



Ideology Construction of Digital News Media Related to the Vortex Discourse of the 2024 Election

Sriwahyuni Pontoh

wahyunipontoh01@gmail.com

Gorontalo State University, Indonesia

Jafar Lantowa (Corresponding Author)

Jafar.lantowa@ung.ac.id

Gorontalo State University, Indonesia

Wisnu Dewantoro Afandi

winnudewantoro0108@gmail.com

Gorontalo State University, Indonesia

Nurnadela Rahmat

nurnadelarahmat@gmail.com

Gorontalo State University, Indonesia

Abstract: The role of the media in the 2024 election became a polemic in the community. One of the causes was the differing news of the election in the mass media based on the ideologies adopted by the media. This condition also tended for similar patterns to occur in the elections that would be held in 2024. Various surveys have emerged regarding strong candidates for the position of President of the Republic of Indonesia. This study used a critical discourse analysis research method to uncover the ideological discourse of the 2024 Election Vortex. The research data were digital news that contained a digital media ideological discourse related to the 2024 Election Vortex. The data were sourced from three digital news media with the highest trust index in Indonesia, according to the research results by the Reuters Institute Digital News Report (2023:132). These media were Kompas.com (69%), CNN.com (68%), and liputan6.com (64%). The concept of Critical Discourse applied in this study was Theo van Leeuwen's framework for analyzing actors and social actions. The results showed that the three digital dailies with the highest level of trust in Indonesia, kompas.com, cnnindonesia.com, and liputan6.com, exhibited mixed views on the four main issues in their reporting. These differences reflected different ideologies.

Keywords: *Ideological construction; digital news; discourse; 2024 elections*

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A. INTRODUCTION

Mass media shapes public opinion through various platforms (Laila et al., 2020). The effectiveness of mass media that presents specific content about candidates can increase voter knowledge (Richter & Stier, 2022). Therefore, the mass media must provide accurate and educational information (Coopilton et al., 2023). As a disseminator of information, the mass media must present accurate and ethical news (Leyva & 4, 2020). The mass media, especially those with particular political leanings, is very influential in how people process political information and shape their views (Hutchens et al., 2021). As a social control and political mediator, the mass media must present independent facts and information to help people make decisions while maintaining their independence from political, social, or business authorities and without personal bias (Musfialdy, 2015). In the current development, the mass media must be independent and neutral during the 2024 election to avoid losses to the public (Silitonga & Muqsith, 2023).

The mass media serves as an essential means of political mobilization, connecting elites with the broader public and directing public opinion (Wu, 2023; Heiberger et al., 2022; Kneafsey & Regan, 2022; Bimber et al., 2015; Tresch & Feddersen, 2019). In addition, mass media is also essential in maintaining social stability during political crises by presenting accurate and balanced information (Dupuis, 2021). However, the role of the media ahead of the 2024 election has become a polemic in the community. Election coverage in the mass media is often different based on the ideology embraced by the media. Sumarni (2023) shows that before the 2024 elections, mass media in Indonesia faced severe challenges because it was co-opted by business and political interests, which threatened democracy by limiting choice and creating the polarization in society. Digital media will play an increasingly significant role, so strict supervision and critical public awareness of information are essential to maintaining the integrity of democracy.

Dahlia & Permana's (2022) research, shows that from 2009 to 2019, the political actions of media oligarchs show the use of media facilities for political purposes. A similar pattern is likely to occur in the 2024 election, where politicians who own money, colleagues, and the media control the political space. (Retamara et al., 2023) found that political actors and public figures heavily influence political actions in the 2024 presidential candidacy process, influencing public opinion and vote support. Triputranti (2023) explained that media ownership and media convergence affect the direction of



news, which is often controlled by media owners' political and economic interests. Silitonga & Muqsith (2023) criticized the phenomenon of conglomerate media in Indonesia that threatens the independence of journalists' independence and neutrality in reporting. The practice of media conglomerates threatens the independence and neutrality of journalists, harming the public because of uniform opinions due to media conglomerates. Journalists who work in media whose owners are affiliated with political parties cannot be independent and neutral. Aliano & Adon (2023) analyze power in Indonesia's electoral system from the perspective of Foucault's ethics, emphasizing the need for critical thinking on the practice of political power through the mass media.

The mass media has a significant influence in shaping people's political opinions during elections. Information manipulation by the media can change voter preferences (Ruzic, 2016). This signifies that digital media not only disseminates information but also shapes and directs public opinion (Das & Schroeder, 2021). Iskandar (2017) concluded that no newspaper was neutral in the 2014 presidential election campaign. Halwati (2014) found that the news in Kompas Daily took more on the theme of presidential candidates and the coalition's direction for the 2014 presidential election.

Mass media, both print and digital, play an essential role in political development (Putra et al., 2015), but are also loaded with various interests (Lantowa & Eid, 2023). To prevent digital media from being used as a weapon to sow distrust or harm society, the role of the government and digital mass media entrepreneurs is needed (Limaye et al., 2020). Response, advocacy, and mobilization of digital mass media are essential in disseminating information (Bao, et al., 2020). Although mass media has an essential role as a social control and mediator in politics, there has not been much research that has deeply analyzed how different digital media ideologies shaped political discourse during the 2024 elections. The study found that even though media with high trust indices, such as Kompas.com, CNN.com, and Liputan6.com, are considered credible, their ideologies can still influence news framing and information manipulation (Arifin & Basuki, 2018).

The novelty of this research lies in the use of critical discourse analysis, especially Theo van Leeuwen's framework for analyzing actors and social actions to uncover media ideology in the context of reporting the 2024 Election Vortex Discourse. Leeuwen (2008) Introduces new tools and frameworks for discourse analysis that deepen understanding of how social actors and social actions are represented in texts. Leeuwen (1996) developed



methods to analyze how individuals or groups are portrayed in discourse and how their actions are presented to help uncover the ideology and power underlying texts and social practices. This framework analyzes how language is used to describe the identity and social role of actors in texts, as well as how their actions are classified. Theo Van Leeuwen introduced a series of discursive structures and linguistic realizations to represent social actors through language (Allami & Barzegar, 2020; Surjowati et al., 2022). Thus, discourse can be used as a source to represent social practices in the text (Tomczak-Boczko, 2023). Discourse analysis can reveal the information hidden in the text and how the text affects and assesses the social reality it represents (Leeuwen, 2018)

This approach provides new insights into how digital media that is considered credible shapes and influences public opinion through different discursive techniques and how this contributes to the formation of political ideology and voter mobilization. Digital platforms allow candidates to reach voters directly and influence political information consumption patterns, expanding the reach and accessibility of political campaigns (Soon & Win, 2021). This research can fill in the gaps in the existing literature and offer a deeper understanding of the role of digital media in the contemporary democratic process. Therefore, researchers need to fill this gap by designing a study to determine the ideological construction of digital news media related to the vortex discourse of the 2024 Election. Based on this description, the problem of this research is how to construct the ideology of digital news media related to the vortex discourse of the 2024 election.

B. RESEARCH METHOD

This study used Qualitative Descriptive Methods through the appreciation of the interaction between concepts that were being studied by describing qualitative data that were analyzed according to the theory (Creswell, 2014). The research design used a critical discourse analysis approach to reveal the ideology of each digital media that was the object of this research and its implementation in the news of the 2024 Election Vortex Discourse. The concept of Critical Discourse applied in this study was the framework of analysis of actors and social action by Theo van Leeuwen, (2008).

At the level of social action analysis, this study was directed to examine the linguistic representation of social actions contained in the news discourse of the 2024 election vortex. Meanwhile, at the level of social actor analysis, this study investigated the



representation of social actors in news discourse related to the 2024 Election Vortex Discourse. The results of these two dimensions of analysis then boiled down to the ideological mapping of each popular digital news media that was the formal object of this research and its construction in the news discourse presented.

The research data were digital news containing the 2024 Election Vortex Discourse identified and sorted from data 1-56. The data totaled 56 data points sourced from three digital news media with the highest trust index in Indonesia, according to research results by the Reuters Institute Digital News Report (2023:132). These media were Kompas.com (69%), CNN.com (68%), and liputan6.com (64%).

The researcher acted as the main instrument in collecting data. This study's primary data collection technique was a documentation technique to find data related to the research object. The documentation in this study was in the form of a digital document, specifically digital news that contained the 2024 Election Vortex Discourse.

The data analysis technique in this study followed Theo van Leeuwen's three-dimensional concept of discourse, which consisted of three stages. In the dimension of social action, data were processed to find linguistic representations of each social action in news discourse related to the 2024 Election Vortex Discourse through analysis of word selection, phrase structure, and sentences. In the dimension of social actors, data were processed to find linguistic representations of each social actor in policy-related news discourse in digital media through inclusivity and exclusivity. At the conclusion stage, data in digital media that had been analyzed were then described based on their respective ideologies against certain political groups in the 2024 Election Vortex Discourse.

C. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings

Digital news media highlight four main social events: kompas.com, cnnindonesia.com, and liputan6.com. These social events are the potential for the emergence of the fourth Sandiaga-AHY axis, the third potential presidential candidate, the potential for the unification of the Ganjar-Anies axis, and Jokowi's Support for Prabowo.



1. Potential for the Emergence of the Fourth Axis of Sandiaga-AHY

The digital daily Kompas.com described the issue of the emergence of the fourth axis as a strategy of the United Development Party (PPP) to leave the Democratic Indonesia of Struggle Party (PDIP) if Ganjar Pranowo does not choose Sandiaga as its vice presidential candidate. This can be seen in how Kompas.com packages the news headlines, as shown in the table below.

Table 1. Potential for the Emergence of the Fourth Axis of Sandiaga-AHY Kompas

Data	Linguistic Representation
1	<p><i>PPP Gulirkan Ide Duet Sandiaga-AHY karena Cawapres Ganjar Tak Kunjung Diumumkan</i></p> <p>PPP Rolls Out the Idea of a Sandiaga-AHY Duet because Vice Presidential Candidate Ganjar Has Not Been Announced</p>
2	<p><i>Wacana Sandiaga-AHY, PDI-P Tak Khawatir PPP Keluar dari Kerja Sama Politik</i></p> <p>Sandiaga-AHY Discourse, PDI-P Not Worried PPP Leaves Political Cooperation</p>
3	<p><i>Muncul Wacana Sandiaga-AHY, PDI-P Fokus Menangkan Ganjar dan Ingatkan Kader Tak Toleh-toleh</i></p> <p>Sandiaga-AHY Discourse Emerges, PDI-P Focuses on Winning Ganjar and Reminds Cadres Not to Be Righteous</p>
4	<p><i>Ada Wacana Pasangkan Sandiaga-AHY, PPP: Itu Guyon Politik</i></p> <p>There is a Discourse on Pairing Sandiaga-AHY, PPP: It's a Political Joke</p>
5	<p><i>Soal Wacana Sandiaga-AHY, Pengamat: "Exit" Strategi PPP untuk Tinggalkan PDI-P</i></p> <p>Regarding the Sandiaga-AHY Discourse, Observer: PPP's "Exit" Strategy to Leave the PDI-P</p>

Source: Kompas.com

The digital daily Kompas.com uses causal sentence patterns to describe the main cause of the discourse on the formation of the Sandiaga-AHY axis. In data 1, the cause of the emergence of the discourse appears in the dependent clause after the conjunction 'because', namely 'Ganjar's vice presidential candidate has not been announced'. Almost similar meanings but present in different forms are seen in data 2 and 5. In data 2, the cause of this issue is shown in the clause after the predicate is negative, 'not worried,' namely, 'PPP exiting political cooperation'. Meanwhile, data 5 puts the cause of this issue in the clause "exit PPP's strategy to leave PDIP. This implies that Kompas.com considers



the emergence of the issue of the formation of the Sandiaga-AHY axis to be nothing more than a threat by the PPP to leave the coalition with PDIP if Sandiaga Uno is not elected as Ganjar Pranowo's vice presidential candidate.

In contrast to Kompas, the digital daily cnnindonesia.com seems to support the emergence of a fourth axis. In addition, this Support always goes hand in hand with efforts to highlight the figure of Sandiaga Uno. The following is the presentation table.

**Table 2. Potential for the Emergence
of the Fourth Axis of Sandiaga-AHY CNN**

Data	Linguistic Representation
6	<i>Sandiaga Bicara Soal Poros Keempat di Pilpres 2024</i> CNN Indonesia Sandiaga Talks About the Fourth Axis in the 2024 Presidential Election CNN Indonesia
7	<i>Projo Doakan Sandiaga Jadi Kontestan di Pilpres 2024</i> Projo Prays for Sandiaga to Become a Contestant in the 2024 Presidential Election
8	<i>PPP, PKS, Demokrat Penuhi Syarat Usung Capres Jika Berkoalisi</i> PPP, PKS, Democrats Meet the Requirements for Presidential Candidacy If Forming a Coalition

Source: cnnindonesia.com

Digital Daily cnnindonesia.com chose a different position regarding this discourse. This digital media tends to support the emergence of the Sandiaga-AHY axis. This can be seen in the clause 'meet the requirements for presidential candidacy,' which follows the subject 'PPP, Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), Democrats' in data 8. In addition, CNN seems to try to highlight the figure of Sandiaga Uno every time discussing the potential emergence of a fourth axis, as shown in data 6 and 7. In data 6, CNN did not mention its sidelining on the pros and cons of the issue. However, CNN included Sandiaga's name as the subject of the sentence. In data 7, Sandiaga Kembali was mentioned by CNN as the object of the transitive verb 'pray.' In this data, CNN also brought Projo (Jokowi's support base) to show the audience that Sandiaga is a figure who has the potential to become a participant in the 2024 Presidential Election regardless of his status.

Regarding the Sandiaga-AHY discourse, liputan6.com is in a different position from Kompas and CNN. In this case, the digital daily liputan6.com firmly denied this



discourse. The rebuttal was submitted from both parties, PDIP and PPP, as presented in the following table.

**Table 3. Potential for the Emergence
of the Fourth Axis of Sandiaga-AHY Coverage6**

Data	Linguistic Representation
9	<i>Wacana Sandiaga-AHY, Ganjar Pranowo: PPP Masih Bersama PDIP</i> Sandiaga-AHY Discourse, Ganjar Pranowo: PPP Still with PDIP
10	<i>Ajak PKS dan Demokrat Kerja Sama, Sandiaga Uno Bantah Bikin Poros Baru</i> Inviting PKS and Democrats to Cooperate with Sandiaga Uno Denied Making a New Axis

Source: liputan6.com

Based on this data, liputan6.com firmly denied the truth of the discourse on the emergence of the Sandiaga-AHY axis. To support this rebuttal, liputan6.com displays the votes of both sides, as shown in data 9 and 10. In data 9, Coverage 6 uses the marker of the tense 'still' in the predicate 'still together' to connect the subject of 'PPP' with PDIP.

2. The Third Presidential Candidate

In displaying the figures of Prabowo Subianto and Anies Baswedan, the digital daily kompas.com tried to bring out a negative image of both. The difference is that the marginalization of Prabowo's figure is shown more firmly than Anies. On the contrary, Ganjar Pranowo's figure is displayed in a strong positive image. This can be seen in the following table.

Table 4. The Third Prospective Kompas Presidential Candidate

Data	Linguistic Representation
11	<i>Beri Dukungan Lagi, PAN Dinilai Cinta Mati ke Prabowo Subianto meski Pernah Kalah 2 Kali</i> Give Support Again, PAN Considered Dead Love to Prabowo Subianto even though He Has Lost 2 Times
12	<i>Kritik Deklarasi Prabowo di Museum, Sekjen PDI-P: Dalam Proses Saja Sudah Langgar UU, Bagaimana Nanti?</i> Criticism of Prabowo's Declaration at the Museum, Secretary General of PDI-P: In the Process of Violating the Law, What Will It Do?
13	<i>Koalisi Gemuk Prabowo Disebut Tak Jamin Kemenangan, Bergantung Pilihan Rakyat</i> Prabowo's Fat Coalition Called No Guarantee of Victory, Depends on the People's Choice

14	<i>Adian Napitupulu: Presiden Masa Depan Jangan Punya Riwayat Kekerasan dan Pelanggaran HAM</i> Adian Napitupulu: Future Presidents Don't Have a History of Violence and Human Rights Violations
15	<i>Diundang Debat Capres di UI, Anies: Saya yang Pertama Menjawab</i> Invited to the Presidential Debate at UI, Anies: I Was the First to Answer
16	<i>Kritik Sistem Pendidikan Indonesia, Anies: Banyak PR, tapi Tak Usah Salahkan Siapa Pun, Kita Perbaiki...</i> Criticism of Indonesia's Education System, Anies: A lot of homework, but don't blame anyone, we fix it...
17	<i>Elektabilitas Anies Cenderung Stagnan atau Turun, Pengamat: Lebih Banyak Daur Ulang Isu Lama</i> Anies' Electability Tends to Stagnate or Decline, Observer: More Recycling of Old Issues
18	<i>Survei Litbang "Kompas": Ganjar Dianggap Paling Mumpuni Atasi Masalah Ekonomi dan Kesejahteraan</i> "Kompas" R&D Survey: Ganjar Considered the Most Capable of Overcoming Economic and Welfare Problems
19	<i>Tanggapi Survei Litbang "Kompas", Andi Gani Yakin Ganjar Tetap Akan Unggul dari Prabowo</i> Responding to Kompas' R&D Survey, Andi Gani Believes Ganjar Will Still Beat Prabowo
20	<i>Survei Indikator, Elektabilitas Ganjar dan Prabowo Bersaing Ketat</i> Indicator Survey, Ganjar, and Prabowo's Electability Compete Fiercely

Source: Kompas.com

The digital daily Kompas.com represents the three presidential candidates in different ways. In data 17, Anies Baswedan was described negatively with the predicate of "stagnant or down" for his electability and "recycling" for the programs he offers, emphasizing that Anies did not bring novelty and his voice did not increase. Prabowo Subianto's representation is colored by marginalization, with four main weaknesses exposed by Kompas, such as the predicate of "having lost two times" in data 11, implying the potential for Prabowo's big defeat. On the contrary, Ganjar Pranowo is portrayed positively, especially in the news of the results of the R&D survey, which puts Prabowo at the forefront but highlights Ganjar's superiority in overcoming economic and welfare problems. In data 18, Ganjar was paired with the complement "most capable of overcoming economic and welfare problems," indicating that although Prabowo excelled



in the survey, Ganjar was considered the most reliable. Kompas seems to position itself as a supporter of Ganjar Pranowo.

In contrast to Kompas, CNN tries to display a positive image of Prabowo and Ganjar and tends to marginalize Anies. The following is a table of data presentations.

Table 5. The Third Presidential Candidate for CNN

Data	Linguistic Representation
21	<i>Airlangga Bantah Dukung Prabowo Dadakan: Sudah Dibahas 1 Tahun</i> Airlangga Denies Supporting Prabowo Impromptu: It Has Been Discussed for 1 Year
22	<i>Gerindra: Kami Tak Butuh Buzzer Lawan Kampanye Hitam ke Prabowo</i> Gerindra: We Don't Need a Buzzer Against the Black Campaign to Prabowo
23	<i>Prabowo Kerap Ungguli Hasil Survei Capres: Alhamdulillah</i> Prabowo Often Outperforms Presidential Survey Results: Alhamdulillah
24	<i>PKS Juga Desak Anies Segera Umumkan Cawapres di Pilpres 2024</i> PKS Also Urges Anies to Immediately Announce Vice Presidential Candidate in the 2024 Presidential Election
25	<i>AHY soal Cawapres Anies: Ketidakjelasan Buat Orang Tidak Optimal</i> AHY on Vice Presidential Candidate Anies: Ambiguity for People Is Not Optimal
26	<i>NasDem Minta Anies Tak Pilih Cawapres Hanya karena Punya Partai</i> NasDem Asks Anies Not to Choose a Vice Presidential Candidate Just Because He Has a Party
27	<i>Survei LSI: Elektabilitas Ganjar dan Prabowo Naik, Anies Turun</i> LSI Survey: Ganjar and Prabowo's Electability Rises, Anies Drops
28	<i>Ganjar Yakin RI Jadi Negara Maju, Bicara Digitalisasi Pemerintahan</i> Ganjar Believes Indonesia Becomes a Developed Country, Talks About Government Digitalization
29	<i>Ganjar Respons 2 Hasil Survei Ungguli Prabowo dan Anies: Belum Final</i> Ganjar Responds to 2 Survey Results Outperforming Prabowo and Anies: Not Final

Source: cnnindonesia.com

The digital daily cnnindonesia.com discusses the three presidential candidates from different perspectives, generally featuring Prabowo and Ganjar with a positive image. CNN classified through vocabulary such as 'impromptu' and 'discussed for one year' to describe Golkar's Support for Prabowo, implying that the Support was not carefully



considered, and CNN rejected the accusation. Ganjar is an optimistic and visionary figure with the title of 'confident' and the predicate of 'talk', which shows readiness to face the digital era. CNN discussed Ganjar's superiority in presidential surveys in a different way from Prabowo's, using the frequent adverbial 'frequent' for Prabowo and the nominal phrase '2 survey results' for Ganjar, forming a stronger positive image of Prabowo. Anies is shown as a less assertive figure, with data showing PKS urges Anies to immediately announce a vice presidential candidate, reflecting his indecisiveness that causes political unrest. Anies' electability is displayed marginally, using the 'up' antonym for Ganjar and Prabowo's electability and 'down' for Anies.

In contrast to the digital media of Liputan 6, although it tries to be neutral, it seems clear that Liputan 6 always highlights the figure of Ganjar Pranowo. Coverage 6 features the figure of Prabowo by raising the issue of installing Prabowo Billboards using photos of Jokowi and Gibran without the permission of both. The figure of Anies is shown confronting President Jokowi. Meanwhile, Ganjar is represented as a presidential candidate with a positive track record in various fields. The following is a table of data presentation.

Table 6. The Third Presidential Candidate for Coverage 6

Data	Linguistic Representation
30	<i>Ramai Baliho Duet Prabowo-Gibran di Labuan Bajo, Ternyata Tanpa Izin Gibran</i> Crowded Prabowo-Gibran Duet Billboards in Labuan Bajo, Turned Out Without Gibran's Permission
31	<i>Prabowo Kembali Dapat Dukungan Partai Politik, Deklarasi Akhir Pekan Ini</i> Prabowo Again Gets Support from Political Parties, Declaration This Weekend
32	<i>Prabowo akan Lanjutkan Program Pro Rakyat Jokowi di 2024: Jokowiomics</i> Prabowo will Continue Jokowi's Pro-People Program in 2024: Jokowiomics
33	<i>Jokowi Sentil Capres yang Pakai Foto Dirinya di Baliho Pilpres 2024, Ini Tanggapan Prabowo</i> Jokowi Sentil Presidential Candidate Who Uses a Photo of Himself on the 2024 Presidential Election Billboard, This is Prabowo's Response
34	<i>NasDem Sebut Perusahaan Surya Paloh Diganggu karena Dukung Anies, Ini Reaksi PDIP</i>

	NasDem Says Surya Paloh Company Was Bullied for Supporting Anies, This is PDIP's Reaction
35	<i>Nasdem Ungkap Perusahaan Surya Paloh Diganggu Pemerintah karena Dukung Anies</i> Nasdem Reveals Paloh Solar Company Harassed by the Government for Supporting Anies
36	<i>Anies Baswedan Singgung soal Pencopotannya sebagai Mendikbud</i> Anies Baswedan Touches on His Removal as Minister of Education and Culture
37	<i>Basarah Ungkap Arti Nama Ganjar Pranowo: Sejak Lahir Ditakdirkan Jadi Presiden ke-8</i> Basarah Reveals the Meaning of Ganjar Pranowo's Name: Since Birth He Is Destined to Become the 8th President
38	<i>Kunjungi Ponpes Al Munawwir Krapyak, Ganjar Ajak Nahdliyin Jaga Keutuhan NKRI</i> Kunjungi Ponpes Al Munawwir Krapyak, Ganjar Ajak Nahdliyin Jaga Keutuhan NKRI
39	<i>Jadi Gubernur Pertama Bentuk BRIDA, Ganjar Dukung Pengembangan Riset Selama Bangun Jateng</i> Becoming the First Governor to Form BRIDA, Ganjar Supports Research Development During the Construction of Central Java
40	<i>Tata Kelola ASN dan Smart Birokrasi Ganjar di Jateng Jadi Contoh Bagi Provinsi Lain</i> ASN Governance and Smart Bureaucracy Ganjar in Central Java Become an Example for Other Provinces

Source: liputan6.com

Different news was carried out by liputan6.com. When reporting on Prabowo, Liputan 6 tried to show both sides. In data 30 and 33, Coverage 6 pairs two entities: Prabowo's billboard and the installation of photos of the figure without their permission, showing Prabowo's ambition to show his closeness to Jokowi and his family without their knowledge. The verb 'sentil' that predicts the subject 'Jokowi' shows Jokowi's displeasure with the presidential candidate who uses his photo on the 2024 presidential election billboard, which refers to Prabowo. However, Liputan 6 also showed Prabowo's superiority several times, such as in data 31, which uses the verbal phrase repetitive meaning 'again' to show the amount of Support of political parties for him, and in data 32 which uses the verb 'will continue' in the future to support Prabowo's claim of Jokowi's blessing. Although not in a negative image, Coverage 6's coverage of Anies shows a



political clash between Anies and Jokowi, with Anies as a victim. Data 34 uses the passive predicate 'disturbed' to predict the subject 'Surya Paloh's company' as a sufferer of 'disturbed' because it supports Anies, showing the displeasure of the Jokowi administration. Data 36 uses the verb 'allusion' to associate the subject of 'Anies Baswedan' with 'his removal as Minister of Education and Culture', without explicitly mentioning the perpetrator but hinting at Jokowi. Meanwhile, Ganjar's coverage by Liputan 6 was colored by a parade of praise and excellence in various sectors. Data 37 uses a combination of the passive predicate 'destined' and the time statement 'since birth' to display praise for Ganjar, and data 38 uses the vocabulary in the Santri registers 'ponpes' and 'Nahdliyin' to show Ganjar's closeness to the students and dismiss the image of Islamic antithesis attached to PDIP.

3. Potential for Ganjar-Anies Axis Unification

Kompas firmly refused the unification of Ganjar Pranowo and Anies Baswedan. In its report, the digital daily Kompas.com tried to show that the possibility of the unity of the two camps is almost non-existent. The following is a table of data presentations.

Table 7. Potential for Unification of Ganjar-Anies Kompas Axis

Data	Linguistic Representation
41	<i>Matematika Politik Ambyar Penyatuan Ganjar dan Anies</i> Political Mathematics Ambyar Unifies Ganjar and Anies
42	<i>Ganjarian Spartan: Duet Ganjar-Anies Wacana Pribadi Said Abdullah, Bukan Pernyataan PDI-P</i> Ganjarian Spartan: Ganjar-Anies Duet Said Abdullah's Personal Discourse, Not PDI-P Statement
43	<i>Demokrat: Wacana Sandi-AHY Respons atas Imajinasi Liar Duetkan Ganjar-Anies</i> Democrats: Sandi-AHY Discourse Responds to Wild Imagination of Ganjar-Anies Duet
44	<i>Soal Wacana Ganjar-Anies, Gerindra: Kami Tak Campurkan Keberlanjutan dengan Perubahan</i> Regarding the Ganjar-Anies Discourse, Gerindra: We Don't Mix Sustainability with Change

Source: Kompas.com

Regarding the issue of the unification of Ganjar Pranowo and Anies Baswedan, Kompas often uses figurative noun phrases that represent their rejection of the discourse. In data 41, Kompas uses the phrase 'political mathematics ambyar', where 'political



mathematics' refers to the political calculations on which the discourse emerges. In contrast, 'ambyar' means 'scattered' or 'no longer concentrated', implying that the unification of Ganjar and Anies' axes is almost politically impossible. A different formulation can be seen in data 44, where Kompas uses two contextually opposed words: 'sustainability,' which refers to Jokowi's commitment to continue constructive programs, and 'change,' which represents the opposite. Because Ganjar has always presented himself as the successor to Jokowi's development ideals and Anies is his antithesis, Kompas implies that the unification of the two will never happen.

Unlike Kompas, CNN tries to be neutral regarding the discourse on the unification of Ganjar and Anies. However, CNN also showed the possibility of opening up. The following is a table of data presentation.

Table 8. Potential for the Unification of the Ganjar-Anies CNN Axis

Data	Linguistic Representation
45	<i>PDIP Respons Usul PKS soal Anies Capres, Ganjar Cawapres</i> PDIP Respons Usul PKS soal Anies Capres, Ganjar Cawapres
46	<i>Wacana Duet Ganjar-Anies: Siasat Lawan Prabowo atau Skenario Blunder?</i> Ganjar-Anies Duet Discourse: Strategize Against Prabowo or Blunder Scenario?

Source: cnnindonesia.com

CNN tends to be more neutral in reporting this discourse. This is seen in using verbs that contextually do not imply approval or rejection in data 45 and 46. The transitive verb '(me)response' in data 45, which connects the subject 'PDIP' and the object of 'PKS's proposal regarding Anies presidential candidate and Ganjar Vice President' is neutrally charged, so it cannot show CNN's precise position in this discourse. Similarly to data 46, the Ganjar-Anies duet can be categorized as a 'ploy against Prabowo' or a 'blunder scenario.' Thus, CNN identified the Ganjar-Anies discourse as a strategy that could help fight or even benefit Prabowo.

Regarding the potential for the unification of Ganjar and Anies' axis, Liputan 6 stands in the same position as Kompas. Coverage 6 firmly rejected the chance of unification. The following is a table of data presentation.

**Table 9. Potential for Ganjar-Anies Axis Unification Coverage 6**

Data	Linguistic Representation
47	<p><i>Presiden PKS Ahmad Syaikhul Tegaskan Anies Baswedan Tetap Bakal Capres, Bukan Cawapres di Pilpres 2024</i></p> <p>PKS President Ahmad Syaikhul Emphasizes Anies Baswedan Will Still Be a Presidential Candidate, Not a Vice Presidential Candidate in the 2024 Presidential Election</p>
48	<p><i>Wacana Ganjar-Anies dan AHY-Sandiaga, Gerindra Sebut cuma Gimmick Politikus</i></p> <p>Ganjar-Anies and AHY-Sandiaga Discourse, Gerindra Calls It Just a Politician's Gimmick</p>

Source: liputan6.com

Meanwhile, Liputan 6 chose to occupy the same position as Kompas in this vortex of discourse. The rejection of the Ganjar-Anies union is expressed as the noun phrase 'politician gimmick' (data 48) to imply that the discourse is only part of an effort to attract public attention, not to be realized. The rejection of this discourse is also shown in the object clause 'Anies Baswedan Still Presidential Candidate, Not Vice Presidential Candidate in the 2024 Presidential Election' (data 47). In this clause, Liputan 6 uses the verb 'remain (become)' to affirm the position of the subject 'Anies Baswedan, who is unwilling to be Ganjar's vice presidential candidate. Thus, the discourse on the unification of Ganjar-Anies was rejected by itself.

4. Jokowi's support for Prabowo

The digital daily Kompas.com accepted the discourse of Jokowi's Support for Prabowo Subianto. However, Kompas is trying to convince the public that this Support will not necessarily win Prabowo in the 2024 presidential election contest. This can be seen in how Kompas.com packages the news headlines, as shown in the table below.

Table 10. Jokowi's support for Prabowo Kompas

Data	Linguistic Representation
49	<p><i>Hasil Survei Litbang Kompas 47,9 Persen Pertimbangkan Capres Rekomendasi Jokowi, Hamdi Muluk: Endorsement-nya Belum Eksplisit</i></p> <p>Kompas R&D Survey Results 47.9 Percent Consider Jokowi's Presidential Candidate, Hamdi Muluk: His Endorsement Is Not Explicit</p>
50	<p><i>Survei Litbang "Kompas": 32 Persen Responden Tak Akan Pilih Capres yang Di-"endorse" Jokowi</i></p> <p>"Kompas" R&D Survey: 32 Percent of Respondents Will Not Choose a Presidential Candidate "Endorsed" by Jokowi</p>



51	<p><i>Survei Litbang "Kompas": Capres Lanjutkan Pembangunan Lebih Diapresiasi ketimbang yang Di-"endorse" Jokowi</i></p> <p>"Kompas" R&D Survey: Presidential Candidate Continues Development More Appreciated than Jokowi "Endorsed"</p>
52	<p><i>Survei Litbang "Kompas": 18,1 Persen Responden Bakal Pilih Capres yang Direkomendasikan Jokowi</i></p> <p>"Kompas" R&D Survey: 18.1 Percent of Respondents Will Choose Jokowi's Recommended Presidential Candidate</p>

Source: Kompas.com

The digital daily Kompas.com does not show rejection of Jokowi's claims of Support for Prabowo Subianto but always tries to discredit the Support by denying its significance to Prabowo's electability. In data 49, Kompas uses the verb 'consider' to connect the subject '47.9 percent (participants)' with the object 'Jokowi's presidential recommendation', implying that Jokowi's Support is not a determinant factor in the upcoming presidential election. A similar format was applied to data 50 and 52, where the verb phrase 'will not choose' connects the subject '32 percent of respondents with the object 'Jokowi's endorsed presidential candidate', and the verb phrase 'will choose' as the predicate of the subject '18.1 percent of respondents' and the object 'Jokowi's recommended presidential candidate', indicating the absence of a significant influence on Jokowi's Support. In data 51, Kompas uses the comparative phrase 'more appreciated than not', implying that the figure of the 'presidential candidate who continues development' has higher electability than the presidential candidate 'endorsed by Jokowi'.

Unlike Kompas, the daily digital cnnindonesia.com seems to reject Jokowi's Support for Prabowo discourse subtly. CNN is trying to convince readers that Prabowo and Ganjar received the same Support from Jokowi. Here is the presentation table.

Table 11. Jokowi's support to Prabowo CNN

Data	Linguistic Representation
53	<p><i>Jokowi Ajak Ganjar dan Prabowo Blusukan ke Pasar, Warga Histeris</i></p> <p>Jokowi Invites Ganjar and Prabowo Blusukan to the Market, Hysterical Residents</p>
54	<p><i>Jokowi, Prabowo, dan Ganjar Satu Forum di Mukhtamar Sufi Internasional</i></p> <p>Jokowi, Prabowo, and Ganjar One Forum at the International Sufi Congress</p>

Source: cnnindonesia.com



When it was reported on the discourse of Jokowi's Support for Prabowo, CNN again gave a more neutral impression. In data 53 and 54, CNN placed the three figures in the same function: subjects who carried out 'blusukan' activities (data 53) and together in 'one forum'. In this case, CNN is trying to convince readers that Prabowo and Ganjar receive the same Support from Jokowi.

Regarding the Sandiaga-AHY discourse, liputan6.com is in a different position from Kompas and CNN. In this case, the digital daily liputan6.com firmly denied this discourse. The rebuttal was conveyed by both parties, PDIP and PPP, as presented in the following table.

Table 12. Jokowi's Support for Prabowo Coverage6

Data	Linguistic Representation
55	PDIP Sebut Presiden Jokowi Dekat dengan Semua, Bukan Hanya Prabowo Subianto PDIP Says President Jokowi Is Close to Everyone, Not Just Prabowo Subianto
56	<i>Jokowi: Saya Bukan Ketum Parpol, Capres-Cawapres Bukan Wewenang Saya</i> Jokowi: I Am Not the Chairman of a Political Party, Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates Are Not My Authority

Source: liputan6.com

Contrary to Kompas' position, Liputan 6 firmly rejected the truth of Jokowi's discourse of Support for Prabowo. In data 55, the verb 'close' in the object clause 'President Jokowi is close to all' is used as a predicate to bridge the subject 'President Jokowi' with the object 'all', implying that Jokowi has a closeness with all parties and rejects the claim 'Jokowi supports Prabowo'. In data 56, Coverage 6 uses two clauses with the negative relational verb 'not' to deny Jokowi's identification as a 'political party chairman' and state that presidential and vice presidential candidates are not his authority, emphasizing that Jokowi does not have the authority to support a particular presidential or vice presidential candidate publicly, so Jokowi's claim of Support for Prabowo is rejected.

Discussion

The depiction of social action in digital news media often reflects how ideology is constructed through the choice of certain words. The three media with the highest levels of trust in Indonesia, Kompas.com, cnnindonesia.com, and liputan6.com, use this strategy to represent critical issues.



Kompas.com supports Ganjar Pranowo and criticizes Prabowo Subianto and Anies Baswedan through word selection and sentence structure. For example, Kompas.com used the term 'human rights violation' with a negative connotation for Prabowo, while the news about Ganjar used words that emphasized his competence and capabilities. Kompas.com described Ganjar Pranowo's social actions as strategic and practical moves, while Prabowo Subianto's social actions are often portrayed in negative contexts, such as his past involvement in human rights violations. In the news about the three presidential candidates, Kompas.com tends to represent Anies Baswedan negatively by describing his electability as "stagnant or down" and using predicates such as "recycling old issues," constructing the ideology that Anies does not bring significant change. In contrast, Prabowo is marginally represented with an emphasis on his weaknesses, such as "having lost two times," while Ganjar Pranowo is portrayed positively, especially in terms of overcoming economic and welfare problems, reflecting Kompas' Support for Ganjar.

Cnnindonesia.com showed a neutral attitude in his reporting, providing a balanced representation of the three presidential candidates without significant emphasis on one candidate, focusing on facts and objective information. For example, in a report on electability, CNN stated that the three candidates are still in a tight race without an assessment that leads to support for one of the candidates. Cnnindonesia.com provides a neutral representation of the social actions of the three presidential candidates, focusing on objective facts and information without biased judgment. Cnnindonesia.com highlights Santiago's role with a personalization strategy and provides a more neutral and balanced representation of other political figures, reflecting Support for political stability with a balanced approach. In portraying the presidential candidate, CNN tries to maintain a balance in its reporting, reflecting an ideology that supports political stability.

Liputan6.com displays neutrality in its reporting, focusing on political steps and strategies taken by Ganjar, Prabowo, and Anies without positive or negative personal opinions. Liputan6.com highlighted the political steps of each presidential candidate without personal opinions that were positive or negative. Liputan6.com showed a neutral but skeptical stance, emphasizing balance by featuring both sides of Prabowo and portraying Anies as a victim of political clashes, reflecting an approach that favors openness and criticism of power. Liputan6.com features both sides of Prabowo, both



positive and negative, but is more likely to emphasize his ambition to get closer to Jokowi, while Anies is shown as a victim of a political clash with Jokowi, reflecting a more critical approach to power.

The above analysis maps the ideology of each media in the news discourse presented. Kompas.com tend to support Ganjar Pranowo and criticize Prabowo Subianto and Anies Baswedan, cnnindonesia.com show a neutral attitude and give a balanced representation to the three presidential candidates, and Liputan6.com also show a neutral attitude by focusing on the political steps of each presidential candidate. These ideological differences can affect the public's perception of the three presidential candidates and determine their views in the 2024 election.

The construction of ideology in digital news media is expressed through word selection and information presentation, shaping public perception of certain issues. The media has an active role in building ideological constructions (Hall, 1982; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Bourdieu, 1991; Fairclough, 2001). Previous research has shown that the media can influence public opinion and political attitudes through the narratives it chooses (Wu, 2023; Heiberger et al., 2022; Kneafsey & Regan, 2022; Bimber et al., 2015; Tresch & Feddersen, 2019). Analysis of digital media Kompas.com, cnnindonesia.com, and Liputan6.com shows differences in linguistic patterns that reflect their respective ideologies in describing social actions and political actors (Leeuwen, 2008).

This research aligns with previous research that highlighted media bias in the representation of presidential candidates. The media often has certain ideological tendencies that affect how they report on political issues. Media with particular political affiliations tend to support presidential candidates from the parties they support. This study reinforces previous findings about the importance of critical media discourse analysis in understanding the biases and ideologies underlying political reporting. Discourse analysis in the media helps understand political dynamics and interactions between public officials and the media (Vidhiyasi, 2020; Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1998).

Using Theo van Leeuwen's actor and social action analysis framework, this study reveals how popular online media frame the discourse of the 2024 election and represent social action and the social actors involved. This clarifies the ideological construction of



the three digital news media. According to the research Nasution, Hidayat, & Alek (2021) digital news provides information to readers and spreads the understanding or ideology adopted by the journalist himself. The media can use language and text structure to influence readers' views and convey certain ideologies. Critical discourse analysis provides insight into how news is structured and how the position of journalists can affect the presentation of information. Understanding how media shapes and influences public opinion through word choice and text structure is essential. This research contributes to understanding how media ideology shapes public perception of crucial political issues.

D. CONCLUSION

The ideological construction of digital news media related to the vortex discourse of the 2024 election has striking ideological differences in the reporting of four main social events by digital news media: Kompas.com, CNNIndonesia.com, and Liputan6.com. Kompas.com is building an ideology that supports Ganjar Pranowo and PDIP, CNNIndonesia.com appears neutral but tends to support the emergence of an alternative axis by highlighting Sandiaga Uno and giving positive representation of Prabowo and Ganjar. At the same time, Liputan6.com tries to be neutral but still highlights Ganjar with a positive track record and rejects controversial issues such as Jokowi's specific Support for Prabowo and the potential for Ganjar-Anies unification. This ideological difference is evident in the news framing and the choice of words each media uses. Although this study provides valuable insights into ideological bias in digital news media, several weaknesses must be noted. The limitation of data sources that only use three digital news media with certain biases limits the scope of the findings. For further research, it is recommended to use mixed methods that combine qualitative and quantitative analysis to gain a deeper understanding. In addition, expanding the scope of media, including alternative and local media, and conducting socio-political dynamics analysis will provide a richer picture of how socio-political dynamics affect media coverage and representation of political issues. International comparative studies can also be conducted to see differences in the framing of political issues in various countries to enrich the understanding of ideological construction in digital media reporting and its contribution to political dynamics in Indonesia.



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