



RESEARCH REVIEW ON THE ANALYSIS OF NEWS FRAMING OF INDONESIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2005-2021

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Abstract

Keywords:

Indonesian
president;
Indonesian
presidential election;
media framing;
self-image

This study aims to determine the development of news framing research in the Indonesian presidential election in 2005-2021. A total of 38 scientific works consisting of undergraduate thesis, master's thesis, and journals were analyzed using the principle of a systematic literature review. The analysis shows that there are more scientific research papers in the form of undergraduate thesis compared to journals and master's thesis. Research trends increased dramatically in 2017-2021, with more portal media studies than other media. Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing analysis models are commonly used. Many media take sides in reporting on presidential and vice-presidential candidates compared to neutral and balanced ones. The framing influencing factors of the Indonesian presidential election news are media ideology, the background of journalists and news editors, media routines, media organizations, extra media, selection of syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures of news, selection of sources, the role of media owners, background selection of sources.

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Abstrak

Kata kunci:

presiden
Indonesia;
pemilihan presiden
Indonesia;
pembingkaian
media; citra diri

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui perkembangan penelitian framing berita pada pemilihan presiden Indonesia tahun 2005-2021. Sebanyak 38 karya ilmiah yang terdiri dari tesis sarjana, tesis magister, dan jurnal/artikel publikasi ilmiah dianalisis dengan menggunakan prinsip tinjauan pustaka sistematis. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa karya ilmiah berupa tesis sarjana lebih banyak dibandingkan dengan jurnal dan tesis master. Tren penelitian meningkat secara dramatis pada 2017-2021, dengan lebih banyak studi pada media portal daripada media lain. Model analisis framing Zhongdang Pan dan Gerald M. Kosicki umumnya digunakan. Banyak media yang memihak pemberitaan capres dan cawapres dibandingkan dengan yang netral dan berimbang. Faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi pembingkaian berita pilpres Indonesia adalah ideologi media, latar belakang jurnalis dan redaktur berita, rutinitas media, organisasi media, ekstra media, pemilihan sintaksis, naskah, struktur tematik, dan retorika berita, pemilihan sumber, peran pemilik media, latar belakang pemilihan sumber.

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INTRODUCTION

In principle, conceptually, Dafrizal & Ibrahim (2010) and Samsudin (2020) explain that the concept of framing was first introduced by Gregory Bateson (1955-1972), who saw the frame as “meta communicative”. In the media context, the notion of news framing was also developed by one of the leading experts, Tuchman (1978) who viewed the news frame

as a window to the world and understood that the reality of an event depends on how journalists interpret and translate the event into news text. Furthermore, according to Samsudin (2020), several researchers have started to conduct empirical studies in the field of media framing, such as Gamson & Modigliani (1989); Iyengar (1990); Pan & Kosicki (1993); Edelman (1993); and Entman & Rojecki (1993).

In Indonesia, media content analysis framing is also one of the trends of research interest for researchers, as well as students. Research focus in the field of media framing analysis was also found to have been done on various research issues, such as social problems (Riadi & Drajat, 2019), cultural issues (Widiastuti, 2012) and Ananda (2017), environmental issues (Wijayanto & Nurhajati, 2019), and political issues (Handayani & Junaidi, 2018). Particularly, in the field of political communication, one of which has received much attention from researchers is regarding the news framing of the Indonesian presidential election. The studies of previous researchers can be seen from the various focus of research issues. For example, Hasyim (2016) analyzed the image of masculinity in the two presidential candidates in the Jawa Pos and Kompas newspapers during the 2014 presidential election campaign, Farida & Yoedtadi (2019) looked at identity politics in reporting on the 2019 presidential election campaign on medcom.id, and Agustiani (2020) analyzes word choice in the framing of 2019 presidential election news at Zonasultra.com.

Based on the author's observations, several studies that have been carried out by previous researchers related to news framing of the Indonesian presidential election. Overall, empirical research is more dominant than conceptual and theoretical reviews. However, it is still rare to find studies about the progress of research on news framing of the Indonesian presidential election in a certain period of time. Whereas in other fields of study, many previous scholars have, for example, Aalberg, Strömbäck, & De Vreese (2012) evaluates the study of the

issue of media framing of politics as a “strategic game”. Sultan (2016) frames the relationship between Islam and terrorism after 9/11, and Brugman, Burgers, & Steen (2017) the framing of metaphors in political communication experiments.

Then, the question is, to what extent is the progress of research on news framing of the Indonesian presidential election? In this regard, the writer would like to know the trend of previous research on the framing of news on the Indonesian presidential election in 2005-2021. In connection with that, the author would like to reveal the form of scientific work from the research output, research progress based on the specified period, type and number of media as research subjects, framing analysis model used, and trends in research findings in each scientific works.

METHODS

In this study, the author intends to find out the trend of research progress in news framing of the Indonesian presidential election, which has been reported by researchers in the form of scientific works for the period 2005-2021. The scientific results were obtained from the Google Scholar database using the search tool Harzing’s Publish or Perish with the search principle of Boolean Searches in Indonesian phrases, namely “framing *presiden*”, and combined with key words “*kampanye*”, “*pemilihan*”. There are 61 titles of scientific works in the Indonesian language consisting of undergraduate thesis, master’s thesis, and journals related to the framing of news of the Indonesian presidential election in 2005-2021. After checking the availability of soft copies of PDF and Microsoft Words of the 61 scientific works, it was found that only 38 scientific works could be accessed in soft copies of PDF and Microsoft Words, namely in the form of complete and abstract scientific papers.

Using the principle of literature review (Fink, 2014), the author focuses on analyzing 38 scientific works consisting of undergraduate

thesis, master's thesis, and journals in two stages. First, to analyze the identity of the research subject regarding the framing of the presidential election news, namely the progress of the research based on the time span of the year, the type and amount of media studied, and the framing analysis model used. Second, to analyze the research findings of each scientific work by focusing on the position of the media, the candidate's self-image, and the factors that influence the framing of the presidential election. Furthermore, the data are presented using quantitative descriptive principles and qualitative narratives.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Scientific Work Outputs Per Year

In this section, 38 scientific papers are used as analytical materials in the literature review, which are published as journal articles. Those that are not published are Undergraduate Thesis, Master's Thesis related to the study of news framing of the Indonesian presidential election in the print, portal, and electronic media on 2005 to 2021. The comparison of the number of scientific papers intended for analysis is shown in the chart below:

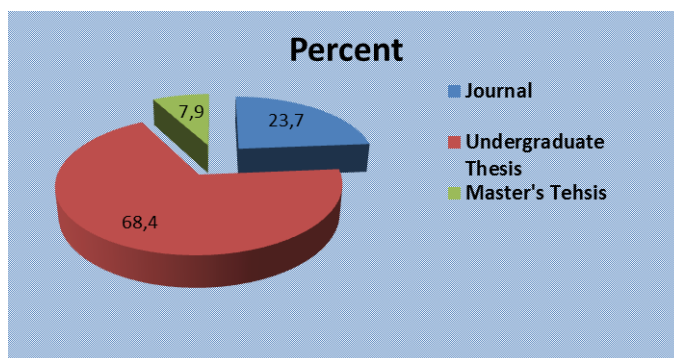


Figure 1. The Number Of Scientific Works

In the chart above, it can be seen that the number of scientific works regarding the news framing of the Indonesian presidential election is still dominated by the undergraduate thesis 26 (68.4%), journal articles 9 (23.7%), and master's thesis, 3 (7.9%). This data illustrates that the number of scientific works in the form of undergraduate theses is still more than the number of journal articles and master's theses. It also means that the study of news framing of the presidential election still has not been studied in depth.

The number of research outputs by year can be seen in the graph below:

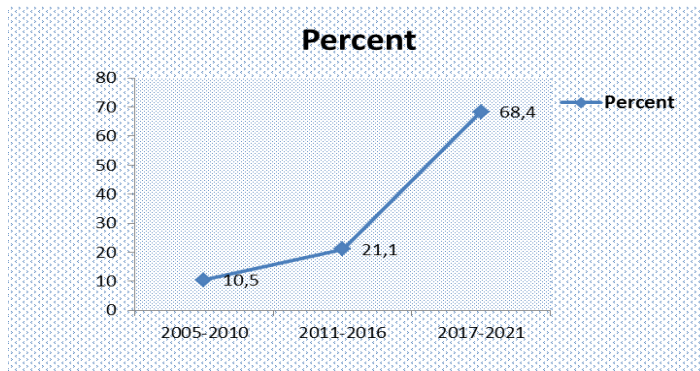


Figure 2. The Number Of Research Outputs By Year

The chart above illustrates the number of scientific studies related to framing Indonesian presidential election news seen from the study year of a total of 38 scientific papers, found as many as four scientific papers (10.5%) in 2005-2010, 8 scientific papers (21.1%) 2011-2016, and 26 scientific papers (68.4%) in 2017-2021. It also indicates that the trend of research interest in news framing of the Indonesian presidential election has increased yearly. Even in the 2017-2021 period, it increased three times compared to 2011-2016, even six times compared to 2005-2010.

Types And Number Of Media As Research Subjects

The types of media as the subject of research on the framing of Indonesian presidential election news are as shown in the chart below:

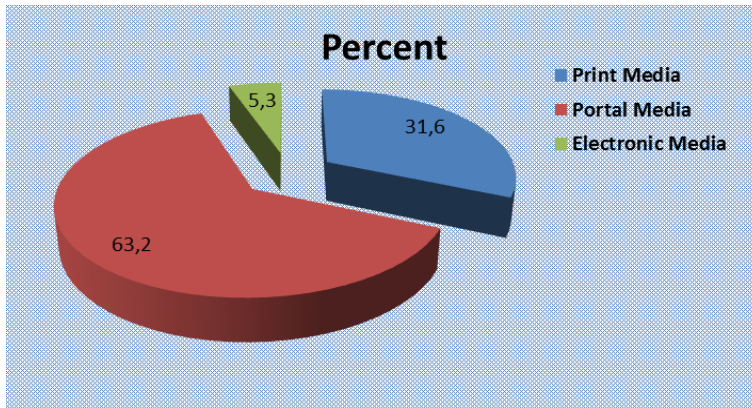


Figure 3. Types Of Media As The Subject Of Research

The chart above describes the types of media used as research subjects out of 38 scientific papers. It was found that research on portal media was more dominant as many as 24 (63.2%) compared to print media as many as 12 (31.6%) and electronic media as many as 2 (5.3%). It shows that the number of studies on portal media is more dominant than on print and electronic media. This is also one of the indications that researchers have an increasing interest in analyzing political news regarding the issue of the Indonesian presidential election in portal media compared to other media.

The number of media as the subject of studies in the research on the framing of the Indonesian presidential election news as shown in the chart below:

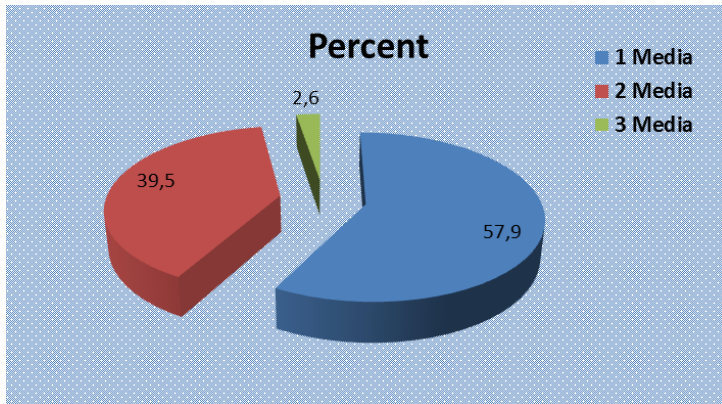


Figure 4. The Number Of Media As The Subject Of Studies

Figure 4 describes the number of media that became the subject of the studies from 38 scientific papers. In general, researchers still conduct research on only one media, which is 22 studies (57.9%), then two media are 15 studies (39.5%), and three media are 1 study (2.6%). This is a sign that the dominance of research with only one media as the subject of study may be due to research on the issue of framing news on the Indonesian presidential election that is still dominant at the undergraduate thesis level.

Framing Analysis Approaches

The types of framing analysis approaches used in the Indonesian Presidential Election news framing research are as shown in the chart 5 below:

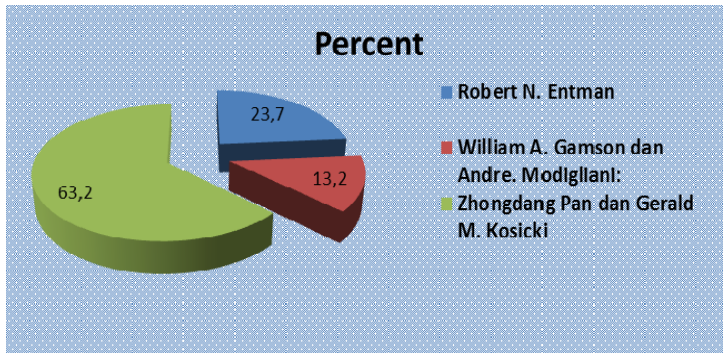


Figure 5. The Types Of Framing Analysis Approaches Used

Figure 5 above describes the framing analysis approach used in the research on news framing the Indonesian presidential election from 38 scientific papers. Researchers employed the framing analysis model of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki in 24 cases (63.2%), the framing analysis model of Robert N. Entman in 9 cases (23.7%), and the framing analysis model of William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani in 5 cases (5%). (13.2 percent). It shows us that the use of the framing analysis model of Zhongdang Pan & Zhongdang Kosicki (1993) became the main choice for Indonesian researchers in the study of Indonesian presidential election news framing compared to other framing analyses models.

Media Position, Candidate Self Image, And Influence Factors

This section presents the results of an analysis of 38 scientific works of previous research on the news framing of the Indonesian presidential election from 2005-2021. In this case, the study is seen from three discussion themes: media position, candidate self-image, and influencing factors.

First, media position. The position of the media in this discussion is to see how the results of previous research reveal the role of the media in covering the news of the Indonesian presidential election. Does the press

show its position as a partisan, neutral, or balanced media in reporting the reality of the Indonesian presidential election? Firstly, the media is in favor. An illustration of the media bias can be seen in the chart below:

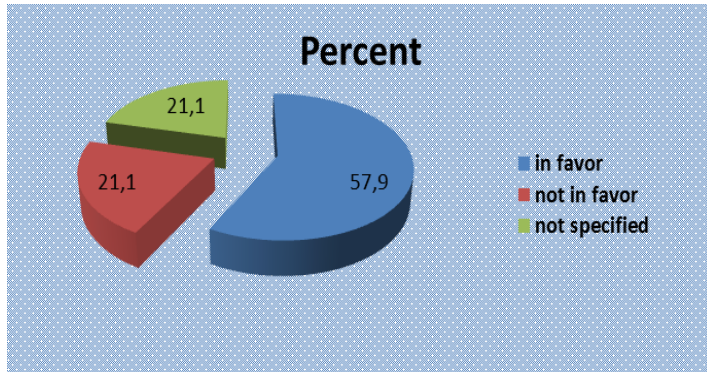


Figure 6. The Media's Bias In Covering The News

Figure 6 above shows the research results obtained in 38 scientific papers, which state the media's bias in covering the news of the Indonesian presidential election to the information of the pair of Indonesian presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The result of the analysis shows that the media in favor of candidates 22 (57.9%), not in favor of candidates 8 (21.1%), and not specified 8 (21.1%). Statements about the media in favor of the candidate in the news of the Indonesian presidential election are found in several scientific papers such as Febrisanti (2015); Defi (2020); Ramadhani (2014); Santosa (2005); Rachmayanti (2009); Eliya (2015); Tansal (2019); Handayani & Junaidi (2018); Awalia (2010); Susmitha (2020); Kusnia (2019); Fauzi (2019); Fadilah (2019); Labora (2019); Kartika (2019); Muzaki (2020); Ratnasari (2019); Husna (2019); Agustiani (2020); Sitanggang & Fadiyah (2020); and Putra (2018).

Secondly, the neutrality of the media. Media neutrality in reporting news of the Indonesian presidential election based on the analysis of statements from previous research is shown in figure 7 below:

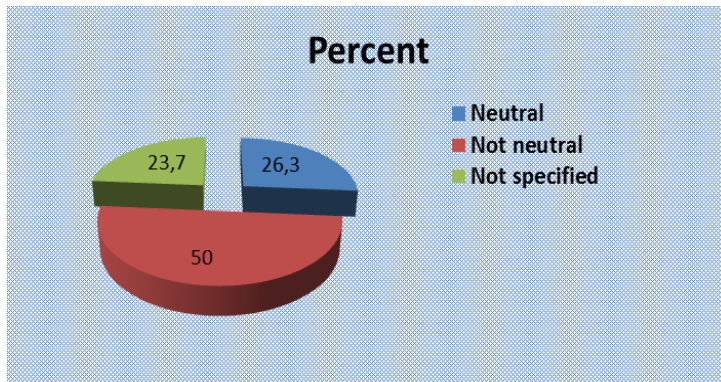


Figure 7. The Neutrality Of The Media

Furthermore, figure 7 above shows the neutrality of the media in reporting the pair of Indonesian presidential and vice-presidential candidates based on the research results of 38 scientific papers. It is found that the statement of media neutrality is media neutral 10 (26.3%), not neutral 19 (50.0%), and not specified 9 (23.7%). Statements about media neutrality are found in research results such as Rachmayanti (2009); Luthfianto (2019); Fadilah (2019); Burhan (2020); Hasyim (2016); Hidayat (2019); Purenda (2015); Yanas (2020); Putra (2018); and Rahmawati (2019).

Thirdly, the balance of media news. The balance of media news in the news of the Indonesian presidential election can be seen from the analysis of the findings of previous studies, as shown in chart 8 below:

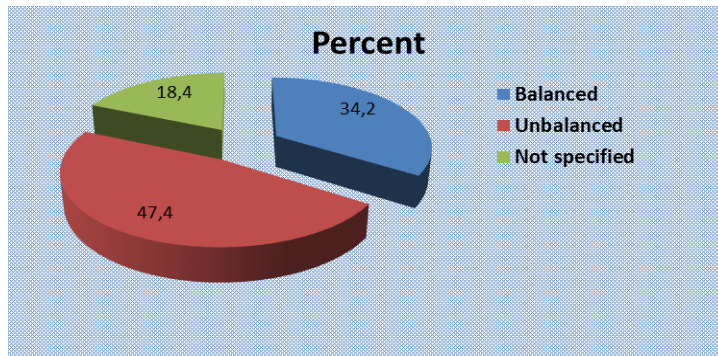


Figure 8. The Balance Of Media News

Figure 8 above reveals the balance of media news reporting on the Indonesian presidential election concerning Indonesia's presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The description of the balance of media news in charts is based on the results of previous research by researchers, namely balanced 13 (34.2%), unbalanced 18 (47.4%), and not specified 7 (18.4%). Furthermore, statements about the balance of media coverage are found in the research results such as Febrisanti (2015); Defi (2020); Ramadhani (2014); Luthfianto (2019); Puspita (2019); Khotimah (2020); Burhan (2020); Muzaki (2020); Hasyim (2016); Ratnasari (2019); Purenda (2015); Yanas (2020), and Rahmawati (2019).

Second, the candidate self-image. The framing of the self-image of presidential and vice-presidential candidates can be seen from the narrative diction of news framing published by each media in the news related to the news framing of the Indonesian presidential election, as in the following research results. Based on data in the table above, Purenda's research (2015) shows that Tempo Magazine framed Prabowo Subianto as a 2014 presidential candidate regarding the issue of human rights violators and the political dowry needed to build a coalition. Meanwhile, Joko Widodo was portrayed as a 2014 presidential candidate who did not promise positions to supporting parties. Khotimah (2020) found that the

Pantura Post saw the candidate pair (*paslon/pasangan calon*) 02 campaign narrative that criticized Jokowi’s leadership as President for the 2014–2019 period as unable to solve Indonesia’s economic problems. While candidate 01 shows Jokowi inviting the masses of supporters to vote for him.

Furthermore, Santosa (2005) found that in the 2004 election, TVRI built the image of presidential candidate Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) as Satrio Piningit. Rachmayanti (2009) found that the Kompas newspaper described SBY as a presidential candidate as an innocent or neutral person. Meanwhile, Jawa Pos, described SBY as a presidential candidate with perfect qualifications. Sagita (2015) revealed that during the 2014 presidential election campaign, Media Indonesia newspaper emphasized the issue of kidnapping activists in 1998. Meanwhile, Sindo newspaper highlighted the black campaign against Prabowo Subianto (Ramadhani, 2014). Detik.com describes Prabowo as a soldier who prioritizes diversity, is a firm leader, and is honorably discharged from the TNI. Kompas.com in portraying Prabowo from a Christian family was respectfully dismissed from the TNI, and Prabowo’s electability is still low compared to Jokowi.

Table 1.
Research Findings Statements Of The Candidate’s Self-Image

Researcher	Candidate Self Image
Purenda (2015)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. As a human rights violator 2. Political dowry conditions for coalition 3. Figures as presidential candidates in 2014 4. No promise of job
Khotimah (2020)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Unable to solve Indonesia's economic problems 2. Inviting mass supporters to vote for themselves (presidential candidates)
Santosa (2005)	SBY is Satrio Piningit
Rachmayanti (2009)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. SBY personal plain or neutral 2. SBY is a presidential candidate with perfect qualifications
Sagita (2015)	The 1998 activist kidnapping issue black campaign against Prabowo

Researcher	Candidate Self Image
Ramadhani (2014)	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Prabowo prioritizes diversity, a firm leader and honorably discharged from the TNI2. Prabowo from a Christian family, was honorably discharged from the TNI3. Prabowo's electability lost to Jokowi

Third, influencing factors. Several research results reveal that the framing of news about the Indonesian presidential election in the period 2005-2021 is influenced by certain important factors. Purenda (2015) states that the individual background factors of journalists, media routines, organizations, extra media, and ideology influence the editorial policy of *Tempo Magazine* in characterizing Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo. Rachmayanti (2009) found that the choice of syntactic structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetorical structure played a role in the differences between *Kompas* and *Jawa Pos* frames for SBY. Ratnasari (2019) revealed that the selection of sources could determine the direction of media framing on *Jawapos.com* in reporting on the 2019 presidential election. Luthfianto (2019) found the role of media owners, the background of writers, and news editors in writing on the candidacy of President Joko Widodo. Kartika (2019) found that the choice of words/syntax and the selection of sources by *kompas.com* in discussing two pairs of presidential candidates openly.

Furthermore, Husna (2019) revealed that the *republika.co.id* Media Interest and Ownership factor were Erick Thohir, who was also the head of the National Campaign Team (TKN) in reporting on the presidential candidate pair Jokowi and Ma'ruf Amin in the 2019 presidential election. Kurniasari & Aji (2018) found that the media ownership factor of *Koran Sindo* influenced the agenda for compiling media texts related to news about the figure of Joko Widodo. Putra (2015) Revealed that the interests of media owners and sources played a role in Jokowi's news frame. Putera, Sylvia, & Sari (2020) found that in the framing of *tempo.co* and *Republica*.

co.id news, the ownership factor of Media and Media Ideology played a role in the differences and similarities in the news regarding the presidential election. Likewise, Rahmawati (2019) results of her research found that the selection of sources on Jambi.tibunnews.com in balanced packaging news related to the candidate pairs 01 (Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin and 02 (Prabowo Subianto and Sandiogo Uno) in the presidential election. 2019. In detail, the factors that influence the framing of the reality of the events of the Indonesian presidential election can be seen in the table below.

Table 2.
Research Findings Statements Of The Influencing Factors

Authors	Influencing Factors
Purenda (2015)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Journalist background 2. Media routines 3. Media organization 4. Extramedia 5. Media ideology
Rachmayanti (2009)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Selection of syntactic 2. Scriptural 3. Thematic 4. Rhetorical structures
Ratnasari (2019)	News source selection
Luthfianto (2019)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Journalist and editor background 2. Media owner
Kartika (2019)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. News source selection 2. Word choice/syntax
Husna (2019)	Media owner
Kurniasari & Aji (2018)	Media owner
Putra (2018)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. News source selection 2. Media owner
Rahmawati (2019)	News source selection
Putera et al. (2020)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Media ideology 2. Media owner

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Conclusion

From the results of the analysis of 38 scientific papers relating to the study of news framing about the events of the Indonesian presidential election in 2005-2021, it shows that in the form of the dominant scientific work is still at the undergraduate thesis compared to journals, master's thesis, or even dissertation. This indicates that there is still a lack of in-depth research to scientifically dissect all issues of the phenomenon of scientifically framing the news of the Indonesian presidential election. However, researchers' interest in the issue of framing news about the Indonesian presidential election tends to increase from year to year. The media portal is the primary choice for researchers in conducting studies on the framing of news of the Indonesian presidential election, but the number studied is still dominant by choosing only one media. At the same time, other types of media such as print and electronic media and magazines, are no longer the leading choice.

Three methods of framing analysis commonly used in research on framing analysis of news on the Indonesian presidential election are Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, Robert N. Entman, and William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani. In reporting on the events of the Indonesian presidential election, some media still sided with the presidential and vice-presidential candidates, but many still chose neutrality and presented balanced news. Each media chooses differently in the news frame for the Indonesian presidential election, and these differences are caused by influencing factors such as media ideology, the background of the journalist (writer) and news editor, media routines, media organization, extra media, selection of syntactic structure, script, thematic, and rhetoric news, the choice of news source, and media owner.

Suggestion

Based on a review of the results of research on the framing of news on the Indonesian presidential election from 2005-2021, the authors suggest for future research; first, it is necessary to improve the quality of research to be deeper and increase publication in the form of journals. Second, it is essential to conduct comparative studies related to framing news on the presidential election between events in Indonesia and other countries. Third, further research does not have to be monotonous on three models of framing analysis such as Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, Robert N. Entman, and William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani, but needs to be enriched by using other framing analyses.

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