://doi.org/10.3390/>

journalmedia3030032

- Xu, Z. (2023). Examining U.S. Newspapers' Partisan Bias in COVID-19 News Using Computational Methods. *Communication Studies*, 74(1), 78–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2023.2169729>
- Yang, X., & Zhang, Z. (2023). Agenda Setting in Media Coverage of Natural Disaster Exogenous Events: The 9.5 Sichuan Ganzi Luding Earthquake as an Example. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Studies*, 5(3), 35–39. <https://doi.org/10.32996/jhsss.2023.4.3.5>
- Yustitia, S., & Ashrianto, P. D. (2022). View of Exploration of Kompas Editorial Frames on Human Rights Issues during 2014-2021. *CHANNEL, Jurnal Komunikasi*, 10(2), 99–106. <http://journal1.uad.ac.id/index.php/channel/article/view/226/123>
- Zhang, A., Xu, Y., & Robson, M. J. (2023). The legitimacy defeat of Huawei in the media : Cause , context , and process. *International Business Review*, 32(6), 102080. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ibusrev.2022.102080>
- Zhang, M., Chen, Z., Liu, X., & Liu, J. (2024). Theory and practice of agenda setting: understanding media, bot, and public agendas in the South Korean presidential election. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 34(1), 24–56. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01292986.2023.2261112>
- Zuhdi, A., Suryana, C., Pedrason, R., Sasono, S., & Habibie, A. M. (2023). Digital Campaign: Character Branding and Framing towards the 2024 Presidential Election. *Al Qalam: Jurnal Ilmiah Keagamaan Dan Kemasyarakatan*, 17(1), 195. <https://doi.org/10.35931/aq.v17i1.1797>
- Zvijer, N. (2022). Epidemic press conferences in Serbia: Between the structural and semantic. *Sociologija*, 64(2), 187–209. <https://doi.org/10.2298/SOC2202187Z>