
BUANA KOMUNIKASI

Jurnal Penelitian dan Studi Ilmu Komunikasi
<http://jurnal.usbykp.ac.id/index.php/buanakomunikasi>

SOCIAL MEDIA AND ISSUE FRAMING: HOW PRAMONO ANUNG UTILIZED INSTAGRAM AS A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN TOOL IN THE 2024 JAKARTA ELECTIONS?

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Abstract

This research examines Pramono Anung's Instagram (@pramonoanungw) campaign strategy during Jakarta's gubernatorial election (August-November 2024). Using mixed methods, the study analyzes social media content characteristics and issue framing techniques. Findings reveal dominance of personalization content, followed by information, mobilization, and interaction elements. Pramono's strategy emphasized building a visionary image through social issues advocacy, family values, and sustainability commitments, positioning him as an approachable, community-responsive leader. This research contributes to understanding social media's role in contemporary political campaigning within Jakarta's electoral context.

Keywords: issue framing, social media, personalization, narrative, political communication

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji strategi Instagram (@pramonoanungw) Pramono Anung dalam kampanye Gubernur DKI Jakarta (Agustus-November 2024). Menggunakan metode campuran, studi ini menganalisis karakteristik konten dan teknik pembingkaihan isu. Hasil menunjukkan dominasi konten personalisasi, diikuti elemen informasi, mobilisasi, dan interaksi. Strategi Pramono menekankan pembangunan citra visioner melalui advokasi isu sosial, nilai keluarga, dan komitmen keberlanjutan, memosisikannya sebagai pemimpin yang dekat dan responsif terhadap masyarakat. Penelitian ini berkontribusi pada pemahaman peran media sosial dalam kampanye politik kontemporer dalam konteks elektoral Jakarta.

Kata kunci: pembingkaihan isu, media sosial, personalisasi, narasi, komunikasi politik

**BUANA
KOMUNIKASI**

Jurnal Penelitian & Studi
Ilmu Komunikasi
Volume 06
Nomor 01
Halaman 97-118
Bandung, April 2025

p-ISSN : 2774 - 2342
e-ISSN : 2774 - 2202

Tanggal Masuk :
18 April 2025
Tanggal Revisi :
29 April 2025
Tanggal Diterima :
29 April 2025

INTRODUCTION

Social media has been used by many political figures as a means to campaign when participating in general elections, whether in presidential elections, legislative elections, or regional head elections. This phenomenon did not emerge without cause. Several studies have explored the importance of social media for the political campaign process. (McGregor, 2020), for instance, states that social media is used to infer and represent public opinion, as if such opinions represent public aspirations. Social media is considered a relatively easy tool to manipulate or shape public opinion, while simultaneously advancing their agenda (Kushin & Kitchener, 2009; Sydnor, 2018). Von Drehle (2016) also notes that social media can provide candidates with space to bypass news gatekeeping and communicate directly with voters. This allows anyone, popular or not, famous or not, to use social media to introduce themselves and ensure the public develops sympathy for their political activities. Through social media, political actors can build dialogical communication with voters (Sweetser & Lariscy, 2008).

In Indonesia, various regional head candidates compete to use social media as a means of political campaigning to gather votes. Beyond political communication, social media has a significant impact on various aspects such as serving as a medium for absorbing information about competing regional head candidates, consideration for decisions to vote for candidates of interest, and understanding current political developments. In 2023, internet usage in Indonesia demonstrated a notably significant figure. According to the Digital 2023: Indonesia report released by DataReportal (*Digital 2023*, 2023), there were approximately 212 million internet users in Indonesia, which represents 77% of the total population. Furthermore, the number of social media users in Indonesia at the beginning of 2023 reached around 167 million, or approximately 60.4% of the total population. Interestingly, of the total social media users, 139.3 million were aged 18 years and above. In relation to the age requirements for participation in elections in Indonesia, this number also corresponds to the permanent voter list eligible to participate in the 2024 simultaneous regional elections. Furthermore, several platforms have active users in Indonesia. The four social media platforms with the most users in Indonesia in 2023 were Facebook (174 million users), Instagram (over 90 million users), TikTok (113 million users), and YouTube (139 million users) (Annur, 2023; napoleoncat.com, 2023).

This research aims to examine how political actors use social media to frame issues that align with their political interests for public consumption. This social media usage becomes one factor in ensuring that candidates competing in regional head elections align with the people's needs. Alternatively, candidates provide issue urgency that is ultimately justified by society as if it were important and addressing societal needs. Social media usage is considered important because it can shape public behavior and opinion (Hemphill et al., 2013). Social media is used as a tool to highlight certain issues or aspects of an issue. Through social media, repeated framing imprints on public memory and is considered effective in influencing public opinion (Garrett, 2009; Hemphill et al., 2013; Iyengar, 1990). This research takes the case study of the 2024 Jakarta regional election contested by the Pramono Anung-Rano Karno pair. Pramono Anung and Rano Karno were Jakarta gubernatorial and vice-gubernatorial candidates nominated by the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-Perjuangan) and the People's Conscience Party (Hanura). The involvement of Pramono and Rano in the Jakarta regional election contest became quite a unique issue. The reason being, this pair was only supported by 15 seats out of the total 106 Jakarta DPRD seats. Meanwhile, their rival, Ridwan Kamil-Suswono, was supported by 91 seats, namely from the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) with 18 seats, the Great Indonesia

Movement Party (Gerindra) with 14 seats, the National Democratic Party (Nasdem) with 11 seats, the Golkar Party with 10 seats, the Democratic Party with 8 seats, the Indonesian Unity Party (Perindo) with 1 seat, and the United Development Party (PPP) with 1 seat. The opportunity for Pramono-Rano to advance was also supported by a decision change ratified by the Constitutional Court (MK). Based on decision number 60/PUU-XXII/2024, the threshold for Jakarta gubernatorial candidacy only required 7.5% of votes from the previous legislative election results (CNN Indonesia, (2024)). Additionally, the selection of Pramono Anung as a Jakarta gubernatorial candidate raised significant questions. This is because, based on electability released by several survey institutions, Pramono's name was not among them (Soehandoko, 2024).

To boost electability and electability achievements, each candidate and their winning team initiated massive political campaign activations to catch up with other pairs. Among the many variables in political communication, social media usage became one of the factors that could be utilized. Several pieces of literature state that social media can be integrated into the winning strategy of political figures participating in regional elections. The main factor is that social media has a clear influence on driving political participation, both in online and offline realms (Ohme, 2019; Tang & Lee, 2013; Vissers & Stolle, 2014). Additionally, certain voter segments, such as young voters, use information exposure from social media to form their voting decisions (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007; Gerber et al., 2003; Ha et al., 2013). The Pram-Rano pair also faced a short time to introduce themselves to the public, approximately just over three months until the ballot voting date on November 27, 2024. The electability issue became a factor that made the urgency of social media use very important. Based on Von Drehle's (2016) research, the author concludes that the Pram-Rano pair needed to break through the news gatekeeping barriers in traditional media and take direct action to communicate directly with the public. Pram-Rano were required to build a framework of messages and ideas for their purpose in competing in the Jakarta regional election. This aligns with the idea from Sahly, Shao, and Kwon's (2019) research, which states that candidates need digital intelligence to mobilize and expand their audience base. The use of social media for Jakarta regional election candidates also makes more sense along with social media penetration in Jakarta province. While data on the number of social media users by province is not available, some data shows the amount of internet penetration by province in Indonesia. Based on survey data released by the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association in 2023, Jakarta ranks second with a total internet user base reaching 86.96% of the total population (2023). With high internet penetration rates, the increase in social media usage also impacts. Therefore, in this research, the author further explores research using Instagram post data from Pramono Anung's @pranomoanungw account. The selection of the Instagram platform is because Instagram is considered an ideal platform for political campaigning due to its ability to display visual storytelling, high engagement, effective targeting due to data integration with Facebook (Meta), and providing space for candidates to build personal identity (Petrova et al., 2021).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Political communication has become a necessity for every political actor who wishes to compete in various general elections. In this case, political actors are required to process political information and messages, which are then conveyed, received, and processed by individuals in a political context. Zebib (2022) sees that in the modern context, political communication is increasingly influenced by technological and media developments, especially social media. Several articles show the importance of using social media in the context of political communication. The main factor that can be understood is that social media offers a more controlled media environment that facilitates direct candidate

communication with voters (Kasim et al., 2023; Sihite et al., 2024). Messages delivered directly provide potential communication channels that provide access to deliver complete information to the audience. The second factor is that social media can build a dialogical environment that makes communication two-way (Sweetser & Lariscy, 2008). This becomes a critique of traditional media with communication methods that are often one-way. The third factor is that social media provides low-cost tools for large-scale communication that transcends temporal and geographical limitations (Zahra & Kustanti, 2023). The fourth factor is that social media can reach a wider audience. The pattern of digital media consumption by first-time voters can encourage campaign participation. The digital media environment provides efforts to socialize young voters regarding the importance of voicing their votes to choose one of the candidate candidates (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007; Ha et al., 2013; Ohme, 2019).

Several studies show that the use of social media for political communication is considered effective in reaching various audience segments, especially for Generation Z, which is considered the most affected by social media penetration (Adnan & Mona, 2024; Zebib, 2022). From the four factors above, the author provides a preliminary conclusion that social media is the most effective tool for political actors to convey their ideas, influence public opinion, and encourage society to make strategic decisions that align with the ideas they convey. However, political actors often fail to properly utilize the potential of social media, especially in the aspect of building dialogical interaction. The majority of literature that the author understands often uses social media as a top-down information dissemination tool. This impacts the flow of communication, which in reality remains one-way (Adnan & Mona, 2024; Zebib, 2022). This interaction clearly shows that although social media encourages two-way interaction, political actors often choose to push one-way agendas and attempt to frame issues according to their interests. Basically, the emergence of social media has also changed the form of framing research in several parts. The article from Güran and Özarslan explains that fields and contexts that were previously difficult to access (traditional media) have become more approachable, both in media studies, political communication, public behavior, social movements, and others. This accessibility allows researchers to determine large areas, samples, and niches, as well as more precise measurement potential.

Furthermore, in content analysis studies, framing is important because it can influence public opinion and behavior (Hemphill et al., 2013). Media frames can subsequently influence our own individual frames or how we understand political news (Entman, 1993). Several leading researchers in framing studies, such as Goffman (1975) and Entman (1993) see issue framing as being used to help individuals organize their experiences and understand various events, with Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identifying five different framing devices: metaphors, examples, slogans, depictions, and visual images. Entman (1993) defines "framing" as the act of selecting certain aspects of perceived reality to highlight them in communication, thereby promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, or policy recommendation.

In general, framing studies focus on understanding the dynamics of political communication in the digital era, especially to see the context of framing within media content that is increasingly developing along with the massive use of social media. Framing research mostly establishes the condition that content published by media creates social impact, influences public perception, and political communication processes (Santoso, 2024). Additionally, the framing approach is increasingly developing along with the birth of the hybrid media concept, namely the merging of traditional media and alternative media. This condition creates a hybrid media system, which influences how news/content is delivered and received (Güran & Özarslan, 2022). In framing analysis, various methods can be used, one of which is content analysis. Content analysis is quantitative in nature, looking at the

number of variables analyzed in content. Meanwhile, content analysis in a qualitative approach often looks at using two levels of coding, namely denotative (what is seen) and connotative (deeper meaning) (Mohd Fathir et al., 2022).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a mixed-method approach by providing analytical space between quantitative and qualitative data. Mixed-method research functions to provide in-depth analytical space for the analyzed content. In his writing, Bryman (2007) shows the tendency to use mixed methods for research that conducts content analysis of media content or journals. The focus of content analysis is on the rationalization proposed to combine quantitative and qualitative research. In qualitative research, descriptive quantitative analysis can be conducted by looking further at how a content performs, classifying, and quantifying findings. This is in accordance with what was written by De Sola Pool and Berelson (1952), that in communication research, a descriptive quantitative approach is used to analyze content objectively and in the real form of the manifestation of communication content.

Whereas in qualitative research, it is important to see how semantic approaches, text dissection and delimitation, and in-depth interpretation of a text or visual are conducted. Additionally, this research also employs data collection techniques in the form of interviews as an effort to form a triangulation process of the quantitative and qualitative data that has been obtained. The triangulation process itself is born on the assumption that quantitative and qualitative research can be combined to triangulate findings so that they can reinforce each other. In this research, the author conducts method triangulation, which is using more than one research method to collect data (Flick, 2018). In this data excavation process, the researcher interviewed Hanifa Fadhila Pramana as the Head of Social Media for Pramono Anung and Salsabila Nisrina as the Social Media Content Manager for Pramono Anung.

Furthermore, in the process of collecting quantitative data, the unit of analysis is determined, namely collecting Instagram content data uploaded on the Instagram account @pramonoanungw. Data collection started from August 28 to November 27, 2024. The selection of August 28 was adjusted to the process of Pramono being selected as a gubernatorial candidate by PDI-P. Meanwhile, November 27, 2024, was chosen as the end of the data collection deadline because that date was the election day for the Jakarta Province regional head candidates. Instagram selection was prioritized because Instagram provides a much larger visual post space compared to the X platform. As for TikTok, the @pramonoanungw account was only created during the middle of his campaign journey. Manually, the author collected Instagram post data for @pramonoanungw by taking several variables such as captions, number of likes, number of comments, engagement rate, and content classification. The descriptive quantitative approach works to calculate the number of interactions for each content and correlate it with content characteristics.

Referring to Zebib's writing (2022), each caption will be processed through a codification process through six categories. These categories are information, mobilization, interaction, attack, personalization, and courtesy. Information is a category that explains the delivery of information that is top-down, normative, and one-way. This information can come directly from Pramono, volunteers, political parties, and other sources. Information can also be seen as a category that functions to describe Pramono's interaction in introducing himself to the audience. The second category is mobilization. Mobilization describes content containing invitations, calls, invitations, and various persuasion techniques. In this category, Pramono invites audiences to attend an event, requests to be chosen, fundraising, joining forums, and other requests. The third category is interaction. Interaction describes content designed as a means of two-way discussion/communication. Content that falls into this category includes

live content, discussions, Q&A, open questions, interaction between Instagram users visible in caption content, etc. Next, in category four, personalization becomes one of the fundamental categories, considering this analysis uses a personal Instagram account as a research object. In this category, Pramono displays content that depicts his persona and interactions in his daily life. This category has the potential to attract sympathy from the audience (Zebib, 2022). Lastly, the courtesy category describes content in the form of greetings and expressions for various activities such as birthdays, condolences, and other similar content. Systematically, these categories can be seen in the column below:

Table 1. Analysis scheme for determining content characteristics

Category	Characteristics
Information	Campaign information and announcements, election programs and political achievements, external news links about elections, press releases, and infographics.
Mobilization	Invitations to events, calls to vote, fundraising, invitations to meetings, calls to change profile pictures at the party's request, calls to become volunteers
Interaction	Open questions by politicians to users, answering questions from users, interaction between users visible in the caption
Attack	Negative criticism of opponents through written or audiovisual means
Personalization	Posts about personal life and traits of politicians, posts about behind-the-scenes campaigns (meetings or gatherings, selfies, etc.)
Courtesy	Posts about greetings or condolences

Source: Zebib (2022)

Furthermore, the research also undergoes a qualitative data collection process, namely content analysis and the interview process. In qualitative research, content analysis is used to see the issue framing that occurs in the content uploaded by the @pramonoanungw social media team on Instagram. This content analysis is in the form of syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical examinations of each post that describes political ideas and related matters from the available quantitative data (Hemphill et al., 2013; Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of Social Media Performance on the Instagram account @pramonoanungw

The use of social media has become one of the important factors in the campaign agenda of regional head candidates, including DKI Jakarta. The Jakarta Election Commission itself has established three candidate pairs who are contesting. These three candidates include pair

number 1 Ridwan Kamil-Siswono (Rido), pair number 2 Dharma Pongrekun-Kun Wardhana, and pair number 3 Pramono Anung - Rano Karno (Pram-Rano). From these three candidates, it can be seen that the position of Pramono's fame and activity on social media is not as strong as candidate number 1, Ridwan Kamil. This claim can be seen through the image below:



Figure 1: Data on interaction and engagement rate of the three Jakarta gubernatorial candidates

Source: Phlanx

From the data above, Pramono is faced with the fact that his position on social media is not as strong as Ridwan Kamil or Dharma Pongrekun in terms of engagement rate and interactions data. Ridwan Kamil himself has used social media for a long time and has become a public figure who is active on social media. Through data on account traffic from Phlanx, the average number of interactions on the @ridwankamil account is very large, namely 62,333 likes and 4,869 comments with a very large number of followers, namely 21.7 million. However, with a very large total number of followers, the percentage of interaction with the total followers is very small. This shows very small follower engagement on his social media account. This condition is inversely proportional compared to the other two figures. Dharma Pongrekun, for example, has an engagement rate of 0.72%, showing better performance from his number of followers. Meanwhile, Pramono has the highest engagement rate compared to the other two candidates with 1.56%. Pramono's Instagram content can be concluded to be very resonant with his audience. This condition is also reinforced by the fact that Pramono's social media followers are very active and involved in various discussions initiated by Pramono on his Instagram feed.

Analysis of the engagement rate becomes an appropriate starting point in understanding social media work for Pramono Anung based on several things. First, the engagement rate shows that audience interaction with users is very important. This ensures that every political agenda produced on social media gets a response first, regardless of whether the resulting sentiment is positive or negative. The use of social media in political campaigns increasingly gains strong justification with the positive correlation between engagement rate and audience acceptance. Research shows that attractive content produced by candidates can create meaningful interactive relationships with voters, especially among first-time voters who are an increasingly influential demographic group. For example, first-time voters tend to choose candidates who are active on social media because the content presented is considered more interesting (Rizki Putra & Nurcholis, 2021). Additionally, user experience on social media can influence voter behavior and increase political participation (Ramkita & Muslim, 2023; Tuty Mutiah & Rahtika Diana, 2023).

Second, by analyzing the engagement rate, Pramono's social media team can determine what content can resonate with the audience's desires. The form of this content is also related to

what content characteristics are desired by the audience. Based on the data, the number of content characteristics of Pramono's Instagram from August 28 to November 27, 2024, is as follows:

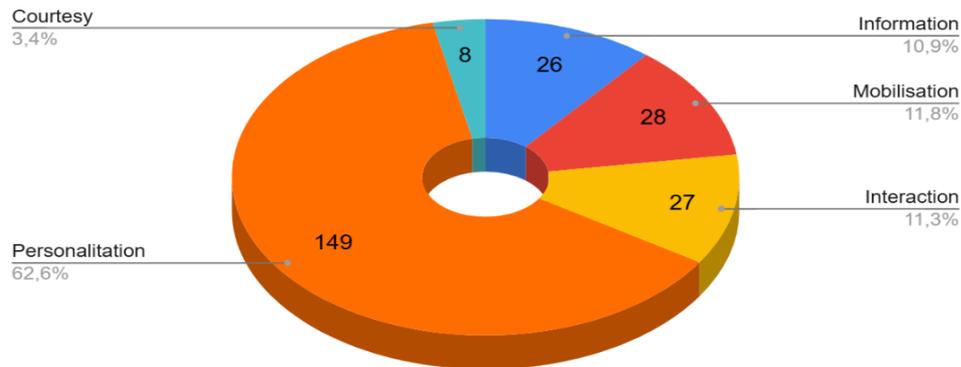


Figure 2: Distribution of content characteristics on Instagram @pramonoanungw
Source: personal processing

From the data collection conducted on posts from August 28 to November 27, 2024, there were a total of 237 uploaded contents with the following characteristic distribution: (1) Information: 26 contents; (2) Mobilization: 28 contents; (3) Interaction: 27 contents; (4) Attack: 0 content; (5) Personalization: 149 contents and (6) Courtesy: 0 content. Through the data above, personalization characteristics are the highest with 149 contents. This indicates that Pramono's social media team is trying to build a social media persona to enhance a strong personal image. Pramono often claims himself as a simple, rational, mature politician who can be accepted by all circles. Additionally, in several interviews, Pramono stated that the Jakarta gubernatorial election is a battle of figures, not a battle of party machinery. Therefore, Pramono often mentions the term "knocking on the hearts of the people." This term illustrates that Pramono wants to introduce his persona while building a good persona image that suits the needs of the Jakarta community. Furthermore, the analysis of the dominance of personalization characteristics is also evidenced by various kinds of content that show daily activities, interactions with family, or behind-the-scenes campaign activities. This certainly can increase emotional closeness with the audience. Additionally, the content themes above can build a humanistic narrative and reduce the gap between politicians and audiences.



Figure 3: Family closeness in content on Instagram @pramonoanungw
Source: Instagram @pramonoanungw

Furthermore, although not as large as the number of personalization, other characteristics play an important narrative in shaping Pramono's image to the audience. The first characteristic is information. This characteristic contains various political ideas or notions from Pramono. Additionally, this characteristic also becomes content that publishes the campaign progress of the Pram-Rano pair. In the information characteristic, the content raised shows a focus on issues relevant to the Jakarta community. This relevance is related to Pram Rano's vision and mission, which is "Towards DKJ Province as a Center for National Economy and a Competitive Global City to Realize a Just and Sustainable Community Welfare". If this vision is further dissected, economic issues become the main focus of the Pram-Rano pair. The sub-issues discussed are the creative economy, support for MSMEs, sustainability of development from previous governors, social welfare, and the issue of honorary teachers. To increase engagement and emotional involvement of the audience, the content presented also refers to pop culture references, concrete information/data, and clear data. Additionally, the narratives presented try to convince the audience that Pram-Rano can provide positive changes for Jakarta.



Figure 4: Content with information characteristics

Source: Instagram @pramonoanungw

In this characteristic, there are several forms of innuendo or sarcasm in responding to programs offered by rivals. One of them is Pramono's statement not to play politics of gimmick in the issue of mental health. This statement is a response to the initiation of the "mobil curhat" (chat car) program by the Ridwan Kamil-Siswono pair, which created polemics among the Jakarta community. This illustrates that the design of @pramonoanungw content is also very dependent on blunders or mistakes made by other candidate pairs.

Next, in the mobilization characteristic, the presented content is in the form of invitations to the audience to support candidate number 03, invitations to attend campaign events, volunteer activities, participation in other activities. This characteristic shows explicit and implicit persuasive content. The form of explicit content can be seen intensely in the last month of the campaign period. Meanwhile, in implicit content, the narrative built is that Pram-Rano's vision and mission align with the needs of the Jakarta community.



Figure 5: Content with mobilization characteristics

Source: Instagram @pramonoanungw

In the interaction characteristic, every political figure who uses social media is required to build two-way communication with the audience. This interaction can be in the form of discussions in the comment column or open interaction through content and captions. This characteristic is also the core of the function of social media. However, the form of interaction in Pramono's social media is not too much compared to personalization characteristics. This is reasonable considering that interaction in the comment column has the risk of generating inappropriate statements and becoming a blunder in itself (Mańkowski, 2023). But on the other hand, appropriate and effective interaction can bring in new potential voters.



Figure 6: Content with interaction characteristics

Source: Instagram @pramonoanungw

In this characteristic, it cannot be denied that there is no guarantee that such interaction will produce positive sentiment. However, with the right response, the social media team can frame critical issues faced by Pramono into content that has a positive impact. The narrative built is that Pramono is open to all input, accepts criticism, is ready to collaborate, and other issue framing. As for the courtesy characteristic, this section does not have too much political potential to be developed. However, the precision of the social media team in framing messages within the content makes congratulatory and condolence messages a highly attractive content and increases interaction.

Through the analysis above, the researcher confirmed these findings to Pramono Anung's social media team. In the conducted interview, Pramana (interview, December 14, 2024) affirmed these findings. The social media team sees the importance of building issues in personalization characteristics.

"In the personalization characteristics that have been established in our pillar content, we focus on forming the personal figure of Bapak (Pramono) such as values, family, and hobbies, the reason being that although Jakarta voters are rational, the audience still wants to know how he interacts with his family? Well, we present it as best as possible." (Pramana, interview, December 14, 2024).

The character of the leader candidate remains a priority. In the analysis that has been presented above, society uses social media more inclined to get to know more deeply who this figure is compared to the ideas and notions they have.

Third, social media work is very related to the intensity and content preferences liked by the audience. Based on the data, there is a significant difference in how social media is used by Pramono when he was the Minister of the Cabinet Secretariat and a candidate for the Governor of DKI Jakarta. The following is the number of content uploads on Instagram @pramonoanungw from August 28 to November 27, 2024.

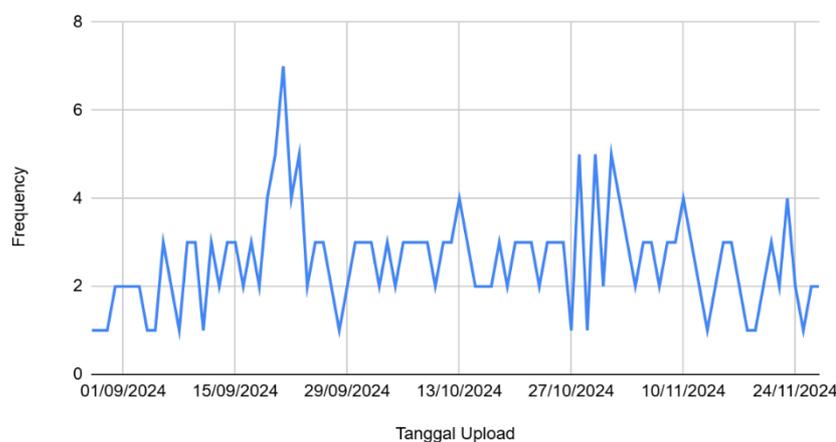


Figure 7: Number of content uploads on Instagram @pramonoanungw
Source: Instagram @pramonoanungw

The graph above shows the number of content uploaded on the Instagram account @pramonoanungw from August 28, 2024, to November 27, 2024. It can be seen that there are fluctuations in the number of uploads, with several striking peaks. For example, on September 29, 2024, the number of uploads reached 7 contents, which is the highest peak in that period. In addition, there are several other dates that show an increase, although not as high as that peak. The number of content uploads is greatly influenced by door-to-door activities, meetings with political figures, volunteer meetings, candidate debates, and other activities. Meanwhile, a consistent decrease in the number of content is seen during weekends. According to Pramana (interview, December 14, 2024), Pramono's social media team sets several standard rules such as the number of content uploaded and the form of content, but this strategy is actually difficult to implement in political campaigns.

"We can't stick to the editorial plan, because it depends more on dynamic situations. Considerations of virality and whether the issue is covered by conventional media can also be played." (Pramana, interview, December 14, 2024).

In addition to data on the number of content uploads, other data that needs to be analyzed is the number of interactions from the uploaded contents. Below is the data on the number of interactions on the Instagram account @pramonoanungw.

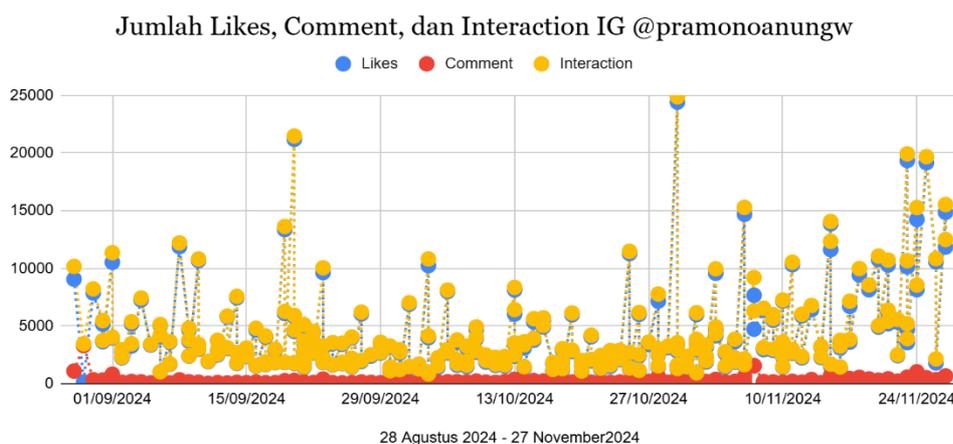


Figure 8: Number of likes, comments, and interactions on Instagram @pramonoanungw

Source: Instagram @pramonoanungw

The graph above shows the number of likes, comments, and interactions received by the Instagram account @pramonoanungw from August 28, 2024, to November 27, 2024. From the displayed data, it can be seen that the number of likes and interactions experienced significant fluctuations, with several striking peaks. For example, on September 20, 2024, the number of likes reached 21,189, which is one of the highest peaks in that period. Additionally, October 30, 2024, also shows a significant surge with 24,417 likes, indicating that the content uploaded at that time greatly attracted audience attention. When confirming this to Pramono Anung's social media team, interaction output became one of the team's objectives.

"We (Pramono's social media team) prioritize content output, and our analysis from various analytics tools, video-shaped content is more prioritized because the Instagram reels feature has the potential to reach non-followers." (Pramana, interview, December 14, 2024).

Based on the data, large interactions are based on several things. First, the large number of interactions in content is influenced by the involvement of other actors in its social media content, namely political elites, influencers, volunteers, and the community. For example, several contents involving former Jakarta governors Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and Anies Baswedan received a total of over 10,000 interactions. Contents that display interactions will have a wide amplification spread. This finding was confirmed by Pramono Anung's social media team. According to Nisrina (interview, December 14, 2024), the collab post feature is one way to improve content performance.

are several functions of a word cloud, these functions include (Bateman et al., 2008; Entman, 1993; Kuo et al., 2007) (1) helping intuitive visualization of text data, (2) facilitating the determination of main themes in text that are useful in content analysis, (3) sentiment analysis through identification of emotional connotations, and (4) simplification of complex data. Based on the data above, the author determines several keywords that are correlated with the number of words that have been analyzed. After obtaining the word cloud, the researcher determines several words and the number of repetitions that are quite high in the caption and classifies them into several keywords.

Table 2. Analysis of the number of words in Instagram @pramonoanungw captions for the period August 28-November 27, 2024

Keyword	Word	Total Length	Total Count	Weighted Percentage
populist	friend, all, residents, together, community, young	36	178	3.01%
family	we, child, mother, home, father, mici, @dhilapramana, family, wife	51	147	2.48%
visionary	#jakartamenyala, bismillah, mandate, burning, spirit, work, lead	58	262	4.45%
sustainability	governor, continue, still, complete, transportation, flood, collaboration	49	53	1.07%

Source: personal processing

Based on the data displayed in the image, word frequency analysis from 237 Instagram captions of @pramonoanungw shows that the keyword "visionary" has the highest percentage with 4.45%. This shows that Pramono Anung's social media team focuses on framing narratives that emphasize Pramono's ability to handle various complex problems in Jakarta. Words such as "burning," "spirit," and "lead" support Pramono's image as a proactive and solution-oriented leader, which can attract the attention of audiences who care

about urban issues such as congestion and pollution. This issue framing can be seen from several captions on Instagram @pramonoanungw below:

Confused about where to work?

InshaAllah later job vacancies can be found easily, the competition will also be healthier with breakthroughs that I will make, if I receive the mandate (September 30).

Cannot solve important issues with gimmick solutions. The people of Jakarta are smart, rational, and must be served seriously (November 20).

In framing this keyword, a visionary attitude is reflected in the attitude of a leader who can elaborate ideas regarding a long-term agenda in the development of a region. This development agenda is in the form of better social, economic, and political changes than before. Pramono encourages the implementation of the vision and mission by reviewing several points in the content multiple times. One of them is the issue regarding the lack of employment opportunities and the role of the government in opening up employment opportunities. Additionally, the visionary theme can be used as a means for politicians to campaign by utilizing the current situation. These contents are responses to rivals' blunders that are linked to a narrative of what a leader should do. This can be seen from the 2nd caption above, where Pramono tries to respond to the idea of a "chat car" (mobil curhat) initiated by the Rido pair. The main narrative that Pram carries is that leaders should avoid unnecessary gimmicks and focus on working "correctly."

Next, the keyword "populist" occupies the second position with a percentage of 3.01%. This shows Pramono's effort to present himself as a figure who is close to the community. Words such as "friend," "all," and "residents" emphasize an inclusive approach and empathy towards the community. This strategy can increase emotional closeness with the audience, strengthening Pramono's image as a leader who cares about and is responsive to the needs of the people. The form of caption that can be associated with the "populist" framing can be seen through the caption of Instagram @pramonoanungw below:

My motivation to lead Jakarta is to solve the problems of small communities. Bismillah yes, Mrs. Rukini... #JakartaMenyala (November 5)

Don't add to their burden.

They are the first school for their children, home for their husbands. Also, not infrequently, they become the economic drivers of their families.

InshaAllah, if we receive the mandate, we will ease their path. #JakartaMenyala (September 27)

Through the caption above, Pramono's social media team attempts to frame issues in shaping Pramono's image as a figure who cares about the common people. The caption above is displayed in a video content, which shows the closeness between Pram and the urban poor who struggle with issues of education, economy, health, welfare, and justice. The use of the word people/populist in Pramono's social media is used as an issue framing over the problems of society, and Pramono is present as a solution to these problems.

Next, the keywords "family" and "sustainability" have lower percentages, 2.48% and 1.07% respectively. Although lower, the focus on "family" shows Pramono's branding effort as a loving figure and family man, which can attract audiences who value family values.

In Islam, marriage is the longest worship, lasting a lifetime. Even those who have been married for 33 years like us are still learning every day to maintain it. But believe me, the key to a successful household is respecting your partner.

Mici is my main strength to face all challenges. ❤️ (October 18, 2024)

The family factor plays a significant role in creating a politician's image through social media. Politicians integrate family issues in framing to create an identity as a "family man" that can attract support, especially from voters with conservative and religious values. Research shows that politicians' attitudes and behaviors are strongly connected to public perceptions about family, creating positive associations that support their image (Feinberg & Wehling, 2018; Mendelsohn et al., 2021; Munro, 2023). Framing that involves family issues functions not only to build politicians' personal identity but also to influence voter attitudes and behavior (Hemphill et al., 2013; Nee et al., 2017). This is evident in the application of effective framing strategies on social media, where politicians utilize family images to persuade audiences who tend to have traditional values (Mohd Fathir et al., 2022). Research indicates that when family issues are framed appropriately, effectiveness in reaching voters can be higher, and this contributes to the sustainability of their political image (Akmal et al., 2023; Mendelsohn et al., 2021).

In the context of the Jakarta regional election, Pram-Rano are cadres of the PDI-P party, which is often labeled with its identity as a secular party. This certainly becomes a challenge for the Pram-Rano pair to reduce resistance to their presence from conservative groups in Jakarta. In framing on family issues, the social media team capitalizes on this topic by intensely producing content that depicts Pramono as close to his wife, children, and grandchildren.

Meanwhile, "sustainability" highlights Pramono's commitment to continuing good projects from previous administrations, showing stability and continuity in leadership. Although the percentage is smaller, both aspects remain important in building a comprehensive and diverse image in the public eye.

Why create new grandiose legacies when there's still much to be fixed?

Alhamdulillah, I'm friends with everyone... So all policies that are lacking can be improved. Those that are already good can be perfected. Whoever the policy originator was in the past (November 7).

Jakarta needs precisely targeted breakthroughs, not just new gimmicks. Good programs? We enhance them! 🚀 #JakartaMenyala

In the context of political policy, integrating sustainability issues becomes important because it can trigger positive sentiment among the public towards content produced by the social media team. Research shows that leader candidates who promote sustainability not only attract public support but also potentially reduce resistance from existing interest groups. This approach aligns with guidelines proposed by Pradana et al. which emphasize the role of political entrepreneurship in creating an environment that supports sustainable innovation (Pradana et al., 2022). The idea of sustainability initiated by the Pram-Rano pair becomes a differentiator from other candidate pairs. Electorally, this idea becomes a strong basis for previous governors to support the Pram-Rano pair, including support from Anies Baswedan, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, Fauzi Bowo, to Sutiyoso.

Based on the above analysis, it can be concluded that framing in content production on Pramono's Instagram is very related to the agenda carried by the social media team. This has also been directly confirmed in interviews conducted by researchers with Pramono's social media team. According to Pramana (interview, December 14, 2024), Pramono's modality in

social media is not as strong as competitors, especially when compared to Ridwan Kamil. However, this does not mean that opportunities to capitalize on Pramono's modality do not have gaps.

"We are confident in the modality that Bapak (Pramono) has. That modality itself is Bapak's long experience in the world of politics, hard worker, and an accomplished communicator who can communicate with anyone" (Pramana, 2024, interview).

This is also reinforced by the argument given by Nisrina (interview, December 14, 2024) who stated that Pramono's main modality is to appear as he is.

"Bapak is the antithesis of the rival (Ridwan Kamil) when on social media, he behaves as he is, realistic, and does not use excessive gimmicks." (Nisrina, interview, December 14, 2024)

By using this modality, the team understands the next problem, which is what challenges Pramono faces in activating social media later. As is known, social media is always associated with Generation Z. While the reality is that Pramono is not a politician who is popular when social media is active (Pramana, interview, December 14, 2024). Therefore, the social media team sets several main targets that must be done to catch up on Pramono's lag compared to his rivals.

"Using social media, our main target is to introduce Bapak (Pramono) to first-time voters." (Pramana, interview, December 14, 2024)

Additionally, the main problem faced by the team is the issue of popularity. This is reasonable considering that during the last 10 years, his position as Cabinet Secretary made his position very rarely exposed by media coverage or activities on social media. Therefore, the political campaign that Pramono underwent during the last three months became a challenge for the team. From the conditions above, the social media team also plays the emotional context of Pramono's closeness with the City of Jakarta. This is important considering that the rival comes from a city outside Jakarta and is faced with resistance when he comes to become a gubernatorial candidate in Jakarta. The function of issue framing on Pramono's social media content is also used to attract sympathy from young people. This is recognized by the social media team that Pramono is very distant from GenZ, especially seeing the condition that Pramono is an old politician, where social media was not yet used. Through content analysis, researchers conclude that Pramono seeks to use social media as a means of discussing with young people. However, the main emphasis in this communication is content positioning that does not try to be young, but can absorb the aspirations of young people themselves.

In the final stage of this sub-chapter, this research has shown the use of social media conducted by Pramono on the Instagram platform. Through work and strategy, researchers analyze how strengthening social media performance and issue framing are done to build Pramono's persona/image to the audience. Although this strategy is used with the aim of winning the electoral battle, social media work focuses more on building awareness and forming Pramono's character. With the high engagement rate that Pramono has on his Instagram account, this proves that the audience has an interest in the branding and issues created by the social media team. Additionally, the formation of Pramono's image on social media also considers many things such as issue framing, rival benchmarking, and trend monitoring.

CONCLUSION

Social media has become a fundamental need for every political elite who wants to compete in general elections, including regional elections. Internet penetration and social media users in Indonesia are above 80%. With this figure, social media can be used as a medium for voters to obtain political information, one of which is to know more about the figures competing in regional elections. In the Jakarta regional election, all candidate pairs use social media. Social media becomes part of the political campaign strategy. However, this article avoids the claim that Pram-Rano's victory in the Jakarta regional election was caused by social media. The author understands that there is not a single factor that can explain this victory. However, it also cannot be denied that social media is present as one element in the political agenda for Pram-Rano's victory. Social media has proven to be the most effective, efficient, and flexible tool in introducing political figures to the public. This effectiveness can be seen from the engagement rate of Pramono's Instagram, which is higher than the other two gubernatorial candidates, namely with 1.56%. This figure shows that there is a resonance between the audience's taste and the content presented by Pramono on his Instagram account. High audience involvement in a content indicates that the narrative built is indirectly absorbed and interpreted by the audience.

In this research, an important finding is showing that each candidate tries to create content that can build their image and personalization to netizens. Pramono Anung has used social media as a means to publicize and form his personalization. The keywords used are framing the narrative that Pramono is a Jakarta gubernatorial candidate who is populist, family-oriented, visionary, and sustainability-focused. On the populist keyword, Pramono's social media team tries to portray Pramono's campaign activities as close to the people, without boundaries, and trying to be a listener and solution provider for the difficulties faced by the community. On the visionary keyword, the social media team frames the narrative that Pram can answer various complex problems of Jakarta society such as economic difficulties, congestion, air pollution, flooding, and problems faced by the urban poor. Next, on the family keyword, Pram tries to brand himself as a family man who often interacts with his family and shows a loving figure. On the keyword promoting sustainability, Pram builds a persona on social media as a leader without burden. With this narrative, Pram can easily claim that he will continue various projects from previous governors that are deemed good. With these keywords, 237 contents were produced, starting when his name was officially made as a candidate for the Governor of DKI Jakarta, until the voting day, which was on November 27, 2024. From these 237 contents, the author divides them into six characteristics, namely information, mobilization, interaction, attack, personalization, and courtesy. The personalization characteristic becomes the majority form of content produced with 149 contents, both in the form of photos and videos. With this figure, it can be seen that the use of social media by Pramono focuses on efforts to build his personalization. The personalization factor becomes the main focus considering that before his name surfaced, Pramono was not at all tracked by survey institutions. This proves that his level of fame and electability was very low. Moreover, Pram had to fight against Ridwan Kamil, a politician who has been branding himself through social media for years. This data on the number of characteristics also shows that ideal interaction has not yet been created on Pramono's Instagram. This can be seen from the minimal amount of content that falls into the "interaction" category. Additionally, the form of interaction is only limited to the caption column, not yet actively working on the comment column. This indicates that Pram's social media has a large weight of issue framing and agenda, thus minimizing flexible activities such as the use of individual social media in general (massive interaction in the comment column and personal chat). The social media team tries to minimize blunders/mistakes that come from activities that are not planned in advance.

This research itself has limitations to explore further indicators of social media performance due to limited access. Therefore, future research is expected to be able to access further data on @pramonoanungw social media performance in full, especially getting a valid number of interactions. Additionally, future research is expected to be able to see how far the contribution produced by social media work is in winning regional head candidates in electoral competitions. However, this research can contribute to affirming how social media, with good management, can form issues that align with the political campaign agenda carried out by candidates. To improve performance and issue framing, it is expected that practitioners or social media teams of political figures utilize important features in social media, namely interaction. In several important findings in this research, two-way interaction in the social media of political elites often increases awareness and resonance between audiences and account owners. Additionally, issue framing and political personas also cannot be generalized in every region. Each audience in various regions has their own preferences in seeing which political figures are good for them. For the people of Jakarta, their rationality in choosing ideal regional head candidates is also influenced by emotional aspects such as how close they are to their families, aspects of religiosity, and visions that are realistic and not just empty political promises.

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