

ACTORS DISTORTION OF NEWS AGENCIES FRAMING SURVEYS IN ONLINE MASS MEDIA ABOUT POLITICAL PARTIES BEARER PRESIDENTIAL-CANDIDATES 2024

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to acknowledge the News Framing of political actors in online mass media in determining presidential candidates in 2024. A political actor is an individual who plays a role in networking and Communication actions, acting as individuals, groups, or organizations. Political actors in the black box in the theory of actor networks are framed through the processing of information resulting from the social interactions of individual actors involved in everyday life, who are tied to systems and ideologies regarding their views on a political party reality. The actions of actors Survey institutions and online mass media in the community model network of actors with a situational approach. The theory used is the theory of actor networks and qualitative descriptive research methods with a narrative approach to analyzing online mass media news framing. The study's result shows an integrated black box between the theory of actor networks and the theory of communicative actions. The news framing indicates a distortion of survey agency actors through online mass communication networks due to the efforts of survey agency actors. Unreliable survey results deceive political party actors in the presidential nomination of the Republic of Indonesia in 2024 who cannot carry actors in political parties. Political Parties are distorted due to the lack of use of internal survey agencies of political parties and the role of Political Parties Actors, which is still minimal to socialize with constituents, as well as dependence on external survey agencies, which are profit organizations. Political Parties are incapable of producing leaders who are already institutionally managed. Further research recommendations on the role of Political Parties actors in managing quality Human Resources in preparing actors ready to become national leaders.

INTRODUCTION

Online mass media news framing continuously informs the News about political actors, referring to survey results by independent survey institutions. According to [Knoepfel, Larrue, Varone, and Hill \(2007\)](#), "the term actor can be taken to designate either an individual (ministers, parliamentarians, journalists, and others), several individuals, legal entities: private companies, associations, trade unions, and others or social group." A group of actors linked to the policy

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agrees to assess the interests concerned concretely. This consensus can be reached through a hierarchical structure or a democratic process.

Furthermore [Knoepfel, Larrue, Varone, and Hill \(2007\)](#) explain the concept of an actor according to Parsons (1951), "to analyze social action. It must focus on the simplest unit, the significance of what Parsons calls a unit action. This basic action is carried out by at least one Actor with a future goal with the intention of where the Actor's action is directed, using certain ways to achieve his goal" ([Bourricaud, 1977](#)). Specific methods are carried out by survey institution actors by submitting survey results. Survey is an activity to examine conditions, situations, or assess and ask questions by collecting data and analyzing several aspects of a group; and see or consider comprehensively ([Merriam-Webster, 2002](#)). Meanwhile, [KBBI Online \(2022\)](#) explains that "survey is a research technique by providing clear boundaries for data by conducting investigations and measurements carried out by a group of people." The survey agency as an agent that produces survey results is one of the capital agencies to make a profit. The word institution according to [Merriam-Webster \(2002\)](#) is "an office that has a relationship between a principal and an agent that looks at the capacity, or state of action, to exert power that is exercised by a person through the power of his instrumentality and communicated." An agency is a company that does business for others through an advertising agency or an administrative division of a consumer protection agency. [Cecez-Kecmanovic and Janson \(1999\)](#) explain that "when actors relate to the objective world to achieve goals by manipulating and controlling objects in their environment, which include material, financial or other entities and circumstances, as well as other social actors." The action is called instrumental. Using technical rules, the Actor calculates in alternative ways and chooses the one that maximizes his chances of achieving the desired goal. An action is called strategic when an actor pursues a goal by influencing the behavior of other actors (opponents) to follow the rules of his rational choice. In this case, the objective world referred to by the Actor includes other social actors considered not objects but reasonable opponents and game players. "Instrumental and strategic action exemplifies cognitive instrumental rationality as actors can acquire knowledge about the contingent environment and use it effectively by intelligently adapting and manipulating its environment" ([McCarthy & Hoge, 1984](#)).

The ability of survey institution actors to interpret the world as an objective thing is done through institutionalized social interactions. According to [KBBI Online \(2022\)](#) "an institution is an organization whose purpose is to carry out a scientific investigation or a business; such as established patterns of human behavior, social interactions are structured within a value-relevant framework that is carried out according to custom." Furthermore [Hodgson \(2006\)](#) explains, "Institutions are not static or neutral, they distribute profits and losses in various ways, and there will always be winners and losers to build or change them. Sudden and radical institutional changes occur, but generally, institutions change slowly through modification politics and reforms of differing interests and competing ideas to get the most out of the rules." Nonetheless, institutions are best thought of as enduring social rules and procedures, formal or informal, that shape the social structures, economic and political relationships, and interactions of those affected. The great French scholar observed that "social science is a science of institutions, genesis, and function" ([Durkheim, 1972](#)). The actions of political actors through networks of individuals, groups, and institutions or organizations are seen in news framing. Concept of an actor means that "the analyst must consider all the individuals and social groups concerned collectively" ([Knoepfel et al., 2007](#)). The point of view with having an advantage and considering that public and private actors do not all have active and visible interference at all stages of policy.

The behavior is sometimes immediately obvious but sometimes difficult to identify directly. This depends on other factors: their self-interest, capacity to mobilize resources and form coalitions to defend their rights and interests, and the strategic decision to take action or remain voluntary outside the decision-making field."

Survey institutions and mass media in a democracy are independent in their actions. Separate is not dependent: cannot be controlled by others (Merriam-Webster, 2002). This means self-regulating, not affiliated with a larger controlling unit, not needing or relying on anything else, not seeking the opinion of others or guidance in behavior, and is not bound or tied to a political party. Instead of being an independent survey institution with goals that pollsters and mass media actors do not realize, they have directed public opinion and distorted the credibility of political party actors, institutional actors, and actors in the broader community. Distortion is a noun which means the act of distorting or a distorted state distorting the Actor (Merriam-Webster, 2002). Synonyms are to bend or twist, which results in a distorted part, Distortion in the form or structure of action that gives a misleading impression, continuous media distortion on specific actor issues, which has synonyms, misrepresentation, deviation, perverting, forgery, and misreporting. Cognitive distortion is a negative bias of thinking that is intended to increase susceptibility to depression (Rnic et al., 2016). Individuals experience automatic thinking in response to events, which in turn lead to emotional, behavioral responses (Dozois & Beck, 2008). The content of automatic thoughts is usually consistent with the individual's core beliefs about essential aspects of self, others, and the world. When negative core beliefs are activated, and negative thoughts are automatically generated (consisting of errors in non-evidence-based reasoning), harmful, neutral, or even positive events can influence negative affect and maladaptive behavior.

Knoepfel et al. (2007) explain that the concept of an actor can be applied to individuals, groups, or groups of individuals or organizations, the latter being defined in terms of shared ideas or common interests that connect its members." As Olson puts it in his book on the logic of collective action. "Without common interests, no groups exist" (Olson, 1978). Every individual, legal entity, or social group is considered an actor based on: their existence; they belong to the social field that is regarded as relevant to the analysis. He has status only by being part of the field being studied insofar as his behavior can be demonstrated to contribute to the structuring of his field. Therefore, a matter of consciousness, clarity, or identification is a matter of de facto situation.

Online mass media is a communication network for the actions of the social interaction of the actors on the reality of events. The mass media is the backbone of democracy, and as a provider of political information that functions as a medium for deliberation, and supervision in uncovering the faults of the regime (Fog, 2004). Moreover, commercial mass media controlled by several multinational conglomerates have become an anti-democratic force that supports the status quo (Wasko, 2004). The media chases scandals in the private lives of politicians and their families but ignores his policies' much more severe consequences. They chase injured politicians as in a Shark feeding frenzy (Blumler & Gurevitch, 2002). Too often, the media scare the wrong thing. Minor hazards exploded hysterically, while much more severe societal dangers were largely ignored. Excessive fear often leads to unnecessary action (Altheide, 2006). The news frame is an actor's action due to knowledge of the reality of events in the broader community. According to (D'Angelo & Shaw, 2018) explaining that, "to frame public life, (Reese et al., 2001) put forward a conceptual definition that is defined both before publication (Reese,1995) and after (Reese, 2010) publication (Reese, 2010). The frame is an organizing principle that works symbolically to

structure the social world meaningfully, making it the themes, motives, and stereotypes journalists use even when covering everyday events in news outlets. In *Doing News Framing Analysis*, D'Angelo and Shaw (2018) argue, as they did before (D'angelo, 2002), that discoveries about the natural world, The process of framing News relies on approaches based on theoretical and methodological diversity. Frame the term in two ways. First, frames in communication or media frames refer to the words, pictures, phrases, and presentation styles that speakers (e.g., politicians and media outlets) use when conveying information about an issue or event to an audience (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The frame can reveal what the speaker sees as relevant to the discussed topic. Second, the framework of thought or individual framework refers to the individual's cognitive understanding of a particular situation. Unlike a frame in communication, which reflects the speaker's emphasis, a frame of mind refers to what audience members believe are the most salient aspects of an issue (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

This study aims to find out the black box theory of actor networks framed by online mass media news through the results of actors' frames. Survey institutions as a result of coverage by media actors as an independent form and distorting the nomination of actors in the 2024 presidential election.

METHOD

The method in carrying out this research means a descriptive qualitative approach and narrative analysis. The qualitative approach intended to answer two issues related to news framing of political actors in online mass media about the results of research by survey institutions regarding Indonesian presidential candidate actors in the 2024 election.

A qualitative approach allows for selecting and interviewing participants who have actual experiences related to the phenomenon of studies affecting managers (Shannon, 2018). Culture, according to Bourdieu (1976) and others, quoted by Waltraut Kokot (2019) that this model does not explicitly define its units as spatially delimited groups; instead, it concentrates on culturally transmitted practices (learned or taught to others as members of a general social category). Different methods should be used to find the best approach (Nadrifar et al., 2016). A new method must be selected. Workers must be selected. Scientific training should be given according to the best way to do the job. Different workers should be selected for other jobs. Training should be given to workers according to their position in the organization so that each worker will become an expert in his career and do a better job. The actor-network theory focuses on the interactions that make networks stable and provides an open framework for approaching the power struggles that shape them. ANT's methodological situational approach focuses on controversy and moments of uncertainty (Wiard, 2019). The situational approach to journalist networks starts from a public issue and generates a networked investigation by describing the actors participating in the offline and online news production process. Anderson (2010) identified several actors who participate in news production, such as news media companies, local activists, politicians, and bloggers. In some instances, the spread of News is not random. It was part of a campaign organized by activists and political allies that involved press releases, press conferences, and the use of contacts to spread the word. While mainstream media still acts as a mandatory channel in most cases, some actors manage to circumvent it through social media. This study shows that all try to influence public opinion through strategies that involve not limited to the intention of the mainstream media to translate journalistic voices into news items (Witschge et al., 2016).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Sultan said that the research results from the electability survey institutions for presidential candidates are often considered not objective and raise public doubts (JPNN, 2022). In recruiting candidates for national leaders, political parties tend to refer to the results of figure electability surveys from many survey institutions whose funding sources are unclear. Even though the state has a research institution that should be used as a reference for political parties in determining who the presidential candidate will be in the election, the presidential candidate nomination system should not develop wildly with the logic of popularity by survey institutions whose independence is questioned. The public is very nervous about the existence of political survey institutions strongly suspected of working for particular political interests. With the 20 percent presidential threshold that functions as a political filter for presidential candidates, political parties should have a nomination mechanism that is then submitted to the public for later testing and evaluation instead of following the opinion developed by the survey institute. Sultan has not seen the role of political education from BRIN to the public, especially recommendations to political parties (JPNN, 2022). At the same time, BRIN should be present as the primary source of political reference for all democratic stakeholders. Democracy, with its routines, must be built on scientific mechanisms, especially in collecting and managing the flow of political information from and to the public. Therefore, the presence of an independent and professional research institution such as BRIN is a prerequisite for the existence of qualified national leadership candidates.

Several Golkar cadres, on behalf of Go-Anies, chose to support Anies Baswedan to run in the presidential election. This decision certainly precedes the party's decision which has not yet determined the person who will be promoted as a presidential candidate. Dave asked the Go-Anies volunteer group not to bring up the name of the Golkar Party in their movement to support Anies for personal political interests and attitudes that are contrary to party policies; such actions are a form of defiance (Warta, 2022).

Airlangga Hartarto said the coalition's presidential candidate that would be carried by the Koalisi Indonesia Bersatu (KIB) must be a cadre of political parties. Airlangga assesses that living in a political party is useless if it does not carry the party cadres themselves. Why party? The party has a KTA (membership card). If you want to enter the KIB, hold the KTA first (Detik.com, n.d.). Like entering a clubhouse, you have to be a member. There must be a fee; nothing is free. There must be political capital. In Airlangga's view, Law (UU) No.2017 concerning General Elections requires that political parties support the President and vice president.

On the other hand, Airlangga admitted that he would continue to involve President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) in determining the presidential candidate. Airlangga claimed that Jokowi already knew which presidential candidate KIB would carry. We will consult with the President. However, Airlangga revealed that KIB had not discussed appointing the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo as a presidential candidate and had not discussed it with internal political parties.

Ebenezer said that Ganjar Mania assessed the Governor of Central Java as a cadre loyal and obedient to the PDIP (Msn.com, 2022). The public should not judge that Ganjar has overstepped Megawati Sukarnoputri as the General Chair of the PDI-P. Because Ganjar only said he was ready for the nation and the state, not prepared to become President. According to him, Ganjar's statement aligns with the party's stance. With phrases ready for the nation and state. Hasto emphasized that Ganjar's statement did not violate party rules. Hasto saw that Ganjar still had political ethics. Ganjar is well aware and obedient that the realm of the presidential candidate is the area that the PDI-P has given to the General Chair, Ibu Mega. This means that Ganjar does not come out of the corridor of obedient cadres. Who deliberately twisted this? None other than

those who firmly believe that Ganjar is hard to beat. So Ganjar had to be excluded from the match. That is the intention of the party that twisted the sentence of the Governor of Central Java. In addition to outsiders, according to Immanuel, there are also internal PDIP people who do not like Ganjar's high electability in all surveys. For nation and country, what is not ready? Ganjar stated that he was prepared to become a presidential candidate (candidate) in 2024. Ganjar said he was ready to become a presidential candidate for the sake of the nation and state. Ganjar conveyed this in an interview with a private television. Ganjar started his statement by explaining his position in politics.

Moreover, he is a PDIP cadre. In the context of the presidential election, Ganjar saw two realities. I am a party member; of course, I see two facts. First, I am a party member, and there is a political process within the party that we must respect. Second, there is a social reality, a survey reality that does exist. To that end, Ganjar said he would allow the party to determine and communicate. This is done to make the best decision. Ganjar then talked about his track record in the world of politics. He admitted that he had been in politics since 1992. Ganjar admitted that he had been a member of the party led by Megawati Sukarnoputri since it was still called the PDI. Ganjar said that in the context of the interests of the nation and state, he was ready to become a presidential candidate. The condition of the two realities that exist, actually for the country and state, what is not ready? When the party has discussed it in its entirety, and he will look for the nation's children they think are the best, everyone must be ready for that. This nation cannot be managed by one party alone. It takes collaboration between parties, especially parties because many issues require the thought of many parties. The future challenges for the Indonesian nation that need to be taken seriously include economic, food, and energy issues. It feels like this nation is too big to be managed alone. Many multidimensional problems exist there and require togetherness. Ganjar conveyed his declaration as a presidential candidate depending on the party's decision. The ones who declare are the parties. I do not know if the party has enough faith in Ganjar.

Ali said that his party did not want the vice presidential candidate to accompany Anies from a coalition party ([Tribunnews.com](https://www.tribunnews.com), 2022). In response, the spokesman for the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), Muhammad Kholid, considered it unfair for political parties with potential cadres. For political parties with good, qualified cadres, it is suddenly indicated that they cannot run as vice presidential candidates; that is not fair. PKS is not a problem as long as the figure who becomes the vice presidential candidate has high electability, has good leadership, and can unite coalitions and the nation. PKS does not require that the figure be internal or external. The new small team determines the criteria. Even if NasDem proposes that it should be outside political parties, please aspire, but PKS does not require that. Ahmad Ali emphasized that his party did not want the vice presidential candidate to accompany Anies to come from a coalition party. According to Ali, the presidential election coalition will not be formed when all coalition partners require their cadres to be vice presidential candidates. Ali explained that, in a coalition, four political parties join; they want their cadres to become vice presidents. If three or four parties form a coalition, will be four representatives? In order to be fairer and open up opportunities for the nation's children outside, it is better. He said that all political parties positions must be equal in a coalition. Yes, it is an unequal name. So if there is such a thing (the condition for the cadre to be vice president), do not do it ([Tribunnews.com](https://www.tribunnews.com), 2022). This is because the vice presidential candidate to accompany Anies must be able to maintain the stability of the coalition. We do not want the coalition to win-win, which, as Anies said, maintains coalition stability. The candidate

for deputy must be able to keep the coalition running stable. Ali said that if he is stable, he cannot take sides.

Sufa (2022) stated that Hasto Kristiyanto said his party had given a warning to the supporters of the Colonel Council. The Colonel Council is a collection of PDIP cadres who support Puan Maharani as a presidential candidate in the 2024 election. The Colonel Council is not known in the party's AD/ART. Then the party emphasized party discipline and everything related to presidential and vice presidential candidates, the general Chairman's direction was clear, and all cadres must have revolutionary awareness. "Do not grunt, be patient and sure at the right time," said Hasto. Hasto did not elaborate further on the sanctions given to the Colonel Council. However, according to him, the imposition of sanctions is an effort by the party to enforce discipline in all cadres. The Colonel Council was widely discussed after expressing support for Puan Maharani amid the strengthening of support from several groups for the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar Pranowo, to run as a presidential candidate. One of the initiators of the Council of Colonels is a senior PDIP politician Trimedy Panjaitan. According to Hasto, sanctions are not only given to the Colonel Council. The party has also imposed sanctions on PDIP politician FX Rudy who also declared support for Ganjar to run as a presidential candidate. Hasto emphasized that the enforcement of discipline is a form of the party's compliance with the instructions of PDIP General Chair Megawati Soekarnoputri that the PDIP will not rush to determine the presidential and vice presidential candidates. Hasto said that the PDIP was left entirely to Megawati to determine presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

An announcement of the name that will be carried will be made at the right time. However, according to Hasto, no one knows the exact time except Megawati. It depends on the mood of the community. So far, PDIP has not announced presidential and vice presidential candidates. The two names that emerged were Puan Maharani and Ganjar. In several surveys, Ganjar's name is always in the top two. Support for Ganjar came from several parties, such as the United Development Party cadres. Ganjar has also been declared a presidential candidate by the Indonesian Solidarity Party. In the 2019 election, PDIP emerged as the winning party with 19.33 percent of the valid votes. The number of votes in the DPR was 128 seats or 22.26 percent of the total seats in the DPR. With this capital, PDIP can nominate its pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates in the upcoming 2024 election.

Anies' steps to walk in the 2024 presidential election are still locked in the figure of a vice presidential candidate. Even though the National Democratic Party has declared it, it still has to have enough support actually to be able to advance in the presidential election. When declaring Anies, the General Chair of Nasdem Surya Paloh gave the former minister of education and culture the freedom to choose a companion. Freedom is given so Anies can find a partner who can contribute to winning and when elected as President. How can we choose a vice president who suddenly does not fit? There is nothing wrong with looking for disease. Paloh said it is not an easy matter for Anies. Nasdem's voting capital is not enough for him to be free to choose his vice presidential candidate. Based on the 2019 election results, Nasdem only bagged 9.05 percent of the vote. Referring to Article 222 of Law Number 7 In 2017 concerning General Elections, pairs of presidential and vice presidential candidates can only be proposed by political parties or a combination of political parties participating in the general election who won a total of 20 percent of the total seats in the DPR or 25 percent of the valid votes nationally.

Since Anies was declared, Democrats and PKS have not declared their support. One of the things that makes communication between parties challenging is the determination of the candidate for vice president. Four days after being declared, Anies started his political tour by

meeting with the General Chairperson of the Democrats, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono. For the Democrats, the visit provided fresh air to get AHY to become Anies' vice presidential candidate. Member of the Democratic Party High Council (MTP) Syarief Hasan said the Democratic party offered AHY's name as Anies companion. Syarief claimed that the electability of AHY and the Democratic party, according to several surveys, had increased, which could be used as capital for the upcoming presidential election. Herzaky Mahendra said that the emergence of AHY's name as a vice presidential candidate who was presented to Anies was the aspiration of the Democratic regional administrators. One of the results of the national leadership meeting held on 15 September 2022 was to request that the General Chairperson of the Democratic Party, AHY, participate in the 2024 presidential election contestation. Despite proposing a name, according to Herzaky, the RAPIMNAS participants leave the final decision to AHY. The party realized that the votes obtained from the last general election forced the party to form a coalition. Therefore, the decision on who the presidential and vice presidential candidates will be communicated and agreed upon with the coalition partner political parties. PKS as a strong candidate for the coalition supporting Anies, also had a different plan. Instead of confirming AHY, the party led by Ahmad Syaikhul proposed the name of the PKS Shura Council deputy chairman, Ahmad Heryawan. Muhammad Kholid revealed that his party had offered the name of the former West Java governor to Nasdem and the Democrats. PKS proposed Ahmad Heryawan as an alternative vice presidential candidate in three-party political communication. At a dead end in the internal supporting parties, Anies has also met with the TNI Commander, Andika Perkasa. Andika uploaded the meeting on his YouTube channel last Friday, 14 October. Anies has denied that the meeting was part of the search for a vice presidential candidate. Andika's name is one of the potential candidates for the vice presidential position based on some survey institutions. Deputy Secretary General of the Nasdem Party, Hermawi Taslim, mentioned that Andika's name was on the radar of the Nasdem Vice President along with the Governor of East Java, Khofifah Indar Parawansa. Amid the tug-of-war to determine the vice presidential candidate, Anies announced the three criteria for the vice presidential candidate he was looking for. He argued that the determination of the companion candidate would be carried out carefully.

Moreover, he still has a long time to determine the figure of a companion until the registration period for presidential and vice presidential candidates in October 2023. The first criterion is to contribute to the winning process. It can further help strengthen the stability of the coalition. In comparison, the third criterion is to assist in effective governance. Anies denied that the political meetings he had with several figures in recent times had led to the determination of the vice presidential candidate. There is still a long way to go, so I am not in a hurry to decide said Anies. The middle way for the Anies Coalition, a researcher from the Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) Denny JA, Adjie Alfaraby, said that Anies' choice to delay the appointment of a vice presidential candidate was the right step. The reason is that the battle for the 2024 presidential election will be even more challenging because of the Anies Coalition's Middle Road strength map. A researcher from the Indonesian Survey Circle (LSI) Denny JA, Adjie Alfaraby, said that Anies' choice was to delay the appointment of a vice presidential candidate as the right step. The reason is that the battle in the 2024 presidential election will be more challenging because the party's power map is evenly distributed. Therefore, according to Adjie, electoral considerations must be the primary concern. Adjie assesses that PKS currently does not have a strong vice presidential candidate from within the party. In addition, Anies votes are believed to be mainly in the pockets of Muslim voters, most of whom coincide with PKS voters.

Meanwhile, AHY, despite having voters more representative of young groups, is still not enough, according to several surveys. Anies needs a vice presidential candidate who can pick up voters who are more in the middle and who are not Islamic. According to Adjie, the Democrats' dilemma due to the results of the National Committee that carries the name AHY running in the presidential and vice presidential elections must be looked at further ahead. He believes the Democrats will be realistic in continuing the coalition by not imposing the AHY figure. Adjie assessed that it would be more difficult for the Democrats to build a coalition with other parties outside Nasdem and PKS. With other parties, there are historical considerations. There is also the current position of Democrats in the opposition, so their only rational choice is Nasdem and PKS. AHY will think more carefully about prioritizing the party's victory in the election 2024 later. Adjie is not sure that the Democrats will dare to stand out of the coalition if Anies does not choose AHY as his running mate. I think these three parties cannot be ridiculous. Their primary consideration must be about the electoral process, so it is just a matter of finding a middle point so everyone will benefit in the next election, said Adjie.

Regarding this middle ground, Democrats and PKS continue to open themselves to lobbying. Kholid said that although he had decided on a name, his party was still discussing various possibilities with the Nasdem Party and the Democratic Party. PKS will respect whatever decisions will be taken later, including if Anies finally chooses AHY as a presidential candidate. (Ahmad, 2022) in Lingkaran Survey Publik (LSP) surveyed to see the electability of several potential presidential candidates. Gerindra chairman Prabowo received the highest vote in the survey. This survey confirms that Prabowo's electability is still in the top position, with an acquisition of 31.8 percent. Ganjar occupies the second position. The electability rate for the Governor of Central Java was 20.4 percent. LSP conducted three closed-question simulations. Anies, Ganjar, and Sandiaga were not included in the simulation. As a result, Prabowo remains the top electability. In the simulation questions that did not include Sandi, Prabowo's electability increased by 0.5, Ganjar increased by 0.3, and Anies increased by 0.1 compared to the previous question. When Ganjar's name was not included, Prabowo's electability increased by 3.9. Meanwhile, Ridwan Kamil rose to second place, adding 1.1 percent. In the simulation that did not include Anies, Prabowo's electability increased by 2.8, Ganjar increased by 0.2, and Ridwan Kamil increased by 1.9 percent. This simulation shows the shift in the electability of Ganjar and Anies. This also shows that Prabowo can be accepted by both Ganjar and Anies voters. The survey was conducted on October 1-10, 2022, involving 1,230 respondents. The margin of error for the survey is around 2.8. While the confidence level of 95 percent.

DKI Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan, a 2024 presidential candidate from the NasDem Party, does not seem to be able to become the primary choice for Jakarta residents. This was conveyed in the Political Statistics (Polstat) survey results. Polstat researcher Apna Permana said that DKI residents tended to choose Defense Minister Prabowo over Anies, even with their results being significantly adrift. It is recorded that 24.6 will vote for Prabowo, while those who support Anies, 18.9 percent. The electability of the presidential candidate, Prabowo Subianto, is unwavering at the national level, but at the DKI Jakarta level, his electability remains in the top position. According to the Polstat survey, the third rank is occupied by the Governor of Central Java, Ganjar, with 16.1 percent, and West Java Governor Ridwan Kamil is below it with 10.1 percent. They were followed by the Chairman of the DPP Democratic Party, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) 4.3. Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy Sandiaga (3.4), Minister of State Owned Enterprises Erick Thohir (2.4), and another 20.2 percent have not made a choice. According to Apna, Jakarta residents still want Anies to lead Jakarta rather than manage the

country, with his electability as a candidate for governor reaching 40.5 percent. For the level of electability as a candidate for governor, the former governor of DKI Jakarta, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, was in second place with 19.1 percent. Then the Mayor of Surakarta, Gibran Rakabuming Raka (10.5), AHY (7.6), and member of the DPR Ahmad Sahroni 5.7 percent. Then the Minister of Social Affairs Tri Rismaharini (3.5), Vice Governor of East Java Emil Dardak (3.3), former South Tangerang Mayor Airin Rachmi Diany (1.1 percent), and Jakarta Deputy Governor Ahmad Riza Patria (0,5) Meanwhile, 8.2 percent of respondents answered they did not know.

The survey was carried out on 1 October 2022, involving 830 DKI residents in six regions who already have the right to vote with a sampling technique using the multistage random sampling method. The respondents were asked for their responses using face-to-face interviews by the questioner using questionnaire. The margin of error for the survey is around 3.4 percent at a confidence level of 95 percent (Kaltim.jpnn.com, 2022). Prabowo's electability is in the top position, with an acquisition of 31.8 percent. Ganjar Pranowo's electability is in second place with 20.4. Anies 11.7 and other presidential candidates. Here are the electability levels of 17 names that are included in the LSP radar. Including Prabowo (31.8), Ganjar (20.4), Anies (11.7 percent), Ridwan Kamil (10.5), Agus Harimuti Yudhoyono (7.2 percent), Puan (2.9 percent), Sandiaga (2.1), Erick (2.1). Then Khofifah (1.9 percent), Muhaimin (1.6 percent), Airlangga (1.2 percent), Mahfud MD (0.9 percent), Andika Perkasa (0.6 percent), Surya Paloh (0.3 percent), La Nyalla (0.2 percent), Zulkifli Hasan (0.2 percent), Ahmad Syaikh (0.2 percent) and undecided voters (4.2 percent). Indra said that his party carried out three simulations to measure the electability level. The electability question was made by not including several figures such as Sandiaga, Ganjar, and Anies in the closed question format. Prabowo is the top electability. Prabowo's electability increased by 0.5 percent, Ganjar increased by 0.3 percent, and Anies increased by 0.1 percent compared to the previous question's electability. Then the question that did not include Ganjar, the voter shift occurred again, and most likely, the shift was influenced by Ganjar's voters. Prabowo's electability also increased by 3.9 percent, while Ridwan Kamil rose to second place, adding 1.1 percent. The abundance of Ganjar is probably the most obtained by Puan Maharani, with a surge of 4.6 percent from 2.9 percent to 7.5 percent. There are still Ganjar voters who choose other candidates, and there is 12.0 percent who have not made their choice.

The Black Box as a reality in online news framing results from the knowledge of the actors who are represented and integrated through the actors of survey institutions and connected to the network of actors. Instead of acting as independent actors, they are anonymous political actors who significantly distort the struggles and roles of established actors in formulating concepts and strategies for human resource development as national development actors. ANT is in the study of science and technology in the field of communication on technology, including new media ([Wiard, 2019](#)). Thierry Bardini uses ANT's notion of scripting to explain how the technology creates a particular understanding of the end user. ANT proposes that new user-generated media content plays a role in shaping the technology itself. Drawing on the notion of a collection (which can roughly be equated with a network actor, although it has a history of its own), they show that technology, as a whole, transcends its materiality and includes its uses and the content created in that use ([Siles & Boczkowski, 2012](#)). With a text material approach, it is possible to acknowledge the user's involvement with the technology entirely. And new media platforms from their use. The object of study, new media, seems to be being created – evolving as users and software change ([Wiard, 2019](#)). ANT finds its way into the study of journalism, considering the changing work practices of journalists, particularly those related to technology—

the heterogeneity of journalistic work and recognizing the many things that make a difference in the field.

Rodgers (2015) studied how the technical details of the software content management system of Toronto newspapers play a critical role in the work of newsroom personnel to deliver News on time. Network actor theory emphasizes that boundaries are blurred and result from the stabilization of network actors. Bencherki (2017) that In the field of technology use Callon and Latour's discussion of translation to explain how technology and materiality provide resilience and visibility to organizational macro actors. Macro actors do not have a different level from other creatures; it is neither larger nor broader than the so-called individual. Instead, the horizontal assemblage of these people, with a spokesperson, gives them the ability to act and speak collectively. Bencherki (2017) explains that there is a focus on so-called textual agents- the ability of all kinds of texts, documents, contracts, procedures, and pamphlets – to make a difference in situations. A similar argument is made in (Brummans, 2007) poignant work regarding the declaration of euthanasia and its contribution to decisions about life. Bencherki (2017) said text, the argument goes, stabilizes the conversation, making it possible to give voice to the text in the current situation. Although Taylor and others have suggested the idea since 1996, its influence is still felt today. ANT semiotic character, in (Radford et al., 2007), indeed, by using either metaphorically or otherwise, language borrowed from semiotics, and especially from Greimas' narrative theory, ANT risks reducing everything to text and script.

The popularity of ANT in journalism studies is due to two main reasons: (1) its focus on technology as part of a network enabling analysis of digitization and (2) the fluid nature of journalistic practices and actors, which demands a research strategy that makes no judgments about who or what participated in the journalistic process prior to the investigation. Technology has always played a significant role in journalism, from its source (e.g., postal, telegraph, telephone, e-mail) using transmission (printing machine, radio, television). The digitization of society that began in the 20th century led to the digitization of journalism, carried out in every stage of journalistic production, diffusion, and consumption. ANT provides a framework for assessing the active role of technology in news work. Involving a wide range of actors, including journalists, politicians, activists, citizens, bloggers, and programmers, as well as institutions, organizations, and objects (Wiard, 2019). ANT considers society a result of interactions within a complex system called actor networks (Callon, 1987). A network of actors cannot be reduced to just actors or networks because, at the same time, an actor whose activity is a network of heterogeneous elements capable of redefining and changing what it is made of (Callon, 1987). The actor-network consists of diverse entities called actants (Latour, 1996). An actant can be defined as any element in the network that gains strength with others (Hemmingway, 2007), which implies that people, ideals, symbolic constructs, and material elements are seen as equally important elements to analyze.

Therefore, a journalist, a newsroom, a group of activists, and objectivity are elements that must be considered in the analysis. Callon (1987) divides the translation process into four phases: problematization, intersegment, registration, and mobilization. This translation occurs within the Actor's network during moments of uncertainty, known as controversy. Controversy can be defined as a complex collective situation in which a topic or theme does not reach a consensus (Wiard, 2019). Controversy has four primary characteristics: it involves a variety of actors, reflects social dynamics and change, is debated because it is contradictory, and is resistant to reduction. In ANT terms, a controversy referred to as a matter of concern (de Maeyer & Malcorps, 2015) describes anything that is not yet stable, a black box, or closed (Venturini, 2010). In order to

study the evolution of actor networks, ANT theorists propose to follow only these actants and trace the associations of network building during action (Latour, 1996). This often involves a mix of qualitative data collection techniques, such as observation, in-depth interviews, and analysis of the content generated during the controversy. There are two main objectives of this research strategy. First, infra-language (i.e., the concepts highlighted in this section) allows actors from actor networks to disseminate their language and concepts and speak on their terms. Second, following an actor during a controversy allows for free association in the Actor's network and forces the researcher to abandon presumptions about who the Actor is.

ANT and News by (Wiard, 2019) explained that, before highlighting the main concepts proposed by ANT to be used pragmatically, journalism actors had used the concepts and principles of the approach to study technology in journalistic practice and production in the latest complex news. ANT concept in journalism to understand technological innovation. The use of digital technology has naturalized into the daily routine of journalists, and researchers consider new technology as an essential actor in the newsroom (Primo & Zago, 2015). The website as a network of actors (Turner, 2005) shows that Romenesko translates various news articles into representations of the network itself, in this case, the media industry. Google is a prominent journalistic actor and influences journalistic content during the writing phase as journalists now negotiate with online News at a technical and editorial level by accepting some of Google's constraints. In other words, they adopted a strategy to influence or even deceive Google. For example, how indexation works in Google News has popularized the production of optimized short titles and the rapid publication of press releases to be verified, improved, and reworked (Rieder & Sire, 2014).

Wiard (2019) Focusing on Catalan public television, radio, and online newsrooms, (Micó et al., 2013) find that the convergence and production of news content for the Web are influenced and hindered by poor management and power struggles among diverse competitors. Groups of workers with differing definitions of what convergence should look like and individuals with little critical knowledge of the entire process. Rodgers (2015) recognizes content management systems from Toronto interacting with humans at three specific sites: at the web operations desk, in the developer's office, and on the computer of a senior newsroom manager. Wiard (2019) The use of ANT demonstrates that technology plays an active role in news production and should not be ignored only as an instrument. Technology (often acting as a mandatory black box crossing point) influences the actors that journalists connect with, often making their source networks stronger. News Production in a Networked Environment, by considering journalistic actors and institutions as part of a network of actors, provides the possibility to study and connect with other actors. ANT's contribution to the study of journalism is to highlight the dynamics of news coverage (Domingo & Wiard, 2016) by including all the actors revolving around professional journalists in the analysis.

Controversial studies such as local public debates explore how and by whom News is produced. This situational approach suggests that diverse actors (journalists and technologists as well as activists, politicians, and others) play an active role in news production, not only as sources but as various stages of production, circulation, and use. These actors develop strategies to influence news narratives. (Neresini, 2000) used ANT to analyze coverage of the public debate about cloning in the press. By analyzing the actants in the news articles of two people from news outlets, the actants hold different positions in the media arena. Wiard (2019) explains that news coverage in a network environment is by interviewing different types of news producers with a sensitivity to their network and associating with other actors. Production is influenced by the local

production context, producers' background, and their networks. Focusing on programmer journalists (Parasie & Dagiral, 2012) have found that these new actors in the newsroom, along with technological artifacts, skills, data sets, and communities, challenge the epistemology, which journalists believe to be the goal of data-driven reporting. By embedding political considerations in the resulting technology, journalist-programmers assert that rather than revealing the truth in data, truth is revealed through accessing, combining, and processing complete data. As noted earlier, journalism is the product of various actors: in addition to technology, the digital news desk is journalists, senior editors, and interns who interact with politicians, activists, and citizens on the streets and social media by telephone, computers, and face-to-face interactions. This study demonstrates the contingent nature of news production in various cases. These researchers have also gathered evidence (at least in the local context) that legacy news is still highly hegemonic regarding the public debate.

Cocci et al. (2018) explains that institutions are general thinking habits concerning certain relationships and special functions of individuals and communities. (Hayek, 1973) considers institutions based on shared expectations in society, not rules. (North, 2005) states that institutions are the rules of the game in a society. More formally, they are humanly designed boundaries that shape interactions to reduce uncertainty by providing structure for everyday life. Cocci et al. (2018) explains that the institutional approach is based on formal rules, such as laws and constitutions, and informal constraints, such as conventions and norms. (Aoki, 2007) defines an institution as a stable and shared belief system about what is expected of the behavior of members of society in various contingencies. (Greif, 2006) says that institutions have a broad meaning, namely: a system of rules, beliefs, norms, and organizations that together produce (social) behavioral order. While (Aoki, 2007) views institutions as independent and prominent patterns of social interaction that give rise to common knowledge among players about a particular equilibrium path of the game.

Habermas broadens the perspective of social interaction by defining normatively regulated actions as actors who interact as group members in their social roles, where they refer to goals and the social world (Cecez-Kecmanovic & Janson, 1999). An action is called communicative when actors are oriented towards achieving understanding and where they relate simultaneously to the objective, social and subjective world. Understanding negotiates situations, arguments, and cooperative interpretations of events, goals, values, and norms by sharing their subjective experiences, desires, and feelings. Communicative action is successful to the extent that agreement is reached cooperatively and individual action plans are coordinated. The act of communicative rationality inherent in human speech, which denotes communicative practice, is characterized by the Actor's obligation to provide reasons to challenge the proposed validity claims and to challenge, accept or reject the claims of others based on better arguments. Types of Actions and Information Systems In information systems to support instrumental actions, actors seek to realize the desired conditions by performing several alternative possible actions. Success-oriented and rational, an individual predicts the performance outcomes of alternative actions using causal, probabilistic, or logical relationships. An important aspect of instrumental action is intervening in the objective world by manipulating and controlling entities, streams, and possibly humans perceived as objects, taking positions outside the situation.

A prerequisite for successful instrumental action is that the Actor has a representation of the world he controls and a realistic model of the relevant relationships. Information systems to support strategic actions involve two or more individuals who seek to achieve the desired state with the assumption of rational partners and respond strategically. By engaging in strategic

actions, each individual adjusts his or her performance in response to the strategic actions of other actors. The actors only refer to the objective world, as explicitly stated by Habermas. Actors refer to something that happens in the world, which from an ontological point of view, is the objective world. However, this vital feature of strategic action is often misunderstood (Ngwenyama & Lee, 1997). The confusion arises from the fact that in strategic action, two or more actors (opponents) are involved; hence, this is interpreted as if they were involved in the social interaction of the world. While these actors take action against one another, they do not build interpersonal relationships based on norms and rules and therefore do not refer to the social world. Information systems to support normatively regulated actions are carried out by actors who share the same values and norms that define their social world (Cecez-Kecmanovic & Janson, 1999). Actors become part of the social world by accepting standard norms and by establishing honest interpersonal relationships according to these norms. Actors normatively regulate actions as group members and as role-playing subjects. When taking action, the Actor refers to what is the case in the goal and what is correct and legal in the social world. A successful communicative action is the satisfaction of conditions determined by the ideal speech situation. Communicative practice is free from all forms of Distortion, coercion, and ideology that excludes all powers. The power of a better argument (Habermas, 1984). In practice, everyone can speak and act and has the right to participate; everyone has the right to ask questions of any kind, to introduce new topics, and to express attitudes, needs, and desires.

Thinking errors that include mind-reading assuming that others think negatively of oneself, catastrophically making pessimistic predictions based on little evidence), and thinking all-or-nothing, seeing things as good-or-nothing (Burns, 1980). At all. Without considering the full spectrum and scope of the evaluation, emotional reasoning (believing something is true based on emotional responses rather than objective evidence), labeling (classifying oneself negatively after the occurrence of an adverse event), mental screening (focusing on negative information and devaluing positive information), overgeneralizing assuming that the occurrence of one adverse event means that other bad things will happen, personalizing using the assumption that one is the cause of adverse events, having to think that things must or must be a certain way, and minimizing or disqualifying positives, ignoring positive things that have happened. Cognitive errors can occur with differing frequency across social and achievement domains, depending primarily on the content of the individual's core beliefs. These typically fall into two categories: unloved, sociology, dependent, powerless, autonomy, or achievement (Clark et al., 2000). Although cognitive distortions are prominent in cognitive theory and therapy, a dearth of research has examined the mechanisms by which cognitive distortions impact subsequent psychological distress (Rnic et al., 2016). The Web's Largest Resource for WordNet Princeton defines Distortion into deformation as a change for the worse of a distorted shape, a distortion of shape resulting from aberration distortion phenomena that result from the failure of a lens or mirror to produce an image that is favorable to changes in Distortion caused by usually undesirable.

Extreme Distortion, Distortion with excessive refinement through tension and twisting. Distortion as a noun is the act of distorting something to appear to have the meaning of something meant not to distort an error in describing the fact. (Hart, 2016) stated that a well-organized communication system contributes to employee satisfaction and engagement in the organization. Lack of productive communication in manager- employee relationships can lead to low employee engagement and thus affect the success and sustainability of the organization. The ability to lead and inspire employees to achieve organizational goals is an aspect of managerial communication (Neves & Eisenberger, 2012). (Brennan, 2011) says through Taylor's opinion that the main object

of Management should be to ensure maximum prosperity for employers, coupled with maximum prosperity for employees. In a broad sense, the words maximum prosperity are used not only to mean significant dividends for the company or owner but the development of each branch of business to the highest state of excellence so that prosperity becomes permanent and greatest. Prosperity can only be realized if the work is done with the least expenditure of the combined human effort. The shifting nature of organizations as they are shaped and transformed through relational interactions between members, external audiences, and systems of cultural meaning (Cooren et al., 2013). Then (Markaki et al., 2013) shows that business communication and Management are essential and strategic partners for companies to achieve their goals.

Hart (2016) explains managerial communication because techniques and employee engagement in organizational success depend on synergy, linkage, and codependency between different subsystems. (Hechavarria & Ingram, 2014) says that the two relevant subsystems are managers and workers. Ideas relevant to leadership communication integrated with employee engagement and employee/ manager relations are vital components of the organizational entity. (Hart, 2016) explains that communication as an act of will directed at an existing entity that reacts. Effective communication is intended, goal-oriented, and coherent (Garcia, 2012). In comparison, communication competence is effective in organizational settings (Keyton, 2017). Furthermore, (Rodell et al., 2016) define employees in two classifications; regular employees and permanent employees.

The notion of institutions as social actions and knowledge of actors. Based on typification, sedimentation, and habituation processes, even a complex series of social actions can be routinized in such a way that they can be considered forms. At least two actors and seem relevant to other actors, this knowledge can be transmitted, either explicitly, by incorporating legitimacy or implicitly as a tradition. Institutional is a series of actions taken by a third party. If it is accepted that the transmission of any knowledge requires communication, it must assume that institutions are communicative. Analogous to social action, it can be said that meaningful communicative action can be precipitated, routinized, and institutionalized into a communicative form (Knoblauch, 2013). Communicative form can be seen from the way people greet each other, coordinate their actions, an actor points to something (by breaking or pointing with a stick) (Knoblauch, 2013). The communicative form is the main building block for the construction of reality, allowing actors to coordinate actions and motives. The communicative form is not only produced by communicative actions. Because of its objective nature serves as a means to generate order and orient action at different scales towards varying goals. Communicative forms range from single sequences to interactive episodes, i.e., consultations, to cooperative arrangements as technical systems, e.g., coordination shapes action, and other forms of social organization.

The study of communication media has emphasized that mediation technology makes it possible to cross orbits and enter face-to-face situations. Thus (Hepp & Krotz, 2014) suggest a mixed form of interpersonal mediated interaction that explains the massive penetration of communication technologies into face-to-face interactions and their domestication (Lundby, 2009). In the sociology of technology, this intersection of social action with technology is said to lead to the differentiation of action and the creation of forms of social action through interactivity (Rammert, 2012). Perhaps the most radical reaction to the mediating role of technology has been formulated by Latour as part of Actor-Network Theory, reason as a human actor, and answers questions about the role of objectivation, which lie at the core of the theory (Knoblauch, 2013). Latour's ideas emphasize that society is not only built on human actors but on the relationship

between various types of actors, including technology and objects. Actors are connected by a network that can be condensed into a black box to combine these actors in a way he calls power. The actor network seems quite useful as it allows Latour to explain the relevance of things to action. Concerning actor networks, Latour also intends to address the advantages of local face-to-face interactions. It is at this exact moment that (Latour & Weibel, 2005) introduces the category of actors who link local and trans-local or situational.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of democracy and actor-network theory in news framing results from the knowledge of all the actions of network actors involved, starting from the actions of pollster actors, then becoming News, and becoming the actions of political party actors. This means that the actions of one Actor followed by the next distort the credibility of the political party actors. Independent actors from survey institutions and independent actors from mass media as black boxes tend to favor political actors in favor of Actor Anies. Moreover, being part of the network of actors behind Actor Anies means that the black box in actor-network theory has begun to open up as a reality for political actors. The recommendation we can convey in this study is the balance of actors. A survey institute for all individual actors' political parties with local, regional, national, and international roles. By conducting further research on the role of Political Parties in the Management of qualified Human Resources in managing political actors who are ready to become national leaders.

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