Conference Paper

Media Framing Against Identity Political Orientation as a Representation of Political Interests Ahead of the 2024 Presidential Election

Hendra Alfani[1]*, Agustinus Rustanta[2], Elsie Oktivera[2], Steffi Lee[2]

[1]Universitas Baturaja, South Sumatra, Indonesia
[2]Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Komunikasi dan Sekretari Tarakanita, Jakarta, Indonesia

ORCID
Hendra Alfani: https://orcid.org/0009-0007-3163-7388

Abstract.
Political movements ahead of the 2024 presidential election are increasingly escalating. The media began to focus on highlighting the political escalation. This study aims to analyze how Kompas.com, Mediaindonesia.com, and Republika.co.id, as influential online media in Indonesia, frame and construct the issue of political identity ahead of the 2024 presidential election. In the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections, the highlight of the issue of political identity was very strong, it is even used as a political commodity to gain voter support. This then causes political polarization, polemics, and even conflicts whose residues are still felt ahead of the 2024 presidential election. This study uses a qualitative approach with framing method by Robert Entman's. In order to construct messages from the three media and display the construction of the reality of the issue of political identity orientation as a representation of political interests prior to the 2024 presidential election, there is a focus on the process of selecting issues and highlighting specific aspects of the reported reality, which are influenced by the ideology of the media and the opinions of journalists.

Keywords: media framing, construction of reality, representation, political identity

Corresponding Author: Hendra Alfani; email: hefanila02@gmail.com

1. Introduction

Political contests in Indonesia, especially presidential and vice-presidential elections, always seize the energy and attention of all Indonesian people. Political parties, political figures, mass media, and interest groups move to prepare and monitor the situation of political developments ahead of the presidential election. In fact, the registration of new presidential and vice presidential candidates will begin on October 19, 2023 to November 25, 2023, but political escalation has begun.

Based on the provisions of Article 6A paragraph (2) of Law Number 17 of 2017 concerning Elections it is stated that "Pairs of Candidates for President and Vice President

are proposed by political parties or a coalition of political parties participating in the election." Then there is a provision for the presidential threshold for the nomination of the president and vice president which is regulated in Article 222 which states that the requirement to become a presidential candidate is to obtain support from political parties involving in the election that meet the minimum requirements. The party or the parties should have at least 20% of the seats in the DPR or 25% of the votes in the previous elections for members of the DPR [1]. This provision is the starting point for political parties as supporters of presidential candidates and interest groups in society, including the media, which marks the political escalation ahead of the 2024 presidential election.

Apart from these provisions, various forms of political vulnerability and the threat of the emergence of political identity issues that are used as political commodities in the 2024 presidential election are still feared to occur. It is the effect of the conflict of interest of political contestation to win the presidential election. The massive of political imagery messages causing the issue of political identity a representation of supporting the achievement of political goals. They are both about the superiority of the presidential candidate to be promoted and black campaign attacks against opposing candidates who become competitors, often appear uncontrollably and they endanger democracy and national unity.

From a global perspective, America with hundreds of years of experience in building democracy through open presidential elections, still cannot avoid the issue of political identity which has always been a central issue in every presidential election. The central issue of the 2008 America's presidential election is the changing racial and ethnic composition [2]. For example, much attention was on the rapidly growing influence to the Latino vote. Obama's evocation of the Adamic trope was considered effective in his narration of a new era in American society. In mid-2008, New York Times suggested that Obama's candidacy allowed for positive discourse about those of mixed race in America (Porter, "Mixed Race America").

What happens with the democratic process in Indonesia? It cannot be separated from the orientation of religious and ethnic identity. It can be seen from the participation of political parties and the previous public election for regional leader. Any kinds of religious and ethnic identities are often used as political vehicles. It happens as identity and representation are two very important things in human life. Religion and ethnicity are two things becoming the identity and representation people. The democratic process in Indonesia cannot be separated from the orientation of identity and representation politics. The strengthening of political identity and political representation always appears

as a result of the opening of the faucet of political participation since the reformation era [3].

The public election of the Governor of Jakarta in 2017 won by Anies Baswedan against Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) was another new portrait of the struggle for political identity and political representation in Indonesia. Ahok-Djarot candidate is a portrait of non-Muslim identity, representing Chinese. Anies Baswedan is representing Muslims. The issues of ethnicity, religion, and race have a very strong role and even crystallize in such a way as to put psychological pressure on voters. This political process can potentially weaken the strengthening of democracy in Indonesia [3].

There are two forms of political polarizations. The first is ideological polarization. It is the divergence of political opinions, beliefs, attitudes, and stances of political adversaries. The second is affective polarization. It is based on work considering the role of identity in politics and how identity salience within groups can exacerbate out-group animosity. Affective polarization assesses the extent to which people feel warmth towards their political allies and dislike a lack of warmth towards their political opponents [4].

The importance of the concept of representation can substantively be interpreted as an effort to depict an object through the use of language or symbols. The depiction effort can be without media or through media. However, representation through the media is something more meaningful because with it our perception of the world is wider. Therefore, we need the media to create a sense of reality [5].

By looking for Information that is similar to their personal stands, voters create a one sided view on politics, resulting in a misleading perception of, for instance, the elections, candidates, politics, etcetera. Due to this influence, according to George in Launa [6], a shift in the political campaign model emerged as a response to the increasingly complex dynamics of social and political development. Individuals and political groups are increasingly plural and have diverse opinions when responding political dynamics that increasingly rely on emotional attachment to win as much voter support as possible. Political leaders and candidates today are inevitably required to be more sophisticated in gaining empathy and sympathy. Political leaders should be creative in promoting specific symbols to strengthen positioning, garner support, and even intimidate potential political opponents. Then, strengthens this phenomenon by illustrating that since the mid-20th century, there have been at least three main models that have developed in understanding voter behavior. The Michigan model, as the first model relates to identity, sees voters as 'social animals', in which the world is understood in terms of communal and (narrow) group allegiances (social class, ethnic community, or

political party). This model emphasizes the aspects of attachment and emotional loyalty between groups towards their party.

Voters in general, do not consciously process the symbolic dimensions of the political realm. The meaning-making of cultural structures and systems are largely invisible to most members of modern society. Their lack of awareness opens up the space for performance that transforms culture into a more powerful tool for political manage- ment [2]. There are various methods implemented by the candidates for presidents in conducting campaigns. Nowadays, for example, with internet technology, everything becomes very easy to do in political campaigns. Messages in political campaigns in the form of advertisements can spread quickly in minutes or seconds to all corners of the country [7].

McCombs et al. [8], in terms of media coverage, identified three subcategories of substantive attributes. They are ideology and issue positions, qualifications and experience, and personality. There are three subcategories of affective attributes. They are positive, negative, and neutral. Media exposure can be driven by an array of different motives, not always implying mindfulness and attentive processing of the information to which citizens are exposed. When media content serves to fulfill a need for information, people's mindfulness is elevated as is their attention to the content they receive [9].

Some affiliated mass media exploit news to support their candidates. Media may present the positive side of their candidates. In contrast, they may display the negative sides of the candidate's rivals. It is to raise their number of prospective voters. Data released by PolMark Research Centre in kompas.com, to avoid the damage of friend- ships due to different choice, media should provide neutral space as a tool to filter the news that discourages potential candidates. This idea directs mass media to always be in the corridor of their function, to inform, to educate, and to entertain [10].

Some framing researches have greatly contributed to the development of political news framing effects theory. However, in recent years, some scholars have criticized it for not sufficiently acknowledging that news framing is an accumulative and dynamic effect process. To bridge the discrepancy between one-shot experimental designs and news frame exposure over time, a growing number of studies now examine the duration of news framing effects and/or expose participants to competitive news frames. The improvement is significant, but most studies showed that media neglected other important aspects of real life news media use: how news framing is affected by repeated exposure to the same news frame over time [11].

In modern democratic politics, voters have final decision about who is becoming president. Thus, voters' perception of candidates is vital. Hacker [12] argues that most

of political information helps the voters form perception comes from the media. Political campaign is a process of communication between political actors and the voters. Whereas media offer a platform to conduct effective communication between candidates. One of them is that media play important roles in a political campaign. Journalists will choose certain angles for campaigns or candidates. Media make it more manifest in news reports, which offer the voters solid information to judge some political proposal or evaluate the candidate [13].

This study aims to see and explore how three influential online media in Indonesia, Kompas.com, Mediaindonesia.com, and Republika.co.id, frame and construct issues of political identity ahead 2024 presidential election. The results of this study are expected to provide input to all parties to maintain political stability in the 2024 presidential election. In order for the presidential election to take place peacefully, it will become a space for honest political education. have integrity, and can reject any action that could undermine democracy due to the spread of slander, hate speech, money politics, and so on. In addition, the media is expected to become a public space that has the responsibility to encourage presidential election campaigns based on a political culture of clashing ideas, not political identity that creates conflict and polarization.

2. Method

This research uses qualitative method with Robert Entman's [14] framing analysis technique. Framing analysis is one of the alternative analytical models. This model is implemented to reveal the secret behind a difference and the similarities of media in presenting facts and how reality is framed by the media. Thus, social reality is understood, interpreted, and constructed with certain forms and meanings [15]. Entman sees framing in two major dimensions, selection of issues and emphasizing or highlighting aspects of reality. These can further sharpen the framing of news through the process of selecting issues. Framing has important implications for political communication. Because framing plays a major role in exerting political power, and frames in news texts are really imprinted power, it shows the identity of actors or *interests* that compete to dominate the text [15] .

The data in this study are news about identity political orientation associated with political interests ahead of the 2024 Presidential election (table 1). News is selected based on unit and category analysis according to the focus of the research problem. There are 12 news stories from three media which are then selected. Data analysis was carried out using the Entman framing analysis model, with the aim of finding the context

TABLE 1: Entman Model *Framing* Analysis.

Define Problems	It is the way the journalist sees the issue.
Diganosa Causes (Estimate the problem or source of the problem	It is journalist point of view of what is considered the cause of a problem, the actor causing the problem.
Moral Judgment	It is about the moral values are presented. Which moral values are used to legitimize or delegitimize an action.
Treatment Recommendation (Emphasize completion)	Oit is about the solutions are offered to solve the problem.

Source: Eriyanto [16].

of the construction of reality on issues of political identity that are featured in the news, which have a purpose, representing the views and judgments of certain parties.

3. Result and Discussion

This study selects each of four news stories published by Kompas.com, Mediaindonesia.com and Republika.co.id (on online / digital platforms) in the period January to June 2022, whose coverage themes focus on the context of the concerns of various parties about the emergence of "threat" of capitalization of political identity ahead of the 2024 presidential election as the main object of observation in this research. Therefore, the focus of this research is how the three influential media frame and construct the issue of political identity ahead of the 2024 presidential election.

Four selected news stories from Kompas.com, Mediaindonesia.com and Republika.co.id which are selected for this research (Table 2).

3.1. Frames of construction news Kompas.com

Frames of observation and deepening of the four news stories released by *Kompas.com* are described sequentially as follows. Based on the framesof the four news releases, *Kompas.com* significantly quotes the opinions of news sources, displays the construction of reality on the emphasis or highlighting of the context of the rejection of the capitalization of political identity in the 2024 presidential election. In *the frameKompas.com*, emphasized that the capitalization of political identity is a serious threat, which can not only injure democracy but can also divide national unity, not educate and not enlighten the nation.

Kompas.com highlights that there are still many parties who try to maintain the capitalization of political identity as a means for political parties or individuals to attract

TABLE 2: Selected News as Research Object at *Kompas*.com , *Mediaindonesia*.com and *Republika*.co.id.

No.	Media		News title	Date of issue
1.	**Kompas.com**	a.	Jokowi: No More Provoking Identity Political Issues in the 2024 Election	12/04/2022
		b.	The 2024 Election is Predicted to Still Be Colored by Political identity	19/04/2022
		c.	Secretary General of PAN: We Are No Longer Trapped in Political identity, It Divides us	28/05/2021
		d.	Observer: PKS and PKB Coalition, Efforts to Get Rid of Political identity	10/06/2022
2.	**Mediaindonesia.com**	a.	Election 2024 Called Potential for Political identity	22/01/2022
		b.	Surya Paloh Urges Political Elites to Leave Political identity in the 2024 Election	07/06/2022
		c.	Police Anticipate Political identity Ahead of the 2024 Election	13/06/2022
		d.	Observer Calls Political identity Irrelevant for the 2024 Presidential Election	16/06/2022
3.	**Republika.co.id**	a.	Islamic Political Parties Must Anticipate Political identity Ahead of the 2024 Election	19/04/2022
		b.	Observers of Identity Political Values Still Color the 2024 Presidential Election	06/06/2022
		c.	Songsong for the 2024 presidential election, the public is urged to be aware of political identity	20/06/2022
		d.	Political identity is Predicted to Be More Explosive, Anies is Considered to be a Target	30/06/2022

public sympathy for their own political interests by attacking other parties or other individuals. In fact, *Kompas.com* explicitly mentions the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), which is considered to be perpetuating the issue of political identity to attract attention and gain voter support. Meanwhile, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), which is considered a party that uses political identity as a strategy to gain constituent support.

Kompas.com views that the residue due to the "blind" capitalization of political identity as happened in the 2014 presidential election, the 2017Jakarta public election for the Governor, and the 2019 presidential election. It even causes deep wounds to grassroots communities. Political identity has also caused such acute polarization, blasphemy behavior and mutual attacks are still happening to this day. The terms *cebong*, *kampret* and *kadrun* are still milling about in various narratives of political debates on social

media and so on. In fact, the competing political elites have formed coalitions in the name of political interests.

All parties are "invited" by *Kompas.com* not to be provoked by issues of political identity that are used to smooth the political interests of certain groups or groups. The public is invited to welcome the general election and presidential election as a dignified democratic party for the sake of the national interest. *Kompas.com* also emphasized that all parties, especially the presidential election contestants, could elegantly display the politics of ideas, the politics of fighting ideas that are visionary for the progress of the nation.

There should no longer be any duping of society by using religion, ethnicity/race, cultural background and so on as dirty political tools to achieve temporary political goals. Therefore, *Kompas.com* offers political education, political socialization of ideas, coalitions between parties that promote unity and are oriented towards nationalism and prepare for elections carefully as rational and dignified recommendations to minimize the emergence of political capitalization on the identity of the pluralistic Indonesian people.

3.2. Frames of construction news Mediaindonesia.com

Frame of the four news stories released by *Mediaindonesia.com*. Based on *the frames* of the four news releases, *Mediaindonesia.com is* significantly citing the opinions of news sources, displays the construction of reality by emphasizing or highlighting the context of affirming that the capitalization of political identity in the 2024 presidential election as a choice of political campaign strategy is no longer relevant. In that affirmation, *Mediaindonesia.com* refers to previous experience, that political identity has caused acute polarization in society, divided the nation and weakened national unity.

The main cause of the fragility, polarization and division, in *Mediaindonesia.com 's view, is* because it is caused by the actions of political parties and certain political figures who still use political identity to attract public sympathy. For example, by using *buzzers* that spread incitement, hate speech and massively irresponsible hoaxes *,* especially those spread through various social media *platforms.*

Therefore, *Mediaindonesia.com* offers a solution so that all parties, whoever, no longer gives room for the growth of political identity. The public is invited to be careful in responding to issues or narratives spread by "radical" groups. Which has a specific political goal. This means that people should not be easily provoked, they must build a national narrative and reject the invitation of certain organizations or groups to declare

a presidential candidate. *Mediaindonesia.com* encourages socialization and education about national unity and integrity to be carried out in a sustainable manner.

3.3. Frames of construction news Republika.co.id

In contrast to the frames of Kompas.com and Mediaindonesia.com which firmly show their rejection of the capitalization of the issue of political identity in the 2024 presidential election. *Republika.co.id* displays the construction of reality by emphasizing that political identity is considered a positive thing as long as it does not conflict with religion. Political identity is also considered an obstacle to Islamic parties, a latent danger, populism, and the emergence of polarization in society.

Republika.co.id sees that the root causes of the problems that arise are campaigns that promote certain religions, the government does not carry out a neutralization process, political identity is used to attack certain political interests, and horizontal conflicts. *Republika.co.id* 's critical assessment of the weakness of the government's efforts to carry out the neutralization process for the act of capitalizing political identity into "political merchandise" packaged in black campaign packages is *a* part that is highlighted as the reason why political capitalization of identity is difficult to prevent.

Therefore, *Republika.co.id* offers a solution to conduct socialization and education both *online* and *offline* , promote understanding of nationalism to fight radicalism, provide moderate and peaceful religious understanding, form coalitions with parties based on nationalist-religious principles, reduce use of language that supports polarization, and build a politics of unity from an early age.

So that the community has immunity and the power to break through to fight radical ideologies and politicization of religion in the presidential election. Provision of moderate, friendly, peaceful, and tolerant religious understanding. Inviting the public to celebrate differences as a potential for building democracy, social media is used as a unifier. *Republika.co.id* also emphasized that to end political identity, it could be started from the political elite by making a pledge and those who violated were given sanctions.

4. Conclusion

Finally, there are conclusions of the framing analysis. *First*, *Kompas.com* and *Mediaindonesia*, which carry a nationalist nationalist ideology, expressly show their side in rejecting political capitalization against actions that make religious, ethnic or ethnic

identity, cultural background and other social identities in a pluralistic Indonesian society a "political trade". either by political parties or political (elite) figures, as well as by other interest groups.

Second, *Republika.co.id* which carries Islamic-nationalist ideology, although in principle the same as *Kompas.com* and *MediaIndonesia.com*, displays a slightly different emphasis on point of view. *Republika.co.id* emphasized its rejection of political capitalization on the issue of political identity which is often pinned on Islamic groups or Islamic parties. It becomes the obstacle for Islamic parties or Islamic groups to show and strengthen their existence in politics, especially in participating in public elections and presidential elections. *Republika.co.id* seems to have an idea or suggestion to remove the negative stigma. According to *Republika.co.id*, political identity is acceptable as long as it is not associated with a particular identity, especially religion which is capitalized to bring down other parties for temporary political interests. *Republika.co.id* also criticized the government for being slow and unresponsive in carrying out the neutralization process for the capitalization of political identity used to attack or bring down certain parties.

Although the framing is carried out using different perspectives based on the ideology of the media, considerations of market interests, editorial policies and patterns of journalism practices adopted, or the presence of elements of "opinion" emphasis by *Kompas.com*, *MediaIndonesia.com* and *Republika.co.id journalists* who covering the reported events, but in principle, the three media agreed to reject the act of capitalizing political identity irresponsibly, not enlightening and aimed at dividing national unity in the 2024 presidential election in order to achieve the goal of temporary political interests.

Acknowledgments

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