Framinguistics: How is Evaluative Language Used to Manipulate Social Depictions of the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Candidates in Political News Texts?

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Abstract. This study explores the framing of presidential candidates in the 2024 Indonesian election by three major media outlets: Kompas, TVOne News, and Metro TV News. Using a qualitative descriptive approach and systemic functional discourse analysis, the research examines how evaluative language constructs social identities and political ideologies through direct, indirect, and additional framing techniques. The analysis reveals distinct patterns in how these outlets portray candidates Anies Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto, and Ganjar Pranowo. Kompas tends to use direct and additional framing, focusing on competence and broader impact, while TVOne News combines direct and indirect methods to evaluate candidates' veracity and capacity. Metro TV News predominantly employs direct framing, highlighting immediate evaluations of candidates' attributes. The study underscores the influence of news text genres— headlines, leads, and sequences of events—on framing strategies and public perception. Findings indicate varying editorial strategies and potential biases across media outlets, emphasizing the need for critical media literacy. Future research should explore the impact of framing on public attitudes across different media platforms and cultural contexts.

Keywords: Framing, Media Bias, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Political Communication, Indonesian Presidential Election

1   Introduction

This study investigates the phenomenon of framing in political news texts, focusing on the 2024 Indonesian presidential election. Framing involves emphasizing certain elements while obscuring others, shaping the text's structure and texture (1,2). Framing shapes the narrative by selectively presenting information and using language in a way that aligns with the desired perspective or agenda. This process not only influences what the audience thinks about but also how they think about it, ultimately impacting their attitudes, beliefs, and decisions. In the context of rapidly circulating social messages via the internet, framing can polarize information, especially in political news (3).

During the 2023-2024 political years in Indonesia, interest in political topics surged by 500-1150% among Indonesian internet users (4). This places journalists in a vital role to minimize message polarization during elections, despite their inherent ideological biases (5). Understanding the framing in this election context is significant socially and academically. Socially, it informs the public about how framing shapes their views. Academically, the study employs a comprehensive approach of evaluative language to reveal how framing is built in journalism discourse. The textual structures and textures that journalists create in news texts, particularly those of a political nature, are invariably informed by and reflective of the underlying media ideology (6). This implies that the framing of political news, including the portrayal of political figures up to the 2024-2029 presidential and vice presidential candidates, who represent a cross-section of society, will invariably exhibit variation in form contingent on the ideological orientation of the respective media outlets, which are not uniform in their approach.

A notable trend in research on politically charged news texts is the focus on news alignment as a key analytical direction (7–11). These studies have not addressed the role of language behavior in shaping framing (12,13). This indicates that the primary focus of the study is on the journalists involved, rather than on the content of the reported message, particularly in cases where social figures or actors are involved and reported upon indirectly. Framing in news texts has been the subject of extensive research by computer scientists, who have employed machine learning technology to develop automated framing detection systems as a form of artificial intelligence (14–18). Studies employing artificial intelligence (AI) methodologies can only partially capture the intricacies of the text, namely the semantic network of words. However, such AI is unable to discern the social actors' semiotics or the underlying evaluative judgments. Furthermore, AI is incapable of discerning the text structure that would facilitate the realization of the stages inherent to the news genre.

It has been argued that the media is inherently unable to maintain a neutral stance, given that the framing employed and the subsequent influence on public perception are inherently shaped by the media's ideological position (19–21). The framing can be described as manipulative because the language used by journalists, which is required to be balanced in accordance with the journalistic code of ethics, is actually based on dynamic interests (22,23). Furthermore, the manipulation of social values through framing will result in the fragmentation of information. It is therefore essential to compare the framing employed by different media outlets, as each media entity applies the principle of selective exposure based on its ideological position (24). Ultimately, the phenomenon of political framing polarization arises, whereby distinct societal groups espouse their own views, which are shaped by the media they consume.

The polarization of political framing in news texts is contingent upon the linguistic choices made by journalists. These language elements are not selected at random; rather, they are arranged in a deliberate and systematic manner, forming a coherent structure that conveys the desired messages and values. In the view of language as a system of choice, or more accurately, as Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (25) defines it, framing is a form of social process. Therefore, framing can be understood as a representation of social activity, discourse, and grammar that are simultaneously intertwined, a process known as realization (1). In the context of interpersonal communication, the

appraisal system is of particular importance for the analysis of framing in political news texts, as it allows for the identification of the subtle evaluations and judgments conveyed through language. This system, which forms part of the discourse semantic framework within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), reveals how language choices reflect and construct social realities, values, and norms. The appraisal system helps identify how news texts emphasize certain aspects and obscure others, thereby shaping public perception. Consequently, it provides a nuanced understanding of how political figures and events are portrayed in the media, revealing underlying biases and intentions.

The appraisal system within Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), particularly Attitude framework, offers a vital linguistic demarcation for analyzing framing in political news texts by examining the subtle evaluations and judgments conveyed through language. It encompasses three key categories: Affect, Judgement, and Appreciation, which reflect how news texts emphasize or downplay certain aspects, shaping public perception. Attitude captures emotional responses, Judgement assesses human behavior, and Appreciation evaluates objects and processes, all contributing to the overall framing. This nuanced approach reveals how media outlets use language to construct social realities and convey specific values, making the appraisal system an essential tool for understanding biases and intentions in media coverage.

Affect (feelings)

*ATTITUDE* ⟶ *Judgement (character)*

Appreciation (value)
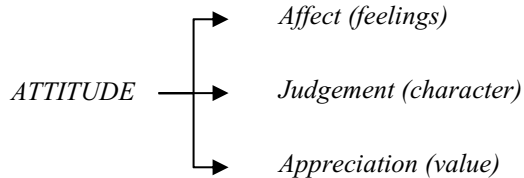
Fig. 1. Attitudinal expressions. (1)

The attitude framework's detailed breakdown is crucial for analyzing framing in political news texts, as it categorizes and assesses the evaluative language used. ATTITUDE is divided into subtypes that articulate personal emotions: AFFECT encompasses emotions like INCLINATION (ranging from fear to desire), HAPPINESS (internal mood states, such as joy versus sadness), SECURITY (feelings of safety or anxiety), and SATISFACTION (sense of achievement or frustration). JUDGEMENT, which evaluates human behavior, is bifurcated into SOCIAL ESTEEM and SOCIAL SANCTION. SOCIAL ESTEEM includes subtypes such as NORMALITY (alignment with cultural norms), CAPACITY (competence), and TENACITY (reliability). SOCIAL SANCTION addresses ethical evaluations through VERACITY (honesty) and PROPRIETY (ethical conduct). APPRECIATION, on the other hand, deals with evaluative judgments about objects and events, further divided into REACTION (spontaneous responses, including IMPACT and QUALITY), COMPOSITION (aesthetic judgments involving BALANCE and COMPLEXITY), and VALUATION (assessments of intrinsic worth). Each of these elements can express either positive or negative sentiments, thereby shaping the narrative and guiding audience perception in political

news texts. By employing these categories, media outlets can craft nuanced portrayals that subtly influence public opinion, making the appraisal system a powerful tool for dissecting the implicit messages embedded in political reporting.

Arkida (26) classifies framing structures in news texts that employ evaluative language into three categories. The initial category, direct framing, encompasses evaluations explicitly articulated by journalists concerning political figures. The second category, indirect framing, encompasses evaluations articulated by individuals other than journalists, directed at political figures. The third category, which may be considered an additional framing structure, encompasses all other forms of evaluation. This classification is based on the findings of the engagement domain, which are linked to the inverted pyramid concept, which arranges news from most to least important information. Headlines and leads, which often contain critical information, are frequently monoglossic, dominated by journalists' evaluations, and thus categorized as direct framing. In contrast, the body paragraphs, which are typically heteroglossic, encompass both indirect and additional framing. This structure can be represented as a pyramid of framing classifications, with direct framing forming the core and most significant part of the news text, while indirect and additional framing provide supplementary context.
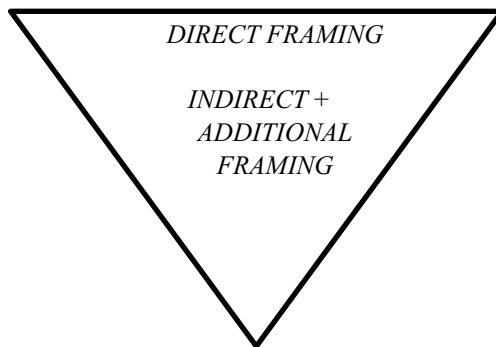
Fig. 2. Pyramid of news text framing. (26)

In news texts, the genre refers to the structured and conventional format through which stories are communicated, significantly influencing how information is perceived by the audience. This genre typically follows the inverted pyramid structure, prioritizing key information at the beginning, with the headline and lead sections providing a succinct overview that captures essential aspects of the story. These sections are generally monoglossic, offering a clear, unambiguous presentation of facts. In contrast, the body paragraphs are often heteroglossic, incorporating diverse voices and perspectives, thus offering a deeper, more nuanced exploration of the topic. This part of the text can include indirect and additional framing, which presents evaluations and interpretations from various sources, thereby broadening the narrative. The adherence to these genre conventions not only ensures clarity and accessibility for the audience but also strategically shapes the framing of the news, influencing public understanding and engage-

ment with the issues presented. Understanding these genre dynamics is crucial for dissecting the framing mechanisms employed by journalists, as it elucidates the intentional structuring of narratives that guide audience interpretation and response.

2   Method

This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach and systemic functional discourse analysis to investigate how language is strategically used to construct social identities and promote political ideologies during 2024 Indonesian presidential campaigns (27–29). By examining interpersonal language features, the research aims to understand how candidates are portrayed and how these portrayals influence voter perceptions.

To ensure a focused analysis of linguistic variations across media outlets, a limited dataset was purposefully selected using criterion sampling based on the register of the presidential campaigns. Given the anticipated diverse portrayals of the three candidates, three news texts for each candidate were chosen from Kompas, TVOne News, and Metro TV News. These texts, covering the presidential campaign period from November 28, 2023, to February 10, 2024, were selected to respect the unique ideological perspectives of each media organization while allowing for detailed comparisons. Amalgamating interactive modeling (30) and ethnographic methods (31), this research conducted four types of analysis: domain analysis, taxonomy analysis, componential analysis, and cultural theme analysis (32).

Domain analysis was conducted by delineating the presidential campaign context, focusing on Anies Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto, and Ganjar Pranowo as key figures. The analysis also considered textual aspects, specifically the headline, lead, and sequence of events within the hard news genre (29,33). Data were sourced from three media outlets: Kompas, TVOne News, and Metro TV News. These media outlets served as additional variables within the domain analysis, allowing for an examination of how different media frames and represent the candidates. This analysis also considered textual aspects, specifically the headline, lead, and sequence of events within the hard news genre. Data was collected through total sampling based on appraisal theory (1,34) and framing types (26), organized in a taxonomy analysis matrix. Componential analysis was employed to interpret the relationship between domain analysis (vertical variable) and taxonomy analysis (horizontal variable). Finally, cultural theme analysis aimed to holistically uncover overarching social values by integrating theoretical and cultural perspectives.

3   Findings

The analysis revealed distinct framing strategies employed by various media outlets for each presidential candidate. These disparities extended beyond framing types to encompass the strategic utilization of evaluative language in portraying the candidates. The following sections will provide a detailed examination of these framing strategies

for each candidate. Subsequently, the findings will be interpreted within the context of the hard news genre.

Table 1. Framing distribution for each presidential candidate.

Presidential candidates	Media outlets	Framing types/ evaluation aspects		
		Direct	Indirect	Additional
Anies Baswedan	kompas	-capacity	-quality	-
	tvonenews	-veracity	-veracity	-
	metrotvnews	+tenacity, +happiness, +propriety	+capacity, +propriety	-
Prabowo Subianto	kompas	-	+capacity	+impact
	tvonenews	-	+capacity	-
	metrotvnews	-propriety	+tenacity	-
Ganjar Pranowo	kompas	+tenacity	+propriety, +tenacity	-
	tvonenews	-veracity, -tenacity, -propriety	-veracity, -satisfaction	-
	metrotvnews	-tenacity	-satisfaction	-

The table presents an analysis of framing strategies employed by three media outlets—Kompas, TVOne News, and Metro TV News—regarding the 2024 Indonesian presidential candidates: Anies Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto, and Ganjar Pranowo. The analysis distinguishes between **direct** and **indirect** framing, as well as **additional** framing for Prabowo, focusing on various evaluative aspects found in the data such as **happiness, satisfaction, capacity**, **veracity**, **tenacity**, **propriety**, quality, and **impact**. Below, detailed information regarding the framing for each candidate will be provided.

3.1 Strategic Manipulation of Evaluative Values in Media Framing of Presidential Candidates

Anies Baswedan. The media outlets in question exhibit significant discrepancies in their portrayal of Anies Baswedan, reflecting distinct editorial biases and utilization of appraisal values and framing strategies. Kompas directly queries Anies' ability, thereby portraying him as potentially lacking competence. In their indirect framing, Kompas portrays him as a candidate who focuses on the negative aspects of Indonesia. This implies that Anies is pessimistic about Indonesia's potential for the upcoming terms, as he only highlights the negative aspects, thereby failing to offer solutions to ensure Indonesia's growth. Additionally, Kompas does not utilize additional framing to portray

Anies. The following examples illustrate how Kompas builds Anies' image using evaluative language.

> *Calon presiden nomor urut 1, Anies Baswedan ditolak secara langsung oleh peserta kampanye saat hendak bernyanyi di atas panggung.* (Presidential candidate number 1, Anies Baswedan was directly rejected by campaign participants when he was about to sing on stage.) (kom/dir/-cap)

This datum is categorized as direct framing with negative capacity judgement aspects because it explicitly reports an incident where Anies Baswedan was "*ditolak secara langsung*" ("directly rejected") by campaign participants when he attempted to sing on stage. The term "*ditolak*" (rejected) directly conveys a negative response, which suggests a lack of support and undermines Anies' perceived capability to engage effectively with the audience. Although the rejection was based on a joke, as Anies is known for his poor singing skills and was being humorously mocked by his own supporters, the manner in which this event is reported could mislead neutral voters. In an era of polarized information, such reporting may create confusion by implying that even his supporters are dissatisfied with him, potentially damaging his image and suggesting problems in his campaign. In conclusion, the aforementioned direct framing contributes to a negative portrayal of Anies Baswedan's public engagement capabilities.

> *Anies kemudian menyebut, banyak sekali masalah di negeri ini dan harus dituntaskan dengan gerakan perubahan.* (Anies then said that there are many problems in this country and they must be resolved with a movement for change.) (kom/indir/-qua)

Anies Baswedan's statement about the numerous challenges facing the country and the necessity for a transformative movement subtly positions him as a candidate with a pessimistic outlook. The phrase "*banyak sekali masalah di negeri ini*" ("many problems in this country") accentuates the gravity and pervasiveness of the issues at hand, indirectly suggesting that the current state of affairs is significantly flawed. Moreover, his invocation of a "movement for change" suggests that the extant solutions are inadequate, thereby casting a negative light on the current political or administrative environment. However, this framing may portray Anies as focusing more on the negative aspects and systemic failures than on potential growth or positive developments. In an era where the capacity to present optimistic and constructive solutions is highly esteemed, this framing could influence perceptions of Anies as a candidate who dwells on problems rather than proposing forward-looking solutions, thereby affecting his overall image as a leader.

On the other hand, TVOne News directly casts doubt on Anies' veracity, suggesting concerns about his honesty, and indirectly continues this critique, maintaining a consistent narrative of skepticism regarding his integrity. The following examples demonstrate how TVOne News constructs Anies Baswedan's image through the use of evaluative language.

Heboh Nelayan yang Curahkan Isi Hati ke Anies Baswedan di parepare Ternyata Caleg (The fisherman who poured his heart out to Anies Baswedan in Parepare is a legislative candidate) (one/dir/-ver)

This datum explicitly reveals that a fisherman who emotionally confided in Anies is actually a legislative candidate, casting doubt on the authenticity of the interaction. The term "heboh" (uproar) and the description of the fisherman as having "poured his heart out" indicate that the encounter was presented as highly dramatic and genuine. However, the report's disclosure that the fisherman is a legislative candidate implies that the emotional exchange may have been staged or insincere, potentially undermining the perceived authenticity of Anies Baswedan's engagement with ordinary citizens. This direct framing gives rise to questions regarding Anies' capacity to genuinely connect with people and affects his credibility by suggesting the interaction lacked genuine sincerity.

"HAHAHAHAHAHAHH GIMIK NYA YA ALLAH ? Yang dibutuhkan sappe bukan makan siang gratis tapi duduk di legislatif topi kertas lagi dia pake," tulis akun X HAHAHAHAHAHAHH GIMIK NYA YA ALLAH ?" kata @Prvt_mansion. ("HAHAHAHAHAHAHH WHAT'S A GIMMICK OH MY GOD? What sappe needs is not a free lunch but to sit in the legislature with a paper hat and he's wearing it," wrote the account) (one/indir/-ver)

The social media post cited in the news text employs sarcasm and ridicule to question the sincerity and effectiveness of his political gestures. The writer's use of repeated laughter and phrases such as "WHAT'S A GIMMICK OH MY GOD?" indicates a perception of Anies's actions as trivial and insincere. The post indirectly criticizes Anies for focusing on superficial gestures by stating that Sappe (the name of the fisherman) needs more than a free lunch and emphasizing the need for a meaningful legislative presence. This indirect framing undermines Anies's credibility and authenticity by implying that his actions are mere gimmicks rather than substantial contributions.

Meanwhile, Metro TV News offers a more favorable portrayal of Anies. They directly emphasize positive attributes such as tenacity, happiness, and propriety, suggesting a narrative of determination, positive disposition, and ethical behavior. This positive framing is supported by their indirect framing, which underscores Anies' capacity and propriety, thereby reinforcing a cohesive image of competence and ethical standards. The subsequent examples highlight how Metro TV News portrays Anies Baswedan by employing evaluative language.

Calon presiden (capres) Anies Baswedan menyentil gaya kampanye Prabowo Subianto yang kerap menampilkan aksi joget-joget. (Presidential candidate (capres) Anies Baswedan took a swipe at Prabowo Subianto's campaign style, which often featured dancing.) (met/dir/+ten)

This datum explicitly portrays his critique of Prabowo Subianto's campaign style, showcasing Anies's assertiveness and determination. The phrase "*menyentil gaya kampanye*" (took a swipe at the campaign style) indicates Anies's proactive and confident stance in addressing and challenging his opponent's approach. By focusing on the frequent dancing of Prabowo, which is presented as a less serious action, Anies positions himself as more resolute and focused, directly contrasting his campaign with that of Prabowo. This framing accentuates Anies's tenacity by underscoring his dedication to distinguishing his political strategy from that of his opponent.

> *Kampanye model itu (Anies' dialog) dinilai bisa meningkatkan kualitas demokrasi di Indonesia.* (This model campaign (Anies' dialogue) is considered to be able to improve the quality of democracy in Indonesia.) (met/dir/+pro)

This datum explicitly portrays his campaign model as beneficial for improving the quality of democracy in Indonesia. The phrase "*dinilai bisa meningkatkan kualitas demokrasi*" (is considered to be able to improve the quality of democracy) serves to highlight Anies's campaign as one that is ethically commendable and aligned with democratic values. By emphasizing that his approach is perceived to enhance democratic processes, the framing directly reflects positively on Anies's moral and ethical stance, thereby reinforcing his image as a candidate dedicated to advancing democratic principles.

> *Anies senang bertemu masyarakat yang dapat tukar pikiran dan berdialog.* (Anies enjoys meeting people who can exchange ideas and dialogue.) (met/dir/+hap)

This datum highlights his emotional satisfaction in engaging with the public. The phrase "*Anies senang bertemu masyarakat*" (Anies enjoys meeting people) directly conveys his pleasure and contentment in these interactions. By emphasizing his enjoyment of exchanging ideas and dialogue, the statement underscores Anies's positive emotional response and genuine enthusiasm for meaningful conversations, enhancing his image as a candidate who is both approachable and deeply interested in public engagement.

> *Capres nomor urut 01 itu mengatakan bahwa rakyat butuh memilih pemimpin bukan penari.* (Presidential candidate number 01 said that the people need to elect leaders, not dancers.) (met/indir/+cap)

This datum indirectly highlights his capabilities as a serious leader. The statement "*Capres nomor urut 01 itu mengatakan bahwa rakyat butuh memilih pemimpin bukan penari*" ("Presidential candidate number 01 said that the people need to elect leaders, not dancers") offers a critique of a competitor's campaign style. It suggests that the public should prioritize substantial leadership qualities over entertainment. By underscoring the necessity for "*pemimpin*" (leaders) as opposed to "*penari*" (dancers), the

statement suggests that Anies places a premium on governance and the requisite competencies for effective leadership. This framing subtly positions Anies as a more capable and competent candidate, indirectly contrasting him with those who might focus on less serious campaign activities, thereby enhancing his image as a responsible and serious leader.

> *Tapi kita mau pilih orang yang mau ambil keputusan atas nama rakyat, atas nama negara pertanyaannya kita mau mengambil keputusan pakai apa memilihnya," ujar Anies.* ("But we want to elect people who are willing to make decisions on behalf of the people, on behalf of the country, the question is whether we want to make decisions on how to choose them," said Anies.) (met/indir/+pro)

This datum underscores his ethical commitment to leadership. The statement "*Tapi kita mau pilih orang yang mau ambil keputusan atas nama rakyat, atas nama negara. Pertanyaannya kita mau mengambil keputusan pakai apa memilihnya*" ("But we want to elect people who are willing to make decisions on behalf of the people, on behalf of the country. The question is whether we want to make decisions on how to choose them," said Anies) underscores the significance of leaders who prioritize the interests of the public and the nation. The phrase "*ambil keputusan atas nama rakyat, atas nama negara*" underscores the moral obligation of leaders to act in the public's best interest, indirectly portraying Anies as a candidate who values ethical governance. This framing suggests that Anies is committed to making decisions based on integrity and public service, thereby enhancing his image as a leader who upholds ethical principles and acts with propriety. This appeal to voters who prioritize moral integrity in their leaders is therefore strengthened.

In general, Metro TV News offers a notably favorable representation of Anies Baswedan in comparison to the more critical perspectives presented by Kompas and TVOne News.

Prabowo Subianto. The portrayal of Prabowo Subianto exhibits considerable variation across different media outlets. Kompas eschews the use of direct framing in its coverage of Prabowo, instead employing indirect and supplementary framing techniques. The outlet's portrayal of Prabowo is characterized by a positive emphasis on his capacity, suggesting that he possesses the requisite competence and capability for leadership. This positive framing of his abilities is further reinforced through the additional framing of impact, which implies that Prabowo has a significant influence or charisma, eliciting a strong initial reaction from the public. The following examples illustrate how Kompas represents Prabowo Subianto through the use of evaluative language.

> *"Kalau itu benar, dengan kisaran model prediktif 54 persen, saya harus mengatakan game over, kita sudah tahu siapa capres yang akan terpilih hari rabu nanti," kata Burhanuddin, Jumat (9/2/2024).* ("If that's true, with a predictive model range of 54 percent, I have to say game over, we already know

who the presidential candidate will be elected next Wednesday," said Burhanuddin, Friday (9/2/2024).) (kom/indir/+cap)

This datum is categorized as indirect framing with positive capacity aspects of judgment toward Prabowo Subianto because it implies a favorable assessment of his competence and potential for success in the upcoming presidential election. Burhanuddin's statement, which references a "predictive model range of 54 percent," suggests a high probability of Prabowo's victory. The statement "game over, we already know who the presidential candidate will be elected next Wednesday" conveys a sense of certainty and inevitability regarding the election outcome. This implies that the campaign of Prabowo Subianto has been successful enough to garner substantial public support. This indirect framing, presented from the perspective of a political analyst rather than a journalist, effectively highlights the strength of Prabowo's position in the race and his capacity to secure a leading position in the polls. The predictive model's indication of a significant lead serves to reinforce the perception of Prabowo's competence and the effectiveness of his campaign strategy. This portrayal indirectly communicates to the audience that Prabowo is a capable candidate with a high probability of winning the election, thus framing him in a positive light in terms of his capacity to lead and succeed.

> *Menurut Burhanuddin, persebaran suara undecided voters yang merata ini pun bakal menguntungkan Prabowo karena suara riil nantinya bisa bertambah dari angka elektabilitas yang sudah ada.* (According to Burhanuddin, this even distribution of undecided voters' votes will also benefit Prabowo because real votes can later increase from the existing electability figures.) (kom/add/+imp)

This datum indirectly enhances his perceived influence and appeal. Burhanuddin's statement indicates that an "even distribution of undecided voters' votes" may prove advantageous for Prabowo. This observation suggests that the campaign strategy employed by Prabowo may be sufficiently compelling to influence undecided voters, potentially increasing his actual vote count beyond the figures currently indicating electability. The term "benefit" signals a positive impact, indicating that Prabowo is likely to gain additional support from these voters. The linguistic evidence is found in the future-oriented prediction that the number of actual votes cast in favor of the candidate "can later increase." This emphasis on the potential for the candidate to attract a greater number of votes and thus positively frame the impact of his campaign is noteworthy. This form of additional framing extends beyond direct or indirect statements about the candidate himself. Instead, it reflects the broader electoral dynamics and the potential boost that Prabowo could receive, thereby enhancing his image as a formidable contender in the election. By emphasizing the potential positive outcomes of voter distribution, the framing indirectly acknowledges the impact of Prabowo on the electorate, suggesting a latent yet significant capacity to influence undecided voters and strengthen his position in the race.

In contrast, TVOne News similarly eschews direct framing in its portrayal of Prabowo. Similarly, TVOne News employs indirect framing to highlight Prabowo's capacity, suggesting a perception of his competence and capability. However, TVOne News does not engage in additional framing, thereby limiting its portrayal to an assessment of Prabowo's abilities. The following examples demonstrate how TVOne News presents Prabowo Subianto through the use of evaluative language.

> *Hasil survei LSI Denny JA menemukan fakta semakin terbuka Pemilu Presiden 2024 berakhir satu putaran saja untuk Prabowo-Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka, karena pasangan ini sudah menembus dukungan 53,5 persen.* (The results of the LSI Denny JA survey found that the 2024 Presidential Election was increasingly open, ending in just one round for Prabowo-Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka, because this pair had reached 53.5 percent support.) (one/indir/+cap)

This indirect framing datum highlights his substantial support in the electoral race, thereby suggesting a strong likelihood of winning in the first round. The survey results indicate that the 2024 Presidential Election was increasingly open, concluding in a single round for the Prabowo-Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka ticket. This implicitly lauds the electoral capability of Prabowo. The reference to the pair's support reaching "53.5 percent" serves to underscore their considerable advantage, indirectly reflecting the competence and effectiveness of Prabowo as a candidate. By characterizing the election as potentially concluding in a single round, the data underscores the strength of Prabowo's electoral position and his capacity to secure a majority of votes. This indirect framing conveys a favorable judgment of Prabowo's capacity to win the election based on current support levels, thereby reinforcing the perception of his effectiveness and influence in the presidential race.

In contrast, Metro TV News offers a multifaceted portrayal of Prabowo Subianto, employing both direct and indirect framing techniques. The outlet offers a direct critique of Prabowo's conduct, expressing concerns about the ethical propriety of his actions, which reflects a negative evaluation of his ethical standards. Furthermore, Metro TV News employs indirect framing by acknowledging Prabowo's tenacity, recognizing his resilience and determination despite ethical reservations. In contrast to Kompas and TVOne News, which employ a range of framing techniques, Metro TV News primarily focuses on direct commentary regarding Prabowo's ethical attributes and indirectly highlights his personal qualities through an acknowledgment of his tenacity. This approach enables Metro TV News to present a comprehensive and impartial portrayal of Prabowo's character, in contrast to the more encompassing framing strategies employed by other media outlets. The following examples illustrate how MetroTV News employs evaluative language in its portrayal of Prabowo Subianto.

> *Calon Presiden (Capres) nomor urut dua, Prabowo Subianto tidak ingin Indonesia seperti kondisi Gaza, Palestina saat ini.* (Presidential Candidate (Capres) number two, Prabowo Subianto, does not want Indonesia to be like the current conditions in Gaza, Palestine.) (met/dir/-pro)

This datum is categorized as direct framing with negative propriety aspects of judgment toward Prabowo Subianto because it explicitly critiques his stance on national security and his comparison to the situation in Gaza, Palestine. By stating that he does not want Indonesia to resemble the current conditions in Gaza, Prabowo is making a direct comparison that implies a negative assessment of Indonesia's potential state under his leadership. The statement is framed negatively due to the backlash from Islamic community members, who perceive Gaza as a symbol of resistance and strength rather than weakness. The direct comparison between Indonesia and Gaza, which carries an implication of weakness or vulnerability, constitutes linguistic evidence. In light of the aforementioned backlash, this comparison reflects poorly on Prabowo's judgment concerning national conditions and may be interpreted as an inappropriate or misguided assessment of Indonesia's potential. The explicit nature of the statement, in conjunction with the unfavorable response it elicited, serves to illustrate the direct framing of Prabowo's propriety in this context, emphasizing concerns about his judgment and suitability as a leader.

> *Saya berkeyakinan pertahanan yang kuat akan dihormati dalam menjaga kepentingan hasional kita," ucapnya.* ("I am confident that a strong defense will be respected in protecting our national interests," he said.) (met/indir/+ten)

This datum indirectly emphasizes his commitment to maintaining a robust defense to safeguard national interests, reflecting positively on his determination and resolve. By expressing confidence in the importance of a robust defense, Prabowo indirectly underscores his tenacity and unwavering dedication to national security. The assertion, "I am confident that a strong defense will be respected in protecting our national interests," indicates that Prabowo places a high value on and prioritizes resilience and steadfastness in leadership. While the statement does not explicitly laud his personal qualities, it suggests that his strategic emphasis on defense is aligned with a resolute and decisive approach to governance. This indirect framing underscores Prabowo's tenacity, as it conveys his belief in the necessity of a strong defense and his commitment to upholding national interests, thereby reflecting positively on his judgment and leadership qualities.

These discrepancies in media portrayals illustrate the existence of diverse editorial perspectives and biases within the Indonesian media landscape, providing the public with a spectrum of perspectives on Prabowo Subianto's candidacy.

Ganjar Pranowo. Kompas presents Ganjar Pranowo in a favorable light, emphasizing his tenacity. This direct framing serves to highlight his determination and resolve, thereby suggesting that he is a committed and persistent candidate. Furthermore, Kompas reinforces this favourable representation through indirect framing, focusing on Ganjar's propriety and sustained tenacity. This indicates that he is perceived in a favorable light not only in regard to his ethical stance but also with respect to his resilience,

thereby reinforcing the overall positive image. The following examples demonstrate how Kompas utilizes evaluative language in its portrayal of Ganjar Pranowo.

> *Sindir Sahabatnya yang Dulu Anti "Si Dia", Ganjar: Hari Ini Mereka Berpelukan Mesra?* (Insinuating his friend who used to be anti-"him", Ganjar: Are they hugging intimately today?) (kom/dir/+ten)

In a recent statement, Ganjar made a remark that was perceived as a veiled reference to his friend's previous stance on the matter in question. Ganjar's statement, which was published on a widely read online platform, read as follows: "Does this mean that they are embracing each other affectionately today?" (Insinuating that his friend, who previously held anti-positions toward him, Ganjar: The question "Are they hugging intimately today?" is an example of direct framing with positive tenacity and a judgmental aspect directed toward Ganjar Pranowo. This framing serves to highlight Ganjar's resilience and willingness to confront issues he believes to be wrong. By addressing the transformation in interpersonal dynamics and underscoring the rapprochement of erstwhile adversaries, the statement underscores Ganjar's resolve to sustain and enhance political relationships despite past opposition. The term "sindir" (insinuating) suggests that Ganjar's capacity to navigate and resolve conflicts reflects his unwavering stance and courage in addressing contentious issues. This portrayal serves to underscore Ganjar's tenacity in both confronting and resolving disagreements, thereby showcasing his commitment to his principles and his capacity to handle complex political dynamics in an effective manner.

> *Padahal, menurut Ganjar, moral dan etika perlu dimiliki sebagai penjaga agar seseorang tetap berada di dalam koridor yang benar.* (In fact, according to Ganjar, morals and ethics need to be possessed as guardians so that someone remains in the right corridor.) (kom/indir/+pro)

The statement, "*Padahal, menurut Ganjar, moral dan etika perlu dimiliki sebagai penjaga agar seseorang tetap berada di dalam koridor yang benar*" (In fact, according to Ganjar, morals and ethics need to be possessed as guardians so that someone remains in the right corridor), is categorized as indirect framing with positive propriety aspects of judgment toward Ganjar Pranowo. This categorization is based on an implicit evaluation of Ganjar's stance on moral and ethical standards. By positing the necessity of morals and ethics to direct individuals correctly, Ganjar is indirectly framed as an individual who upholds high ethical standards and integrity. The phrase "moral dan etika perlu dimiliki sebagai penjaga" (morals and ethics need to be possessed as guardians) conveys a positive judgment of Ganjar's propriety, suggesting that he values and adheres to ethical principles as a fundamental aspect of leadership. This indirect framing serves to underscore his dedication to upholding ethical standards and reinforces his reputation as a candidate of integrity, reflecting positively on his capacity to navigate and adhere to moral standards in his political role.

In contrast, TVOne News presents a more critical perspective on Ganjar. The outlet directly questions the veracity, tenacity, and propriety of the candidate, raising concerns

about his honesty, determination, and ethical standards. This critical perspective is further reflected in the indirect framing employed by TVOne News, which introduces skepticism regarding Ganjar's veracity and satisfaction. This suggests a broader critique of his trustworthiness and overall satisfaction with his performance, which contributes to a consistently negative evaluation.

> *Luhut Ngamuk Disebut Ganjar sebagai Jenderal Mencla-mencle Karena Dukung Prabowo: Dia Itu…* (Angry Luhut Called by Ganjar the Mencla-Mencle General Because He Supported Prabowo: He Is…) (one/dir/-ver)

The statement "*Luhut Ngamuk Disebut Ganjar sebagai Jendral Mencla-mencle karena Dukung Prabowo*" has been interpreted by some as evidence of a lack of coherence in the actions of the military leader in question. The text is categorized as direct framing with negative veracity aspects of judgment toward Ganjar Pranowo. It employs the phrase "*Dia Itu…*" (Angry Luhut Called by Ganjar the Mencla-Mencle General Because He Supported Prabowo: He Is…). This categorization is derived from Ganjar's direct accusation of Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan as being "*mencla-mencle*," a term that suggests a lack of consistency or reliability, particularly in light of his support for Prabowo Subianto. The term "mencla-mencle" explicitly critiques Luhut's political stance and implies that his support for Prabowo indicates a lack of principled or stable political alignment. The direct language used in this statement provides a clear and negative evaluation of Ganjar's character and credibility. It suggests that he is perceived as someone who is inclined to make disparaging remarks that could potentially reflect negatively on his own trustworthiness. The deployment of such evaluative language serves to frame Ganjar as an individual who engages in contentious and divisive rhetoric, thereby impacting his public image and perceived reliability.

> *Bahkan Juru Bicara Luhut, Jodi Mahardi mengatakan pernyataan Ganjar itu tidak sesuai dengan Luhut.* (Even Luhut's spokesperson, Jodi Mahardi, said that Ganjar's statement did not suit Luhut.) (one/indir/-ver)

The statement "*Bahkan Juru Bicara Luhut, Jodi Mahardi mengatakan pernyataan Ganjar itu tidak sesuai dengan Luhut*" (Even Luhut's spokesperson, Jodi Mahardi, said that Ganjar's statement did not suit Luhut) is categorized as indirect framing with negative veracity aspects of judgment toward Ganjar Pranowo. This categorization arises because the spokesperson's remark indirectly challenges the accuracy and truthfulness of Ganjar's claim by suggesting that it misrepresents Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan's views or character. The use of "*tidak sesuai*" (did not suit) implies a discrepancy between Ganjar's statement and the reality of Luhut's position or behavior, thereby questioning the veracity of Ganjar's assertion. This indirect critique reflects poorly on Ganjar's credibility, as it suggests that his statements are not aligned with the actual facts or Luhut's genuine stance. By framing Ganjar's comments in this way, the spokesperson's response implicitly undermines Ganjar's reliability and integrity, suggesting that his statements are misleading or inaccurate.

Additionally, Metro TV News offers a critical evaluation of Ganjar, specifically highlighting his perceived lack of tenacity. This direct critique is further reinforced through indirect framing, whereby the outlet subtly indicates its own dissatisfaction with Ganjar. The uniform negative portrayal, evident in both direct and indirect framing, serves to illustrate Metro TV News's critical stance toward his candidacy.

> *Ganjar Tak Mau Rakyat Dikecewakan Para Pemimpin* Lagi (Ganjar doesn't want the people to be disappointed by the leaders again) (met/dir/-ten)

The statement "*Ganjar Tak Mau Rakyat Dikecewakan Para Pemimpin Lagi*" (Ganjar doesn't want the people to be disappointed by the leaders again) is an example of direct framing with negative tenacity, which involves making a judgment about Ganjar. This categorization is derived from Ganjar's candid expression of concern regarding past leadership shortcomings and his keen awareness of ongoing challenges. The use of terms such as "*dikecewakan*" (to be disappointed) and "*lagi*" (again) suggests a recurring problem with leadership and implies Ganjar's pessimistic view on overcoming these issues. This framing subtly critiques Ganjar's tenacity by focusing on past disappointments rather than presenting a positive and proactive vision. This indicates vulnerability and skepticism about the effectiveness of current leadership.

> *Kita tidak boleh lagi membiarkan kekecewaan terulang dan kemarahan rakyat muncul.* (We can no longer allow the frustration to repeat itself and the anger of the people to emerge.) (met/indir/-sat)

The statement "*Kita tidak boleh lagi membiarkan kekecewaan terulang dan kemarahan rakyat muncul*" (We can no longer allow the frustration to repeat itself and the anger of the people to emerge) is an example of indirect framing with negative satisfaction aspects of affect toward Ganjar. This categorization is a result of the implicit critique that is embedded within the statement. By indicating that frustration and anger should not be permitted to resurface, Ganjar indirectly acknowledges previous instances of discontent and unrest among the general public. The use of the terms "*kekecewaan*" (frustration) and "*kemarahan*" (anger) indicates a focus on negative emotional responses, suggesting a problematic history of dissatisfaction that Ganjar aims to address. This framing subtly presents Ganjar as struggling to address persistent public discontent, rather than offering a forward-thinking solution, which casts a negative light on his capacity to manage and enhance satisfaction among the people.

Overall, Kompas media outlet employs a predominantly direct framing approach in its coverage of Anies Baswedan, focusing on the negative aspects of his capacity while indirectly addressing the quality of his performance. This approach offers a critique of his practical abilities while also recognizing broader qualitative attributes. TVOne News employs a combination of direct and indirect framing techniques to examine the veracity of Anies' statements, balancing accuracy with other considerations. Metro TV News employs a positive direct framing approach, emphasizing Anies' tenacity, happiness, and propriety. Additionally, indirect framing is utilized to highlight his capacity and propriety. In the case of Prabowo Subianto, Kompas employs additional framing

techniques to underscore his impact, thereby suggesting a broader context of his influence. TVOne News employs indirect framing to evaluate his capacity in a positive manner, focusing on his potential. Metro TV News presents a combination of direct negative framing on the issue of propriety and indirect acknowledgment of tenacity. This indicates a critical view of his ethical stance, while also recognizing his resilience. In the case of Ganjar Pranowo, Kompas employs both direct and indirect framing techniques to highlight his tenacity and propriety in a positive light. The TVOne News report presents a critical stance, employing direct framing to question Ganjar's veracity and tenacity, while indirect framing addresses dissatisfaction. In contrast, Metro TV News consistently presents Ganjar with negative direct framing on tenacity and indirect framing reflecting dissatisfaction, thereby portraying a less favorable view. These patterns demonstrate how different media outlets use framing to shape public perceptions, with Kompas and TVOne News showing variability and Metro TV News offering more consistent portrayals. Such analysis underscores the importance of critically evaluating media content to understand underlying biases and perspectives.

3.2   Patterns of Framing Types Across News Text Genres in Presidential Election Coverage

The analysis of how various media outlets utilize news text genres, including headlines, leads, and sequences of events, reveals intriguing patterns in their framing of presidential candidates. The inclination of framing types across different stages of news text genres demonstrates how media outlets construct narratives and influence public perception. The following interpretation of these tendencies is offered:

Headlines. In the domain of news headlines, both Metrotv News and Kompas predominantly employ direct framing in their coverage of candidates such as Anies Baswedan and Ganjar Pranowo. This strategy demonstrates a proclivity for furnishing prompt and perspicuous appraisals of the candidates, with the objective of capturing readers' attention through the presentation of unambiguous judgments or notable statements. The use of direct framing in headlines serves to highlight the most salient aspects of the candidates' profiles, ensuring that their most notable attributes or evaluations are readily apparent.

   In contrast, Tvone News and Kompas utilize indirect framing in headlines for other candidates, such as Prabowo Subianto and Ganjar Pranowo. This approach tends to offer subtler or less explicit evaluations, which can engage readers by hinting at more complex narratives or underlying issues. The use of indirect framing in headlines is designed to pique readers' interest and prompt them to seek further information. This approach often suggests the presence of underlying context or conflict, encouraging readers to delve deeper into the article to gain a comprehensive understanding of the candidates' positions and situations.

Lead. In the presentation of news leads, Metrotv News employs a consistent direct framing approach with regard to both Anies Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto. This

approach guarantees that the principal evaluative stance or critical information about these candidates is communicated in a clear and concise manner from the outset. By adopting direct framing in leads, Metrotv News establishes a straightforward and unambiguous tone, guiding readers toward a clear understanding of the candidates' key attributes or actions from the outset.

In contrast, Kompas and Tvone News utilize indirect framing in their leads for certain candidates, such as Ganjar Pranowo. This approach introduces a layer of complexity, suggesting that the story may involve nuanced perspectives or evolving narratives. The use of indirect framing in leads is often indicative of an article that will offer a more comprehensive analysis or examine conflicting viewpoints. This approach encourages readers to engage more deeply with the content, enabling them to fully comprehend the context and implications of the candidate's position or actions.

Sequence of events. Metrotv News adheres to a consistent use of direct framing throughout the sequence of events, thereby ensuring a clear and straightforward narrative. This approach demonstrates a dedication to presenting a unified and unambiguous representation of the candidates, in alignment with the evaluative points introduced in the headlines and leads. By adhering to a direct framing approach, Metrotv News ensures that the principal arguments and critical perspectives on the candidates are consistently highlighted and reinforced throughout the narrative.

In contrast to direct framing, indirect framing involves a more oblique approach to presenting information. In their coverage of candidates such as Ganjar and Prabowo, both Kompas and TvOne News employ indirect framing techniques. This technique enables these media outlets to delve more profoundly into the nuances of the candidates' public personas, thereby offering a more intricate and multifaceted narrative. The use of indirect framing allows for the presentation of complex viewpoints and broader contextual factors, thereby facilitating readers' engagement with a multi-dimensional understanding of the candidates' positions and actions.

Furthermore, Kompas employs additional framing techniques in their coverage. This encompasses context-driven or in-depth assessments that extend beyond the scope of direct or indirect framing. The integration of these additional framing elements enables these outlets to present a more comprehensive view of the candidates. This approach serves to highlight significant yet less immediately obvious aspects of the profiles in question, thereby enriching the reader's understanding with broader contextual insights and detailed evaluations.

4   Discussion

The analysis reveals significant discrepancies in the manner by which Kompas, TVOne News, and Metro TV News portray the presidential candidates. Kompas and TVOne News demonstrate a proclivity for employing a more direct and indirect framing approach. Kompas exhibits a tendency to prioritize straightforward evaluations, whereas TVOne News deploys a combination of direct and indirect framing techniques. Metro

TV News frequently employs direct framing, which offers a more transparent and immediate representation of the candidates. This variation indicates that different media outlets have disparate editorial strategies that shape the manner in which they portray political figures to their audiences (35–37). Metro TV News shows a consistent pattern of direct framing, particularly in headlines and leads, which indicates a preference for immediate and explicit evaluations of the candidates. In contrast, Kompas and TVOne News display more variability, using both direct and indirect framing methods. This consistency in Metro TV News' approach may reflect a deliberate strategy to shape public perception through clear, unambiguous assessments (38–40).

Moreover, the use of additional framing for Prabowo Subianto by Kompas highlights a nuanced portrayal that extends beyond immediate evaluations. This approach allows for a broader consideration of his impact and influence, which can affect how his candidacy is perceived (41–44). The lack of additional framing in TVOne News and Metro TV News for Prabowo suggests a focus on more immediate and less contextual evaluations. Furthermore, the findings illustrate how the genre of news text—headlines, leads, and sequences of events—affects the framing strategies employed. Headlines often provide a snapshot of the most immediate evaluations, while leads and sequences of events offer context and development. The variation in framing types across these genres reveals how media outlets strategically use different formats to shape audience perceptions (45–47).

Lastly, inconsistencies in framing across media outlets and genres may arise from editorial biases, target audience preferences, or strategic objectives (48–51). For instance, variations in how Ganjar Pranowo is framed by TVOne News and Metro TV News could reflect efforts to align with specific political leanings or to engage different audience segments. Understanding these inconsistencies is crucial for analyzing the broader implications of media framing on political discourse and public opinion.

5   Conclusion

In conclusion, Kompas employs direct framing to evaluate Anies Baswedan's competence while acknowledging his overall merit, whereas TVOne News utilizes a combination of direct and indirect techniques to assess the veracity of his statements. Metro TV News employs a positive direct approach, emphasizing Anies's tenacity and propriety. In regard to Prabowo Subianto, Kompas places emphasis on his impact, employing additional framing techniques. TVOne News offers a positive evaluation of his capacity, utilizing indirect framing. Metro TV News presents a mixed approach, combining direct negative framing on propriety with indirect recognition of tenacity. Ganjar Pranowo is portrayed in a positive light by Kompas through the use of both direct and indirect framing techniques, which highlight his tenacity and propriety. In contrast, TVOne News employs a critical approach to assess the veracity and tenacity of his statements, utilising both direct and indirect framing methods. The portrayal of Ganjar Pranowo by Metro TV News is characterised by a more consistent negative view of his tenacity, reflecting a sense of dissatisfaction. These findings demonstrate how disparate

media outlets employ disparate framing techniques when portraying candidates, underscoring the necessity for critical media literacy to discern and contextualize the inherent biases and perspectives that shape their coverage.

Future research could explore how different media platforms employ linguistic framing types and their impact on public perception, comparing these effects across digital and traditional media. Cross-cultural and longitudinal studies could reveal how framing strategies vary internationally and evolve over time, influencing voter behavior and attitudes. Additionally, examining less commonly studied framing types and their application in political debates could offer deeper insights into the nuances of media framing.

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