

# Robert Entman's Framing Analysis: Female Representation in 2024 Presidential Candidates on *Republika.com* and *Sindonews.com*

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## ABSTRACT

Women's participation in the presidential election is still low, and they rarely appear in surveys and news as candidates for the 2024 Presidential election. Women are often considered more suitable to lead in the domestic sphere and less suitable for the public sphere. The role of the media in shaping people's views on women in politics is crucial. This study uses a qualitative approach and Robert M. Entman's framing analysis to examine news from *Republika.com* and *Sindonews.com* related to the presence of female candidates as 2024 Indonesian presidential candidates. The results showed that *Sindonews.com* tends to highlight the existence of female candidates positively but too narrowly focuses on gender aspects and stereotypical views of women as vice presidential candidates. Meanwhile, news from *Republika.com* focuses more on analyzing electability factors and political party support for female candidates, presenting a positive view of women as alternative presidential candidates. The role of the media in constructing reality must positively impact increasing women's representation in Indonesian politics. However, the media must also be able to avoid bias and present objective and consistent information.

Keywords: Framing Analysis, 2024 Presidential Candidates, Gender, Media, Women's Participation

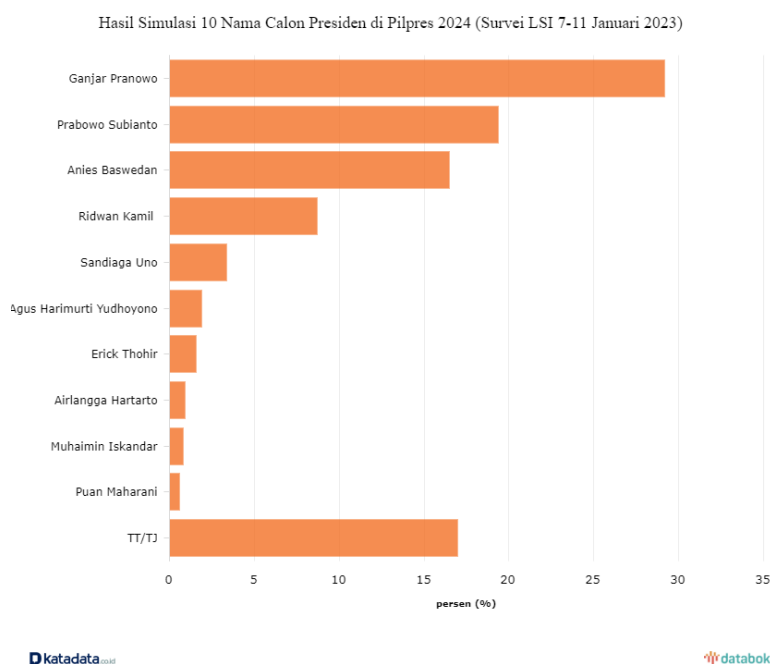
## ABSTRAK

Partisipasi perempuan dalam pemilihan presiden masih rendah dan jarang muncul dalam survey dan pemberitaan sebagai calon Presiden 2024. Perempuan sering kali dianggap lebih cocok untuk memimpin dalam ranah domestik dan kurang cocok untuk ranah publik. Peran media dalam membentuk pandangan masyarakat terhadap perempuan dalam politik sangat penting. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan analisis framing Robert M. Entman untuk mengkaji berita dari *Republika.com* dan *Sindonews.com* terkait eksistensi calon perempuan sebagai calon presiden Indonesia 2024. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa *Sindonews.com* cenderung menyoroti eksistensi calon perempuan secara positif, tetapi terlalu sempit pada aspek gender dan pandangan stereotip tentang perempuan sebagai cawapres. Sementara berita dari *Republika.com* lebih fokus pada analisis faktor elektabilitas dan dukungan partai politik terhadap calon perempuan, dengan ada pandangan positif tentang perempuan sebagai alternatif calon presiden. Peran media dalam mengkonstruksi realitas haruslah berdampak positif dalam meningkatkan keterwakilan perempuan dalam politik Indonesia. Namun media juga harus mampu menghindari bias dan menyajikan informasi yang obyektif dan konsisten.

Kata Kunci: Analisis Framing, Calon Presiden 2024, Gender, Media, Partisipasi Perempuan

## INTRODUCTION

The 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election is one of the crucial moments in the country’s political journey and development. This is because the President is the highest leader in the Indonesian government, holding significant influence over the country’s policies and direction for the next few years. However, despite the upcoming Presidential Election, women’s participation in the election is still considered very low and rarely appears in various surveys and news as potential 2024 Presidential candidates. In fact, women’s political participation in Indonesia is a prerequisite for advancing gender equality and democracy in the country (Kesumadewi & Iskandar, 2022). The representation of women in this presidential election is indeed a rare occurrence. Since the direct presidential elections were first held in 2004 in Indonesia, only Megawati Soekarnoputri has become a presidential candidate. Women’s representation in politics is governed by Law No. 10/2008 on the General Election of Members of the DPR, DPD, and DPRD, as well as Law No. 2/2008 on political parties, which mandates political parties to fulfill a 30% quota for women in politics, particularly in the people’s representative institutions (Gadi Djou, 2018).



**Figure 1.** A Survey of Female Presidential Candidates in 2024 (KataData, 2023)

In a survey conducted by LSI (Indonesian Survey Institute) on January 24, 2023, it showed that out of the ten names of 2024 presidential candidates simulated in the survey, only one woman’s name was included, namely Puan Maharani, and she occupied the last place in the survey results (<https://databoks.katadata.co.id/>). Indonesia, with a population of 273.52 million people, based on the Population Data for Semester II of 2021 released by the Ministry of Home Affairs, Directorate General of Dukcapil on December 30, 2022, has around 136 million women (dukcapil.kemendagri, 2022). Many consider that the 2024 presidential election should include a female presidential candidate as a potential candidate. However, in the survey data above, no potential candidates come from women. This is influenced by many factors. For example, gender stereotypes are still strong. Gender stereotypes arise due to an unfair understanding of gender (Iftinan & Syah Putra, 2021). Stereotypes about the perception of women say that women are weak, powerless, and only suitable for certain jobs. Because of these stereotypes, people live and develop in a culture that stereotypes women as figures who need to be protected, are powerless, and can only do household chores or are known as second-class citizens (Iftinan & Syah Putra, 2021). In Indonesia, many people consider women more suitable for leading in the domestic sphere, including household activities. In contrast, they are considered less suitable for leading in the public sphere (Lambertus, 2017). The lack of representation of women in politics can also be a contributing factor.

Although there has been progress in the representation of women in parliament and the government under President Joko Widodo's leadership, the number of female ministers remains relatively low, with approximately six female ministers out of a total of 38 ministers in the Indonesia Maju cabinet. This represents the largest number of female ministers throughout Indonesian government history under previous presidents. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), there are 575 members in the House of Representatives (DPR) for the 2019-2024 period, with 120 of them being women (<https://www.dpr.go.id/>, 2019). However, this number is still low compared to men. The emergence of female figures as presidential candidates is still minimal, illustrating that female candidates face challenges in gaining public support compared to their male counterparts. The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia does not impose restrictions on women's political participation and representation.

Although women's involvement in political life has increased, their participation and representation in national and provincial legislative bodies and all government institutions remain relatively low (Lambertus, 2017). It needs to be recognized that the patriarchal culture in Indonesia is still strong, assuming that men are more dominant, powerful, and influential than women (Surahman, Corneta, & Senaharjanta, 2022). These factors contribute to the low participation of women in Indonesian politics, particularly in the 2024 Presidential Election. One way often used by political actors to increase electability and image is through mass media and social media. Social media and mass media have a significant impact, reaching a wide audience in a short time. Social media influences expectations of political images and, in turn, the impact of these images on perceived electability, likelihood of voting, and candidate evaluations (Zulli & Towner, 2021). Content on social media also determines how politicians and political parties use the platforms (Filimonov et al., 2016; Liebhart & Bernhardt, 2017; Muñoz & Towner, 2017; Russmann & Svensson, 2017). By utilizing these platforms, political actors can promote their messages and expand their sphere of influence. Mass media, for example, has a strong effect on people's worldviews, framing "images of reality... in predictable and patterned ways" throughout the study of mass communication (McQuail, 2005). Therefore, the media plays a crucial role in shaping the image of women in Indonesian politics, especially through various news reports. Some media outlets have full control over what they publish, influencing the public's perception of women in Indonesian politics (Tankard, 2001). For instance, when the media focuses more on female candidates' physical appearance or speaking style rather than their political achievements, it reinforces societal stereotypes that women in politics are judged based on appearance rather than their abilities and accomplishments.

The concept of "Media and the Construction of Reality" emphasizes the media's role in shaping our view and understanding of the world. The media has the ability to select, package, and present certain news, information, and narratives to the public. Through this process, the media not only provides information about reality but also contributes to shaping our understanding of that reality (Adoni & Mane, 1984). The media holds great influence in shaping people's views and opinions (Bungin, 2001). This study examines the framing carried out by mass media, namely *Republika.com* and *SindoNews.com*, in reporting on Female Presidential Candidates in the 2024 Presidential Election. The study focuses on how female candidates are positioned in a political context, how gender issues are discussed in the news, and how the media handle gender differences in the presidential election using Robert Entman's Framing Analysis. Entman's framing emphasizes how the media describe a selection process and accentuate certain aspects of reality (Entman, 2007). Robert N. Entman's framing is divided into four elements: Define Problems (defining problems), which involves how an event is perceived and defined; Diagnose Causes (estimating the cause of the problem), which includes identifying the problem or its source; Make Moral Judgement (making moral choices), where the moral values presented in the news are determined; and Treatment Recommendation (emphasizing solutions), which involves suggesting solutions to resolve the conflict (Entman, 2007).

Research conducted by Exmanda (2023) reveals that the media frequently employs chosen framing when reporting on female candidates. The study utilized Robert Entman's Framing Analysis, leading to the conclusion that *Kompas.Com* and *Detik.com* generally categorized their framing of female candidates in the 2014 elections into three groups. The first category involves the portrayal of the physical image, where women rely solely on their beauty and appearance to capture voters' attention. Additionally, there exists a popular image category, in which female candidates leverage their popularity either as artists or by associating themselves with prominent figures (Exmanda, 2023). In another study by Santi (2019), which employed Robert N. Entman's framing analysis with a

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gender theory approach, the objective was to analyze the representation of female politicians in parliament as depicted in the news from Voaindonesia.com and Mediaindonesia.com. The research findings indicate that the portrayal of women politicians in parliament continues to encounter limited public trust due to factors such as gender inequality, restricted access, inconsistency, limited experience, and absence of strategy. Consequently, it is recommended to facilitate education and political experience for women, aimed at reinstating a positive image and fostering public trust in the roles of women within Parliament (Santi, 2019). Multiple prior studies have demonstrated that gender representation in politics significantly influences people’s perceptions of women’s capabilities and qualifications in political leadership. Additionally, the media tends to employ distinct framing techniques when dealing with female candidates in politics.

This research also anticipates contributing to comprehending how women are portrayed in politics. In an era when the role of women in political leadership is gaining prominence, a framing analysis of the Representation of Female Presidential Candidates in 2024 can aid in identifying how the media has depicted and impacted public perspectives on women in the highest political positions. Through the application of Robert Entman’s Framing Analysis framework, this research formulates the representation of female presidential candidates within the contemporary timeframe and context. This approach holds the potential to offer a fresh and current perspective on how the media approaches female candidates within a specific political setting.

**METHODS**

This research uses a qualitative method, which aims to systematically, factually, and accurately describe the Gender Framing in News and the Media’s portrayal in promoting the existence of female candidates as Indonesian Presidential Candidates in 2024. The object of this research is news from Republika.com and SindoNews.com. By choosing two different media outlets, this research is expected to explore diverse perspectives related to the same topic. Republika.com and SindoNews.com are media outlets with different readers and coverage. The three selected news articles were published on different dates. This research utilizes the framing analysis method with a constructionist paradigm or approach. The constructionist paradigm views that there is no objective reality because reality is created through a process of construction and influenced by certain viewpoints. Constructionists emphasize the interactive process through which social reality is constructed (Gorp, 2017). From a constructionist perspective, media content is both a dependent and independent variable. Media content is influenced by journalistic routines and external pressures, and it is actively processed by audiences. As such, the concept of framing uniquely combines elements that can produce powerful media effects with factors that limit those effects (McQuail, 2005). Data collection techniques were carried out using observation and documentation methods. Meanwhile, the data analysis used Robert N. Entman’s framing analysis.

**Table 1.** Entman’s Framing Device

<i>Define Problems</i> (problem definition)	How is an event/issue seen? As what? Or as what problem?
<i>Diagnose causes</i> (estimate the problem or source of the problem)	What is the event seen to be caused by? What is considered to be the cause of a problem? Who (actors) are considered to be the cause of the problem?
<i>Make moral judgment</i> (making moral decisions)	What moral values are presented to explain the problem? What morals are used to legitimize or de-legitimize an action?
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i> (emphasizing completion)	What solutions are offered to overcome? What path is offered and should be taken to address the problem/issue?

Source: Eriyanto, 2011

In this research, we conducted a literature review, collected data, and analyzed content. Framing analysis has four main objectives in the context of media research, namely defining problems, diagnosing directions, making value judgments, and suggesting solutions (Entman, 2007). The researcher chose Entman's framing device in this study with the argument that it could assist in defining the problems related to the news of the 2024 Women's presidential candidate revealed by the media and estimating the cause of the problems. Robert Entman is famous for his approach that focuses on the role of mass media in shaping public opinion. In presidential elections, the media plays an important role in shaping perceptions and judgments of candidates. In Entman's view, framing is seen as the placement of information in a distinctive context so that certain issues receive greater placement allocation than others.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Sindonews.com's Coverage of the Female Candidates for the 2024 Indonesian Presidency

In the contemporary political era, the role of mass media in shaping public perceptions of various political issues is very important. Leading up to the 2024 Presidential Election in Indonesia, one issue that consistently takes center stage is the presence of female candidates as presidential contenders. One approach that can be employed to delve deeper into the media's influence on this matter is to apply the Robert N. Entman Framing Analysis Model. Media framing is said to possess symbolic power, employing "myths, narratives, and metaphors that resonate in culture." It is considered a "cultural phenomenon rather than a cognitive one" (Muir, Roberts, & Sheridan, 2021). Using framing enables readers to discern the media's orientation and stance on an issue and its underlying interests (Selviani & Sunarto, 2022). Entman's framing method is also predicated on the belief that the interpretation of news by readers is contingent upon their psychological and physical context. Consequently, in order to foster cohesion, coherence, conjunction, and a comprehensive and mutual understanding between journalists/media and the reading public, it is imperative to comprehend the shared background and ideology between the news writer and the news reader/consumer (Launa, 2020). Below is the news that the researchers chose from SindoNews.com's coverage of the existence of female candidates for the 2024 Indonesian presidential election.

**Table 2.** Sindonews.com's Coverage of the Female Candidates for the 2024 Indonesian Presidency

No	Title	Date	News Link
1.	Potentially Vice President in 2024, These Four Women Will Follow Megawati's Footsteps?	January 10, 2021	<a href="https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/296232/12/berpotensi-nyapres-di-2024-empat-perempuan-ini-akan-ikuti-jejak-megawati-1610262105">https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/296232/12/berpotensi-nyapres-di-2024-empat-perempuan-ini-akan-ikuti-jejak-megawati-1610262105</a>
2.	Discourse on Women Presidential Candidates Welcomed by UI Professors	September 23, 2021	<a href="https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/601881/12/wacana-capres-perempuan-disambut-baik-guru-besar-ui-1637129480?showpage=all">https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/601881/12/wacana-capres-perempuan-disambut-baik-guru-besar-ui-1637129480?showpage=all</a>

The framing analysis of the first news of Sindonews.com with the title "Potentially Vice President in 2024, These Four Women Will Follow in Megawati's Footsteps?" is as follows: During the process of presenting and analyzing data, four topics are presented in accordance with Entman's framing analysis: defining problems, diagnosing directions, making value judgments, and suggesting solutions (Entman, 2007).

**Table 3.** Framing Analysis of Sindonews.com entitled “Potentially Vice President in 2024, These Four Women Will Follow in Megawati’s Footsteps?”

News Content	Interpretation
<p><b>Define Problem</b></p> <p>The title of this news article is “Potential to Run for President in 2024, These Four Women Will Follow in Megawati’s Footsteps?”. In this title, the article mentions that four women have a high possibility of becoming presidential candidates in 2024, and if successful, they will follow in the footsteps of Megawati Soekarnoputri, who was the first female president in Indonesia. Megawati Soekarnoputri is the only female figure who has run for office in the 2004 and 2009 presidential elections. The 2024 presidential election is very likely to be the best momentum for Indonesians to have a female leader. This is because the Indonesian presidential election market has a surplus of potential female figures for the first time. Moreover, these female figures have been sufficiently tested in terms of career, track record, capacity, and capability.</p>	<p>The news published by Sindonews.com focuses on potential female candidates in the upcoming 2024 presidential election. Sindonews.com attempts to frame the issue by highlighting the lack of representation of women in the previous presidential election and raises the potential of four female presidential candidates as a step to change the pattern of nomination that men have dominated. There is an effort to increase the representation of women in politics. This coverage can be seen as an attempt to raise public awareness about women’s role in politics and support women running for president.</p>
<p><b>Diagnose Causes</b></p> <p>The news stated, “These four names are often included in surveys as potential presidential or vice presidential candidates”.</p>	<p>In the news published by Sindonews.com, which is related to potential female candidates in the upcoming 2024 presidential election, the source of the problem is the statement that there are only four names of potential candidates considered for the female presidential choice in the 2024 presidential election contest.</p>
<p><b>Make Moral Judgment</b></p> <p>The news stated, “These four names are often netted in surveys as potential presidential or vice presidential candidates,” there is one sentence that states that there are four female figures who are said to be the most likely to run for vice president, namely Susi Pujiastuti, Puan Maharani, Tri Rismaharini, and Khofifah Indar Parawansa.</p>	<p>There is a moral judgment in this news. Namely, the news may contain bias in selecting four women as potential candidates. The author of the article may have certain political preferences or views on certain issues that influenced their choice. Thus, it is possible that not all potential candidates were considered or even ignored.</p>
<p><b>Treatment Recommendation</b></p> <p>The news mentioned “Who among them is most worthy of presenting in 2024? Who among these female figures is best able to maintain and increase their electability for the next three years? The following is a brief analysis of the female figures who have the potential to run for vice president”</p>	<p>In the news, the treatment recommendation is followed by the news writer’s analysis related to the four candidates shown.</p>

The framing analysis of the Second News of Sindonews.com with the title “Discourse on Female Presidential Candidates Welcomed by UI Professors” is as follows.

**Table 4.** Framing Analysis of Sindonews.com entitled “Discourse on Female Presidential Candidates Welcomed by UI Professors?”

News Content	Interpretation
<p><b>Define Problem</b> In the news published by Sindonews with the title “Discourse on Women Candidates Welcomed by UI Professors.”</p>	<p>This news can be defined as conveying information about the discourse on women presidential candidates and the positive response from Professor Burhan Magenda, a professor at the University of Indonesia.</p>
<p><b>Diagnose Causes</b> In the news published by Sindonews with the title “Discourse on Female Presidential Candidates Welcomed by UI Professors” there is an interesting sentence saying that political communication expert at Paramadina University Jakarta Hendri Satrio said that although several names of female figures have emerged who have the potential to run as presidential candidates, the actual electability of female figures is still far below that of male presidential candidates. He did not deny that the electability of female presidential candidates could rival male presidential candidates.</p>	<p>One interesting aspect of this news report relates to the diagnosis of causes, namely the positive response of UI professors to the discourse on female presidential candidates, which is mentioned in the headline and the beginning of the news paragraph. However, within the content of the news, a different response is presented, stating that a political communication expert at Paramadina University Jakarta, Hendri Satrio, mentioned that although several names of female figures have emerged as potential presidential candidates, the electability of female figures is still far below that of male presidential candidates. He did not deny that the electability of female presidential candidates could rival male presidential candidates. The problem in this context is a mismatch between the initial framing and additional information added in a news story, which can obscure or confuse readers regarding the main representation of the news.</p>
<p><b>Make Moral Judgment</b> “It is good that there is a discourse on female presidential candidates. However, I think what makes sense is to be a vice presidential candidate (vice president),” said Buhan Magenda when contacted by reporters in Jakarta on Tuesday (11/16/2021).</p>	<p>The view that women are more suitable as vice presidential candidates than presidential candidates is expressed by Burhan Magenda, indicating that women are considered more fitting for the vice presidential role due to certain reasons, such as supporting male leadership or traditional roles attached to women in some cultures.</p>
<p><b>Treatment Recommendation</b> “Of the nine names included in the ARSC survey, he assessed that there were only three female figures with the greatest chance. The three female figures are Speaker of the House of Representatives Puan Maharani, Finance Minister Sri Mulyani, and Gus Dur’s daughter Yenny Wahid.”</p>	<p>The news also reported the results of a survey conducted by Akar Rumput Strategic Consulting (ARSC) that identified nine potential female presidential candidates, with Susi Pudjiastuti, Tri Rismaharini, and Khofifah Indar Parawansa having the highest electability.</p>

The Robert N. Entman Framing Model approach in the two news reports conducted by SindoNews.com related to the existence of women candidates as Indonesian Presidential Candidates in 2024 shows that the direction of the two reports has paid attention to the important issue of women’s representation in politics. The media has the ability to select, package, and present certain

news, information, and narratives to the public (Adoni & Mane, 1984). However, there are shortcomings in both articles, such as a too-narrow focus on gender aspects, inconsistencies between the initial framing and additional information provided, and the view that women are more suitable as vice presidential candidates than presidential candidates. News framing refers to the practice of highlighting certain issues in the news to promote a particular interpretation (Akyürek et al., 2020). Dominant framing can prevent most audiences from rationally assessing a situation (Rahmadan & Setiawati, 2021).

The media is not a free channel; it is a subject that constructs reality completely with its views, biases, and sides (Eriyanto, 2008). As a responsible media outlet, Sindonews.com should avoid bias and provide clear and consistent information so that readers can make informed decisions based on potential candidates' qualifications and political plans without being influenced by gender factors or the author's personal views. Framing helps simplify complex realities into specific categories. Although social reality can subjectively be viewed as a dynamic condition and reality can also change along with human interactions carried out in daily life, it is not always the case (Mulyana, 2006).

**Republika.com's Coverage of Female Candidates for the 2024 Indonesian Presidency**

**Table 5.** Republika.com's Coverage of the Female Candidates for the 2024 Indonesian Presidency

No	Title	Date	News Link
1.	PKS does not question the issue of female leadership in the 2024 presidential election.	September 03, 2022	<a href="https://news.republika.co.id/berita/rhn7qv320/pks-tak-persoalkan-isu-kepemimpinan-perempuan-di-pilpres-2024">https://news.republika.co.id/berita/rhn7qv320/pks-tak-persoalkan-isu-kepemimpinan-perempuan-di-pilpres-2024</a>
2.	Three Women Enter the Presidential Election Exchange, Who has the Most Chances?	October 11, 2022	<a href="https://news.republika.co.id/berita/rjkggo328/tiga-perempuan-masuk-bursa-pilpres-siapa-paling-berpeluang">https://news.republika.co.id/berita/rjkggo328/tiga-perempuan-masuk-bursa-pilpres-siapa-paling-berpeluang</a>

The framing analysis of Republika.com's first news with the title "PKS Does Not Question the Issue of Women's Leadership in the 2024 Presidential Election" is as follows.

**Table 6.** Framing Analysis of Republika.com's entitled "PKS Does Not Question the Issue of Women's Leadership in the 2024 Presidential Election"

News Content	Interpretation
<p><b>Define Problem</b></p> <p>The first news title from Republika.com is "PKS Does Not Question the Issue of Women's Leadership in the 2024 Presidential Election" in the content of the news states that the Spokesperson for the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), M Kholid, admitted that his party did not question women's leadership at the national level in 2024. Kholid emphasized that the issue of women's leadership at the national level for PKS has been completed.</p>	<p>The inconsistency between the Prosperous Justice Party's (PKS) views on women's leadership in the 2024 presidential election and the results of a public opinion survey that showed increased acceptance of a female president. In the paragraph, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) states that they do not question women's leadership at the national level and acknowledges that public acceptance of a female president has increased based on the KedaiKOPI survey results.</p>



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However, inconsistency arises when PKS states that the issue of women's leadership is over, while the survey results show increased acceptance of a female president. This reflects different views or perhaps internal disagreements in PKS regarding the role and potential of women's leadership in the 2024 presidential election.

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#### **Diagnose Causes**

The first news title from Republika.com is "PKS Does Not Question the Issue of Women's Leadership in the 2024 Presidential Election". The news states that the Spokesperson for the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), M Kholid, admitted that his party did not question women's leadership at the national level in 2024. Kholid emphasized that the issue of women's leadership at the national level for PKS has been completed.

The causes of the discrepancy may include differences in internal views and opinions within the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) regarding women's role and leadership potential in politics. In addition, framing in the news can influence how the public views and interprets the issue of women's leadership.

#### **Make Moral Judgment**

It is found in the sentence: "The issue related to that (women's leadership) is over. So, what is important is that our leaders have integrity and capacity. In PKS, there are already many chairmen of the DPP, not DPW, not Depera. The chairman of the DPP is a woman. The regional heads that we propose, the deputy regional heads who contest the regional elections, are also women, so it is no longer an issue,"

The ethical view of PKS states that women's leadership is over for them and that the increasing number of names of women who appear as presidential candidates is a positive thing. PKS's moral judgment reflects the view that the issue of women's leadership is no longer relevant to be questioned, and they welcome the existence of alternative female candidates.

#### **Treatment Recommendation**

The first news title from Republika.com is "PKS Does Not Question the Issue of Women's Leadership in the 2024 Presidential Election" in the content of the news states that the Spokesperson for the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), M Kholid, admitted that his party did not question women's leadership at the national level in 2024. Kholid emphasized that the issue of women's leadership at the national level for PKS has been completed.

The issue of women's leadership in politics needs to be critically understood and explained in more depth to avoid confusion or misunderstanding regarding political parties' views on the issue. In addition, further dialog and discussion are needed between political parties and the community so that this issue can be handled wisely and objectively.

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The framing analysis of the Second News of Republika.com with the title "Three Women Enter the Presidential Election Exchange, Who has the Most Chances?" is as follows.

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**Table 7.** Framing Analysis of Republika.com’s entitled “Three Women Enter the Presidential Election Exchange, Who has the Most Chances?”

News Content	Interpretation
<p><b>Define Problem</b>                      Second News Sindonews.com with the title “Three Women Enter the Presidential Election Exchange, Who is the Most Likely?” The news opened with a statement from Political Communication Observer from Esa Unggul University Jamiluddin Ritonga, responding to the three female figures who were predicted to be eligible to become presidential or vice presidential candidates in the 2024 presidential election. The three are Puan Maharani, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, and Yenny Wahid (Zannuba Ariffah Chafsoh).</p>	<p>The problem identified in this news paragraph is about the three female figures in the 2024 presidential election market and the question of which of them is most likely to become a presidential candidate or vice presidential candidate.</p>
<p><b>Diagnose Causes</b>                      Then, in the second paragraph, the news states, “The three figures do have their respective advantages. First, Puan has been a minister and a member of the Indonesian parliament. Now, Puan is the Speaker of the House of Representatives. His experience certainly makes him worthy of being a presidential or vice presidential candidate. Her party support is also very strong, so the chances of being carried as a presidential candidate are very large. Khofifah also has a strong mass base, especially from NU, which is spread across Indonesia. Therefore, her electability can be even higher if she does political work. Yenny Wahid is better known as an NU activist and founder of PKB. However, Yenny is not in line with Muhaimin Iskandar, so she chose to leave the PKB. Her mass base is strong, especially from Gusdurian, who are very loyal to the Gus Dur family.”</p>	<p>In this case, Republika.com tries to frame the news from a perspective related to the electability and support of the parties supporting each female figure as a presidential or vice presidential candidate.                      Political Communication Observer, Jamiluddin Ritonga assesses each figure’s advantages and identifies factors that affect their chances of running in the 2024 presidential election. However, compared to the internal strengths and potential of each female candidate. Republika.com quotes Jamiluddin Ritonga’s opinion on the External Factors of the female presidential candidate.</p>
<p><b>Make Moral Judgment</b>                      The news from Republika was closed with a statement from Jamiluddin Ritonga: “So, of the three figures, Puan is most likely to become a presidential or vice presidential candidate when viewed from her supporting party. Meanwhile, Khofifah can become a presidential or vice presidential candidate when viewed from her electability. Yenny seems to be seen from her electability, and her supporters are very low”</p>	<p>The moral judgment aspect is not explicitly expressed in this news paragraph. However, ethical views or judgments may arise from observing the leadership potential of women in politics and the support given to each figure.</p>
<p><b>Treatment Recommendation</b></p>	<p>This news paragraph does not present specific recommendations for action. It is more of an analysis from observers regarding the situation and potential of female figures in the context of the 2024 presidential election. As news, this paragraph focuses more on providing information about the views and analysis of observers regarding the potential of female candidates in the 2024 presidential election.</p>

According to Fiorentina et al. (2018), framing is an approach used to determine the journalist's perspective in selecting and writing about issues. In Robert Entman's framing analysis, it is essential to observe how the news chooses and quotes information, as well as how the presentation and prominence of the story can influence people's perceptions and views on the issue of women's leadership in the 2024 presidential election. In the framing analysis of news from *Republika.com*, the first news reveals different views and potential internal disagreements in the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) regarding the issue of women's leadership in the 2024 presidential election. PKS stated that the issue was over for their party, but the public opinion survey results showed increased acceptance of a female president. This reflects inconsistencies in PKS's views on the role and potential of women's leadership in the political context. Although there is no explicit moral judgment in the news, an ethical view might be interpreted from PKS's stance that welcoming an alternative female candidate is positive. Mass media produce messages from reality construction (Eriyanto, 2008). The media can clarify and sharpen conflicts or, conversely, obscure and elide them. The media can construct reality, but it can also present hyperreality. Hyperreality leads people to believe in an image as the truth, even though it is only a dramatization of reality and falsification of truth, which "transcends reality" (Sobur, 2009).

Meanwhile, in the framing analysis of the second news from *Sindonews.com*, attention is focused on three female figures in the 2024 presidential election market and observers' analysis of each candidate's chances. The analysis involves factors such as electability and political party support that affect the potential of each candidate. There are no specific recommendations for action, and the focus is more on providing information about views and analysis related to the issue of women's leadership in the 2024 presidential election. In the analysis, factors such as electability and political party support are used as considerations to evaluate the potential of each female candidate. Gender issues are present in the context of evaluating the potential and opportunities for women to achieve the highest leadership positions in the country. By selecting and reporting news, the media focuses public attention on some issues, people, and problems, not others (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). A more subtle level of framing refers to how the media discuss those issues, problems, and people (Ruigrok et al., 2005, pp.158-9).

In the analysis above, news regarding female presidential candidates consistently transitions into other discussions, as demonstrated in an article from *SindoNews.com* titled "Discourse on Female Presidential Candidates Welcomed by UI Professors." This news piece also delves into the fact that despite several female figures being mentioned as potential presidential candidates, their electability remains significantly lower than that of male presidential candidates. Burhan Magenda expressed the viewpoint that women are more suitable as vice presidential candidates rather than presidential candidates.

Additionally, the article from *Republika.com*, titled "Three Women Enter the Presidential Candidate Arena, Who is the Most Likely?" attempts to frame the news from the perspective of electability and the support of political parties for each female figure, whether as a presidential candidate or vice presidential candidate. The strength of a female presidential candidate is considered to be contingent not solely on her individual qualities but also on the backing provided by the political parties that select her. It is suggested that women can achieve parity with men in the race for the 2024 Presidential candidacy when there are additional favorable external factors at play. An article from *Republika.com* underscores the significance of political party support for female presidential candidates. This implies that the success of female presidential candidates hinges not only on their personal popularity but also on the endorsement of political parties that nominate them as candidates. Despite the emergence of female figures as potential presidential candidates, their electability remains below that of their male counterparts. This aligns with Simone de Beauvoir's concept, as described in her 1956 work, that women are often regarded as "Others" in society (Beauvoir, 1956:15).

Beauvoir contends in her book "The Second Sex" (*Le Deuxième Sexe*) that women are not inherently women but rather become women. This statement reflects Beauvoir's resistance to the unequal relationship between men and women, where men label themselves as "The One" or "The Self". In contrast, women are positioned as objects and categorized as "The Other" (Beauvoir, 1956:15). In the context of the issue surrounding female presidential candidates, this can be interpreted as women being considered an alternative or distinct choice rather than the primary or standard choice in politics. The assertion that the electability of female presidential candidates lags behind that of male candidates is indicative of this perspective.

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## CONCLUSION

The framing analysis of the news related to the existence of female candidates as 2024 Indonesian presidential candidates by Sindonews.com has paid attention to the important issue of women's representation in politics. However, it needs to address this issue more comprehensively and avoid a narrow focus solely on the gender aspect. Consistency and objectivity in the presentation of information are also crucial so that readers can make informed decisions based on the qualifications and political plans of potential candidates without being influenced by gender factors or the personal views of the author. As a responsible media outlet, Sindonews.com should avoid bias and ensure it provides clear, comprehensive, and neutral information to present a more objective reality to readers.

Republika.com's news reveals inconsistencies and internal differences in views on the issue, while ethical views may be interpreted from a positive attitude towards female candidates as an alternative. However, both news articles do not provide specific moral judgments and focus more on analyzing factors such as electability and political party support in evaluating the potential of female candidates. As a responsible media outlet, it is essential for Republika.com to avoid bias, provide consistent and objective information, and consider gender aspects more comprehensively in its reporting. This is crucial because the media's focus in presenting the news can significantly affect people's perceptions and views on the issue of women's leadership in politics.

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