



# Framing analysis of news coverage of Joko Widodo's political dynasty in the selection of 2024 presidential candidate pairs in online media Detik.com and Tempo.co

Sahrul Firmansyah<sup>1\*</sup>, Firly Annisa<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup> Department Communication, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, 55183, Indonesia

<sup>1</sup> [sahrul.f.isip20@mail.umy.ac.id](mailto:sahrul.f.isip20@mail.umy.ac.id) \*, <sup>2</sup> [firlyannisa@umy.ac.id](mailto:firlyannisa@umy.ac.id)

\*Correspondent email author: [sahrul.f.isip20@mail.umy.ac.id](mailto:sahrul.f.isip20@mail.umy.ac.id)

## ABSTRACT

### Keywords:

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Zhongdang Pan

This research aims to find out how online media Detik.com and Tempo.co frame news about dynastic politics in the 2024 presidential election and find out the media's alignments related to this dynastic political issue in the two media through the hierarchy of influence theory. To achieve these objectives, this research uses qualitative research methods, where the author uses the framing analysis model of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki. The object of this research is news concerning President Jokowi's political dynasty in the 2024 vice presidential candidacy in the online media Detik.co and Tempo.co. The data collection technique uses a literature study and a document study. The results of this research analysis show news about dynastic politics in the 2024 presidential election. In the results of news framing analysis using the Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki models, there are several stages such as syntax, script, thematic, and rhetorical. The news on Tempo.co clearly emphasizes news that is against or disagrees with the dynastic politics that exist in Indonesia, especially in the 2024 presidential election, while the news on Detik.com clearly does not question the dynastic politics in the 2024 presidential election. It can be seen from how the framing carried out by Detik.com emphasizes words that do not question how dynastic politics is present, and Tempo emphasizes the sentence of disagreement through source quotes. The influence of external and internal factors on journalists' attitudes can also be seen in the Detik.com online media's support for the government in its news. Meanwhile, Tempo is more likely to emphasize its news through the titles that aired after that date, where Tempo's media routine is more prominent in terms of titles.

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## 1. Introduction

The events that occurred at the end of October 2023 in Indonesia are entering the political years ahead of the presidential election in 2024. It can be seen from the busy news about each presidential and VicePresidential candidate registering at the KPU in various media. Presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto was in the spotlight in the final seconds of the closing of the election registration because it was related to the news of "dynastic politics" run by President Joko Widodo towards his son Gibran Rakabuming Raka, who was paired with candidate number 2 suddenly, after the Constitutional Court's decision was revised, which reads that the minimum age limit article for presidential and vice presidential candidates becomes: "at least 40 years old or have / are currently holding positions elected through general elections, including regional head elections." Based on this decision, Gibran can run as a vice president. The emergence of various pro and con views related to

this political dynasty has made the mass media flock to report on the development of Joko Widodo's dynastic political issues towards his son Gibran Rakabuming Raka.

Many people rely on information presented by the media as their guide, so the image of an individual or group is greatly influenced by the way the media delivers news (Kartini dkk, 2020). In this case, media framing carried out by a group or media owner has succeeded in making the public accept what is conveyed by the media. Framing is a social reality that is the same but constructed by a media differently; this reality is formed by the media based on its ideology, ownership, and partisanship in reporting a social reality. Framing itself is an inseparable part of the implementation of news by the mass media, especially when there are political issues involved. According to Karman in (Rustanta et al., 2022) Humans and society interact dialectically. Similarly, in the media industry, a dialectical process occurs, where each media worker has their own subjective reality.

Framing is a theory that can tell how the media reports an event captured by a journalist. (Suharyo, 2021) framing is a tool used to observe how the media shapes the construction of reality. In this study, researchers chose to use online media Detik.com and Tempo.co because the two media are always active in their news, especially focusing on their respective online media, which have a variety of digital media platforms that are attractive to their readers. The reason the author chose Detik.com online media is because, until now, the owner of a mass media company in Indonesia has been held on average by many politicians. In 2011, Chairul Tanjung, through Trans Media Corporation, bought Detik.com. The man who ranked fifth as the richest person in Indonesia has a good relationship with the sixth President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Besides that, he is also referred to as a liaison in the formation of cooperation between the Democratic Party and Gerindra. Chairul Tanjung is a media conglomerate that supports Prabowo Subianto, while Tempo.co is a neutral media outlet and prioritizes sharpness in its reporting. Evidently, because of its sharpness, Tempo was often banned by the government. In 1982, for the first time, Tempo magazine was banned for being too sharp in criticizing the New Order regime and its political vehicle, the Golkar Party. The government's banning of Tempo was related to the 1982 elections. With a brief explanation of the ownership of the two media above, researchers want to know how the ownership of a media affects the content of news content, as well as the alignment with the dynastic political phenomenon that occurs and how social reality is constructed by the media.

## **2. Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1. Framing**

According Hutomo (2019) framing can simply be described as a tool to find out how reality (events, actors, groups, or anything) is framed by the media. Framing is, of course, a construction process. In essence, framing is a theory to see how the media tells a story about an event or incident that occurs in reality. The way the media tells stories will certainly vary according to the prevailing agreement; besides that, the way the media tells stories can be reflected in the way of looking at a reality that will be used as news (Aini1 & Setiawan2, 2021).

In this study, framing is used to determine the frame of a reality that is constructed by a medium. In this way, framing is a way for journalists to describe a phenomenon in their reporting. In this case, Detik.com and Tempo are media with different ownership backgrounds. Therefore, framing analysis is used to find out the partisanship of the media in reporting the issue of the dynastic political phenomenon and also to find out how journalists construct reality.

### **2.2. Journalism Online Media**

With the presence of various media platforms that provide various kinds of content, the public is also facilitated to produce their own content, not just consume it. This situation also raises new challenges related to ethics in online journalism. Lasica in (Muliawanti, 2018) also said that the ethical challenges in online journalism can be categorized into three main areas. Firstly, in news gathering, journalists must navigate ethical dilemmas inherent in online platforms. This includes issues like reporters concealing their identities in chat rooms or using posts from bulletin boards without permission. Secondly, in news reporting, the speed of the internet intensifies competition to break stories first, often before all facts are verified. Lastly, in news presentation, the line between editorial integrity and business interests can blur. Online newsrooms often face pressures from advertising and business concerns that may compromise their editorial independence and credibility.

The researcher wants to relate how online journalism also affects journalists' factors in building their news. Online platforms allow media to directly interact with their audiences through comments, shares, and other social reactions. News framing can be adjusted based on responses and feedback from the audience, influencing their perception of the phenomenon itself. Framing in online journalism also faces ethics issues such as the spread of disinformation. The media must consider the impact of framing by community journalism on public trust and the integrity of the information conveyed.

### 2.3. Hierarchy of Influence Theory

In his book entitled *Mediating the Message in the 21st Century: A Media Sociology Perspective* (Shoemaker & Resse, 2014) introduces a hierarchical model of influence on media content. Shoemaker and Resse explain how internal and external media influences affect news content, and their interest in mass media due to differences and similarities in the coverage process and news content.

Shoemaker and Resse's theory departs from the assumption that the media plays an active role in shaping reality, media as participants, that the media is not neutral and can even manipulate reality through emphasizing or eliminating certain elements of reality, and positioning mass media as agents of social change they divide several levels of analysis that influence media content, namely:

1. At the individual level, the personal influence of journalists in delivering news to the public is significant. These individuals not only play an important role in the direction of the news and the topics they cover but also shape their backgrounds and personal characteristics. Factors such as age, religion, gender, education level, and political preferences can influence their approach to presenting the news.
2. At the level of media routines, news content is closely linked to the decision-making process about news angles, which is often based on standardized criteria and procedures that each media has.
3. At the organizational level, the organizational background of the media can also influence the way news is presented, as each part of the organization has different interests.
4. At the level of institutions and social forces outside the media, there is a huge influence of economic, political, and cultural factors on news content. Audience and market pressures also play an important role in determining what is presented to the public.
5. The ideological level highlights the professional background of media managers and how these ideologies influence media content. These ideologies cover various aspects, such as politics, economics, and culture, and can influence how news is presented and interpreted.

The five levels of analysis presented by Shoemaker and Resse are able to answer research questions regarding the framing carried out by a media in its reporting. Journalists do not stand alone in making their news content, but there are pressures that are present in the news. Thus, this theory emphasizes that media content is not only influenced by factors internal to the media organization but also by external factors that exist in the wider social environment. In this theory, it will be seen how much influence the hierarchy in a news story has at each level.

### 3. Method

This research uses descriptive qualitative research that describes the results of the research in text form. According to (Creswel, 2014) it is defined as an approach or search to explore and understand a central symptom. The paradigm used in this research is interpretive or constructivist, where reality is a social construction that can change. This paradigm emphasizes that science is not based on standard laws and procedures; every symptom or event may have a different meaning. Science is inductive, running from the specific to the general and abstract. Science is idiographic, meaning that science reveals reality through symbols in descriptive form (Muslim, 2016).

The focus of this research is based on two online media, namely news media that contain news about Joko Widodo's political dynasty and the nomination of the 2024 presidential candidate pair. The data sources used in this study are news texts about Jokowi's political dynasty published in October 2023 in the online media Detik.com and Tempo.co. The data taken is in the form of sentences, text,

vocabulary, and images. A total of 10 news articles were found by researchers in the time frame of October 23, 2023, to October 30, 2023.

The data collection technique used in this research is a documentation study, where researchers obtain information and written documents from the online media websites Detik.com and Tempo.co. The first stage of collection is carried out by searching for written data sources in the form of news texts published online after the reporting period regarding Jokowi's political dynasty and the selection of 2024 presidential candidate pairs. The next stage is to review the existing data with the elements put forward by the framing model of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki.

4. Result and Discussion

The following are the results of the analysis of the phenomenon of dynastic political news in the election of 2024 presidential candidate pairs analyzed using the elements of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki in the period October 23–30, 2023, on Detik.com and Tempo.co. Researchers will present two news stories that will be analyzed in depth as examples of each news story:

1. Detik.com Headline: Jokowi on Dynastic Politics After Gibran as Vice President: The People Decide!

Table 1. Framing Analysis of Detik.com News

Syntactic	
Lead	
Jokowi emphasized that all elections, including regional elections, legislative elections, and presidential elections, are chosen by the people. He said all decisions were in the hands of the people.	
Background Information	
Jokowi's statement regarding the assumption of dynastic politics, and also the exit of Gibran from the PDIP party cadre based on the statement of the Chairman of the PDIP Honorary Board Komarudin Watubun.	
Citations, and Sources	
Joko Widodo, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, Komarudin Watubun.	
1. "Yes, it is the people who judge." 2. "And in any election, whether it's regional elections, mayoral elections, regent elections, governor elections, or presidential elections, it's the people who vote, the people who decide, the people who vote, not us, not the elites, not the parties; that's democracy." 3. "I have communicated with Mbak Puan on Friday night." 4. "Already, Mbak Puan and Mr. Arsjad. Yesterday Friday night, I communicated with Mbak Puan and Mr. Arsjad; that was my answer." 5. "Now if in the PDIP rules it is automatic, if he chooses to join there, his PDIP membership must be revoked, right?" 6. "So it is not an extraordinary thing; it is an ordinary thing that applies in the PDIP, which applies to all PDIP members. So if he has registered himself as a partner with Mr. Prabowo, he has lost his membership in the PDIP." 7. "If it depends on the problem, in some regions we process dismissal depending on the level of the problem. For this, we will see where the process goes. But what is certain is that PDIP cannot play two legs; Mrs. Ketum Megawati said we cannot play two legs." 8. "Moreover, prospective leaders must set an exemplary example anyway."	
Skript	
1. What	: Jokowi's response to dynastic politics after Gibran became vice president
2. Who	: Joko Widodo, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, Komarudin Watubun
3. When	: 24 October 2023
4. Where	: Jakarta, Indonesia

1. Why : It is known that Gibran was officially proposed to be Prabowo's vice president based on the agreement of the heads of political parties of the Advanced Indonesia Coalition.
2. How : Jokowi emphasized that all elections, both regional elections, legislative elections, and presidential elections, were chosen by the people.

Thematic
The news has two discussions, namely discussions related to Jokowi's response to the issue of dynastic politics and the release of Gibran as a member of the PDIP party. The conjunction used in the news is "or" which is included in the conjunction of choice, and "if" includes a conditional conjunction, which is a type of conjunction that explains that an event can occur if it meets certain conditions.
Rhetorical
<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Carried</li><li>2. Rgional Elections</li><li>3. Legislative Elections</li><li>4. Presidential Elections</li></ol>

Syntactically, the headline opens with an emphatic statement sentence by using an exclamation mark (!) at the end of the sentence. The lead is in the form of a journalist's statement regarding the news of Joko Widodo's eldest son becoming a vice president, making it background and information.

Script, the 5W+1H elements are complete, but the explanation of the dynastic political issue is less discussed and more likely to discuss Gibran's exit from the PDIP party cadre.

Thematically, the news has two discussions, namely discussions related to Jokowi's response to the issue of dynastic politics and the release of Gibran as a member of the PDIP party. The conjunctions used in the news are "or," which is included in the conjunction of choice, and "if," which is included in the conjunction of conditions, which is a type of conjunction that explains that something can happen if it meets certain conditions.

Rhetorically, the first news found difficult vocabulary but the explanation related to the word was explained by the previous sentence such as "legislative elections", "regional elections", "presidential elections". Allusions are also found in this news "carried" which means pushed or nominated. Photo of president Joko Widodo

2. Tempo.co Headline: Jokowi Answers Political Dynasties: People Will Judge

Table 2. Framing Analysis of Tempo.co News

Syntactic
Lead
President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) has responded to the issue of political dynasty after his eldest son Gibran Rakabuming Raka was nominated as Prabowo Subianto's vice presidential candidate.
Background Information
Jokowi's statement was related to the assumption of dynastic politics, and the Constitutional Court which changed the minimum age limit article for presidential and vice presidential candidates.
Citations, and Sources
Joko Widodo, Prabowo Subianto, Constitutional Law Observer Bivitri Susanti, Executive Director of Voxpol Center Research & Consulting Pangi Syarwi Chaniago.
<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. "Yes, it's the people who judge."</li><li>2. "What determines the people who vote is the people; it's not the elite, not the party; that's democracy."</li><li>3. "This is unanimous acclamation, consensus."</li></ol>

4. *"Yes, parents are tasked with praying and approving; the decision is all on him (Gibran)."*
5. *"In the context of Jokowi's family, the method is too instant."*
6. *"The majority of respondents disagree with political dynasties because they are considered to damage democracy. Therefore, clear regulations are needed to overcome this problem."*

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#### Skript

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1. What : Jokowi's response to the issue of political dynasty after his eldest son Gibran was nominated as Prabowo's vice presidential candidate
2. Who : Joko Widodo, Prabowo Subianto, Constitutional Law Observer Bivitri Susanti, Executive Director of Voxpol Center Research & Consulting Pangi Syarwi Chaniago.
3. When : 24 October 2023
4. Where : Jakarta, Indonesia
5. Why : Constitutional Court ruling stating the minimum age limit for presidential and vice-presidential candidates
6. How : Six days after the verdict, Prabowo Subianto announced Gibran Rakabuming as his vice presidential candidate. This made the issue of Jokowi's political dynasty arise.

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#### Thematic

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Thematically, the news discussion presented by journalists focuses on the phenomenon of Jokowi's political dynasty. The conjunctions used in this news include "and," which is an additive conjunction that functions to connect between clauses, as well as sentences and paragraphs that have the same position. "after," which is a time conjunction; "or," which is an optional conjunction that functions to provide or convey several options; and "as," which is a comparative conjunction.

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#### Rhetorical

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1. Unanimous acclamation
2. Consensus
3. Carried
4. Sticky
5. Allegation
6. Dissenting opinion

Syntax, news headlines are written based on Jokowi's statement when answering about political dynasties. Lead journalists' explanations related to Jokowi who stated about general elections and regional head elections, or any election that all choose the people. quotes sourced from the Constitutional Court which changed the minimum age limit article for presidential and vice presidential candidates, it makes the background, and information.

Script, the structure of the 5W+1H elements of this news is complete, and in these 6 elements, the journalist explains in detail how the process of the dynastic political event issue began. The journalist seems critical of his paragraphs that take statements from people who are against dynastic politics.

Thematically, the news discussion presented by journalists is related to the phenomenon of Jokowi's dynastic politics. The conjunctions used in this news include "and," which is an additive conjunction that functions to connect between clauses, as well as sentences and paragraphs that have the same position. "after," which is a time conjunction; "or," which is a choice conjunction that functions to provide or convey several options; and "as," which is a comparison conjunction.

Rhetorical vocabulary such as "unanimous acclamation," which according to KBBI "acclamation" is a verbal statement of agreement from the entire meeting and so on to a proposal without, through voting, and followed by the word "consensus," which supports this vocabulary, is used to support the sentence of Prabowo Subianto's statement in making the decision of Gibran as his vice president. Photo of President Joko Widodo or Jokowi when they met in Senayan

Based on the results of the research above, the author tries to discuss "Framing Analysis of Joko Widodo's Political Dynasty News in the Selection of 2024 Presidential Candidate Pairs on Detik.com

and Tempo.co Online Media." After the Pan and Kosicki framing analysis in this section, an interpretation or is carried out based on a constructionist view, referring to the theory of Shoemaker and Resse and online journalism, the results of which are as follows:

#### 4.1. Discussion

##### 1. Framing Detik

Detik.com emphasizes the government's point of view, which considers the issue of dynastic politics unnecessary because it is related to the political relations of the media owned by Chairul Tanjung. Journalists construct messages through their alignment with the government, which is shown in the selection of sources. The attitude of the media owner is reflected in news 1–5, which contains political figures. This is included at the organizational level. Organizational factors have a significant influence on the media. The organizational structure makes individuals in media elements such as journalists and managers not independent individuals but rather an organizational system of individuals working together to achieve the goals of the media itself (Dzika Fajar Alfian Ramadhani, 2022). Detik news framing does not really question the phenomenon of dynastic political issues, but rather campaigns for dynastic politics from the positive side. From the data analysis through open recruitment posters for journalists at Detik.com, it was found that this media prioritizes journalism graduates with 1-2 years of work experience in the media. Candidates are expected to work quickly and must include a portfolio of writing related to economics, politics, and law. Detik.com seeks professional journalists because of their important role in providing information. This professionalism reflects an individual's values and the extent to which they belong to a professional group with certain norms and views (Shoemaker & Resse, 2014) News on the topic of dynastic politics is written according to journalistic rules with language that is easy for readers to understand.

##### 2. Framing Tempo

Tempo views the issue of President Joko Widodo's political dynasty as an actual reality. Through its strategy, Tempo constructs the text by quoting relevant news sources, using headlines and news leads in an inverted pyramid format. Tempo shows a tendency to strengthen kinship networks in government leadership, where Joko Widodo, as President, has relatives in important positions such as the Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court and Regional Heads. This kinship emphasizes the existence of connections based on blood and marriage. In a constructionist perspective, this reality is subjective and presented through the concept of journalistic subjectivity. Tempo.co presents facts as a result of the construction of its journalists and the media as agents of message construction—not a neutral channel, but a subject that constructs reality with biased and partial views. Tempo emphasizes the importance of the issue of Joko Widodo's political dynasty by accentuating the headlines, labels, and striking fonts. According to Shoemaker and Reese's theory, the media can be active or passive in reflecting reality. Active media participate in message construction, while passive media only channel neutral messages. In this context, the concept of active media is relevant to Tempo's interpretation of the issue of Joko Widodo's political dynasty, in accordance with the constructionist paradigm that sees the media as subjects who construct reality with views, biases, and partialities.

#### 5. Conclusion

The results of the research using the Pan and Kosicki model framing analysis, about the online media coverage of Detik.com and Tempo.co on the news of Jokowi's dynastic politics in the selection of the 2024 presidential candidate pair, conclusions can be drawn: (1) Detik.com's online media framing in framing the news of Jokowi's dynastic politics in the selection of 2024 presidential candidate pairs, journalists tend not to discuss in detail how the dynastic political phenomenon is, and support it by framing the positive side of the dynastic politics based on the source's statement as a support sentence statement. (2) Meanwhile, Tempo frames the news of Jokowi's political dynasty based on the opposing side of Jokowi's political dynasty based on the opinions of sources who are not from the government. Tempo considers the phenomenon of dynastic politics as a reality, and emphasizes a counter attitude to the headline and content of the news. (3) Judging from the view of Shoemaker & Resse's theory, Detik.com illustrates its alignment with the government by highlighting the sources taken and emphasizing positively about the dynastic political phenomenon carried out by the editor in publishing news articles repeatedly.

From the explanation above and through the theories used by researchers such as framing, online media journalism, and influence hierarchy theory, it can be concluded that the difference in news

framing carried out by Tempo.co and Detik.com media is quite different. It can be seen from how the framing carried out by Detik.com emphasizes words that do not question how dynastic politics is present, and Tempo emphasizes the sentence of disagreement through source quotes. The influence of external and internal factors on journalists' attitudes can also be seen in the Detik.com online media's support for the government in its news. Meanwhile, Tempo is more likely to emphasize its news through the titles that aired after that date, where Tempo's media routine is more prominent in terms of titles.

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