

NYIMAK

Journal of Communication

Nyimak: Journal of Communication | Vol. 9 | No. 2 | Pages 172 - 316 | September 2025 | ISSN 2580-3808



Published By:
Department of Communication Science
Faculty of Social and Political Science
Universitas Muhammadiyah Tangerang

Journal Address

Program Studi Ilmu Komunikasi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik

UNIVERSITAS MUHAMMADIYAH TANGERANG

Jl. Perintis Kemerdekaan I No. 33 Kota Tangerang, Banten 15118

Website : <http://jurnal.umt.ac.id/index.php/nyimak>

Email : journalnyimak@fisipumt.ac.id

NYIMAK




Journal of Communication

DAFTAR ISI (TABLE OF CONTENT)

Participatory Communication for Equity of Access in the Management of Ketapang Aquaculture Ecotourism — Khairil Anam, Ade Irfan Abdurrahman, Rizal Abdi Pratama, Anisa Amalia —	172 – 185
Enhancing Generation Z's Political Efficacy Through Social Media Political Influencers — Anter Venus, Drina Intyaswati, Fitria Ayuningtyas, Puji Lestari —	186 – 203
The Role of Dayah Ulama in Political Communication during the 2024 Aceh Elections — Zulfikar Arahman, Muhibuddin Alamsyah —	204 – 216
Communication and Collaboration Model of Indonesian Delegation in Myanmar Earthquake Humanitarian Assistance — Muhamad Hidayat, Fajar Iqbal Mirza, Budi Riyanto, Kezia Nariswari Riyadi —	217 – 238
Online Media Framing of Mining Permit Policies of Religious Mass Organizations (Ormas): A Study on Detik.com and Kompas.com — Mukhlis Muhammad Maududi, Said Ramadhan, Eko Digdoyo —	239 – 254
Consolidating Democracy: Political Communication and Public Trust in Early Leadership Post-Election in Indonesia — Syukri, Tawakkal Baharuddin, Mohd Sufiean Hassan —	255 – 276

The Contestation of the Narratives of "Change" versus "Sustainability" on the Instagram Accounts of Two 2024 Presidential Candidates — Indah Suryawati, Muhammad Ikhwan, Rachmi Kurnia Siregar —	277 – 297
Bridging Policy and Public: Stakeholder Engagement Strategy in Indonesia's Ministry of Finance — Rahmawati Zulfiningrum, Heni Indrayani, Nico Aditia, Ibrahim Harriadi, Suwandi Sumartias, Joana Jaya —	298 – 316

The Contestation of the Narratives of "Change" versus "Sustainability" on the Instagram Accounts of Two 2024 Presidential Candidates

Indah Suryawati¹, Muhammad Ikhwan², Rachmi Kurnia Siregar³

^{1,2,3} Faculty of Communication and Creative Design, Universitas Budi Luhur, Jakarta, Indonesia

Corresponding Author Email: indah.suryawati@budiluhur.ac.id

ABSTRACT

The implementation of the 2024 Presidential Election cannot be separated from the dynamics of the use of social media as a medium for political communication, and Instagram is one of the social media used to convey political messages to the public. In this study, these political messages are manifested in the form of political narratives that compete with each other on social media. This research aims to (1) analyze the framing of the political narratives of Anies Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto uploaded on their Instagram accounts; and (2) how the ideas behind these political narratives are articulated. A qualitative approach was used in this study and Entman's framing analysis model was used as the method. The research findings reveal a fundamental conflict within the political narratives of Anies Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto. This contestation of political narratives is geared toward strengthening electability and capturing public attention. Prabowo's concept of sustainability demonstrates his desire to continue pro-people programs deemed successful during Jokowi's administration (Jokowinomics), such as various assistance programs for the underprivileged. Unlike Prabowo Subianto, Anies Baswedan emphasized ideas for change, such as eradicating poverty in Indonesia. The final results of the 2024 presidential election demonstrated that the political narrative regarding the need for sustainability successfully led Prabowo to victory.

Keywords: 2024 Presidential Election, Instagram, framing, political narrative, Anies Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto

ABSTRAK

Pelaksanaan Pilpres 2024 tidak dapat terlepas dari dinamika penggunaan media sosial sebagai media komunikasi politik, dan Instagram menjadi salah media sosial yang dimanfaatkan untuk menyampaikan pesan-pesan politik kepada khalayak. Dalam penelitian ini, pesan-pesan politik tersebut mewujud dalam bentuk narasi politik yang kemudian saling berkontestasi satu sama lain di media sosial. Penelitian ini bertujuan (1) menganalisis pembingkai narasi politik Anies Baswedan dan Prabowo Subianto yang diunggah di akun Instagram keduanya; (2) bagaimana artikulasi ide-ide yang ada di balik narasi politik tersebut. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif serta model analisis framing Entman sebagai metode. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya pertentangan fundamental dalam bingkai narasi politik Anies Baswedan dan Prabowo Subianto. Kontestasi tersebut mengarah pada upaya memperkuat elektabilitas serta merebut perhatian publik. Ide keberlanjutan yang diusung Prabowo menunjukkan keinginan Prabowo melanjutkan program-program pro rakyat yang dinilai berhasil pada era pemerintahan Jokowi (Jokowinomics), misalnya berbagai program bantuan untuk masyarakat pra sejahtera. Berbeda

Submitted: 2025-07-07

Revised: 2025-09-07

Accepted: 2025-09-10

Available Online: September 2025

CITATION: Suryawati, I., Ikhwan, M., & Siregar, R. K. (2025). The Contestation of the Narratives of "Change" versus "Sustainability" on the Instagram Accounts of Two 2024 Presidential Candidates. *Nyimak Journal of Communication*, 9(2), 277-297.



Copyright (c) 2025 Nyimak Journal of Communication
This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0

dari Prabowo, Anies Baswedan lebih menonjolkan ide-ide perubahan, misalnya memberantas kemiskinan di Indonesia. Hasil akhir Pilpres 2024 kemudian menunjukkan bahwa narasi politik mengenai perlunya keberlanjutan berhasil mengantarkan Prabowo menuju kemenangan.

Kata Kunci: Pilpres 2024, Instagram, framing, narasi politik, Anies Baswedan, Prabowo Subianto

INTRODUCTION

The 2024 Presidential Election is a crucial political contest for the Indonesian nation. This democratic celebration is crucial because it will demonstrate the quality of democracy in Indonesia. (Al Izzati, Dartanto, Suryadarma, & Suryahadi, 2024; Jun, 2024; Sumarto & McCarthy, 2025). Three presidential and vice-presidential candidates were determined by the General Election Commission (KPU): (1) Anis Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar; (2) Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming; and (3) Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD (KPU, 2023). The three presidential and vice-presidential candidates each have ideas and thoughts to advance the life of the Indonesian nation. (Amarullah et al., 2025; Ardana & Matondang, 2025; Thawley, Crystallin, & Verico, 2024).

The ideas and thoughts of these political candidates then manifested in various forms of political narratives. Anies Rasyid Baswedan, for example, advocated change, social justice, and the need to take an opposition stance, while Prabowo Subianto voiced his commitment to continuing President Joko Widodo's work program and improving governance (Saptohutomo, 2023). In contrast to Anies and Prabowo, the narrative constructed by Ganjar Pranowo is considered less assertive (Saptohutomo, 2023) and tends to use slogans such as "The People Are My Master, Position Is Only a Mandate". (Ardana & Matondang, 2025; Gilang Surya Nugraha, 2024).

In this study, the contested political narratives will focus on the Narrative of Change (NC) used by Anies Baswedan and the Narrative of Sustainability (NS) used by Prabowo Subianto. The NC emphasizes the need for corrections to policies implemented during President Joko Widodo's administration, ranging from governance and social justice issues to non-transparent law enforcement. (Akbar, 2025; Firdausi & Djuyandi, 2024). NC is constructed and conveyed through various political speeches (Hasanah, Darussaidah, & Kurniawan, 2024), presidential debates (Habibi & Yuliana, 2024; Hapsari, Fatinova, & Ardan, 2025), and digital content uploaded on Instagram (Setiawan, Aulia, & Saleh, 2024). Meanwhile, the NS used by Prabowo Subianto chose to continue various work programs that have been implemented by President Joko Widodo, with the aim of maintaining stability and realizing continuity in national development (Rahmawati, Prasetyo, & Ramadhani, 2024).

The NC-NS narrative has also become increasingly prominent on social media. The official Instagram account, @aniesbaswedan, had posted 6,016 posts and had 7.6 million followers as of June 23, 2025. These posts consistently emphasize the importance of change for Indonesia's progress. (Setiawan et al., 2024). Prabowo Subianto also leverages Instagram, where the @prabowo account, as of June 23, 2025, had posted 1,670 posts and had 15 million followers. Political messages posted through @prabowo consistently emphasize the importance of continuing various work programs implemented by President Joko Widodo.

The use of Instagram by Prabowo and Anies, which is followed by millions of users, shows how Instagram (as a social media) can be a medium for disseminating political messages (Ferreira et al., 2021; Gonzalez, Schmuck, & Vandenbosch, 2024; Melek, 2023; Olof Larsson, 2023) or even building public opinion (Hanifa, Debora, Hasani, & Wicaksono, 2024; Ningsih, 2024; Osei Fordjour, 2025). On the other hand, the public can obtain political information quickly through social media (Oschatz, Gil-Lopez, Paltra, Stier, & Schultz, 2024), express opinions or ideas on certain political issues (Puspitasari & Anggoro, 2024), or even mobilize the masses for certain political movements (Saputri, Mutiarin, & Sukarno, 2024; Zhao, 2025).

Even though (political) information obtained through social media is not always accurate, social media remains the main choice because it is easier to use (Ikhwan, 2024) and can be a space for exchanging (political) information with various parties; this flow of information exchange is one indicator of the success of the communication process (Basit & Nurlukman, 2023). Therefore, it is not surprising that social media is considered to have a greater influence than traditional mass media such as television and newspapers (Syafitiani, Nurmandi, Misran, & Yunus, 2024), especially in the context of political communication.

However, the political reality presented through social media is a reality that is constructed, framed, and tends to only highlight certain aspects to gain public attention (Ali, Purnomo, & Husein, 2024; Eriyanto, 2012). Thus, certain political issues or realities tend to receive more dominant attention compared to other political issues or realities (Alrizki & Aslinda, 2022). In addition, highlighting aspects is also an important part in presenting a narrative, and the main goal is how the political message conveyed can influence the audience (Hafidli, Sasmita, Nurazhari, & Putri, 2023).

The narrative about the importance of change, initiated by Anies-Cak Imin, for example, is an attempt to frame a less-than-ideal political situation that requires change. Conversely, the narrative promoted by Prabowo-Gibran seeks to frame Indonesia's current situation as favorable, necessitating the continuation of ongoing development programs. These two

frames are in conflict, and through social media, a sharp polarization of public opinion has developed. (Fata, Jannah, & Wazis, 2025).

Thus, the battle of discourses has colored the contestation in the 2024 Presidential Election, particularly between the Anies-Muhaimin and Prabowo-Gibran supporters. The narratives constructed by both parties are also part of an effort to build political branding so that their public image aligns with the candidate's expectations (Arnanda, 2023; Wijanarko, Agusta, Hutapea, Mufti, & Putri, 2025). This effort then led to an open battle to sway public opinion regarding who is the candidate worthy of leading Indonesia (Yahya et al., 2024): Anies Baswedan or Prabowo Subianto?

Based on the explanation above, this study aims to (1) analyze the framing of the political narratives of Anies Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto uploaded on their Instagram accounts; and (2) how the ideas behind these political narratives are articulated. Based on these research objectives, this study hopes to fill the gaps in various studies that have been conducted, for example, as seen in the studies of Firdausi & Djuyandi (2024), Amarullah et al. (2025), Rasyada (2025), or the study of Setiawan et al. (2024), all of which emphasize only the political narrative used by Anies Baswedan. Meanwhile, the studies of Apriliyano (2025) and Atala & Aji (2024) only focus on the political narrative used by Prabowo Subianto. In addition to these studies, the study of Nada, Riyadi, Hilmi, & Nisa (2025) only analyzes Prabowo Subianto and Ganjar Pranowo, not including Anies Baswedan in their analysis. Likewise, the study by Yahya et al. (2024) only analyzed Anies Baswedan and Ganjar Pranowo.

These studies demonstrate how social media (Twitter, Instagram, TikTok) has a significant influence on shaping people's political preferences. In other words, the role of social media is increasingly becoming indispensable in political contestation, particularly in presidential elections. The findings of this study are expected to provide an understanding of the role of political narratives in shaping public opinion and gaining political support from the public.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with content analysis as a method. A qualitative approach is used to provide a comprehensive understanding of the object of study (Sugiyono, 2015). Furthermore, researchers can code, categorize, and interpret various elements within the political narratives used by Anies Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto.

The content analysis method was chosen because the object of this study is Instagram posts containing text (captions), images, and other visual elements rich with meaning. Using this method also allows researchers to interpret the messages, symbols, and narratives

constructed by both Anies Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto as political content. The content analysis model chosen is Robert N. Entman's framing analysis, which allows researchers to explore the implicit and explicit meanings in the posts, including the choice of diction, visuals, symbols, and the relationship between text and images. Robert N. Entman's analysis model can also help researchers analyze how political narratives are constructed by Anies Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto for subsequent systematic analysis..

Robert N. Entman's Framing emphasizes four analytical steps: define the problem, diagnose the cause, make a moral judgment, and recommend a treatment. The first step explains how the two candidates (Anis Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto) describe a reality or political event as they see and feel it. The next step (diagnosing causes) involves how information about that reality is framed to facilitate identification of the actors involved or the main actors behind that reality. Making a moral judgment is the step used to provide arguments that justify the definition of the event made previously. The final step offers a solution to the problem and identifies the causes or actors suspected of being the source of the problem (Eriyanto, 2012).

The analysis will focus on the political narratives used by Anies Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto in the 2024 Election. Instagram was chosen because it serves as a virtual campaign space where political messages are conveyed to the public in both narrative and visual forms. The Instagram accounts used as the units of analysis in this study are @aniesbaswedan and @prabowo.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Contestation and Prominence of Aspects in Narrative

The framing behind the political narratives used by Anies Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto is never neutral and will always be centered on positive or negative sentiment. This framing will influence public opinion and policymaking (van Hulst et al., 2025). Based on two major dimensions in Entman's framing model (issue selection and emphasis on aspects of an issue), the contestation of Anies Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto's political narratives encompasses various aspects, such as ideas, development targets, work program designs, and the involvement of actors to legitimize the political narratives used. The following table shows an analysis of the contestation based on Entman's two major dimensions.

Table 1. The Contestation of Anies and Prabowo's Political Narratives from an Ideological Perspective

Pemilihan dan Penonjolan Aspek	Kontestasi	
	Anies	Prabowo
IDE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Perubahan" untuk rakyat Indonesia yang lebih baik dan lebih makmur. • "Perubahan" pada negara sehingga mampu hadir memberikan keadilan dan kesejahteraan yang setara bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia. • "Perubahan" semakin dekat. • "Perubahan" membesarkan yang kecil tanpa mengecilkan yang sudah besar. • "Perubahan" pada masyarakat miskin agar tidak mewariskan kemiskinan pada anak-anaknya atau generasi selanjutnya. • Berjuang untuk mewujudkan kekuasaan berbasis cinta kasih dan welas asih. • Berjuang dengan mengedepankan prinsip keteguhan dan ketulusan. • Menyongsong takdir 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tercapainya Indonesia Emas 2045 • "Keberlanjutan" untuk program-program unggulan pro rakyat yang sudah berjalan di masa kepemimpinan Jokowi. • Konsep Jokowiomics, yaitu mengaplikasikan Ekonomi Pancasila. • Makan siang gratis untuk seluruh siswa di Indonesia. • Menghilangkan kemiskinan, mengentaskan kelaparan dan kurang gizi pada anak-anak, serta menekan angka kematian ibu melahirkan. • Membangun Indonesia yang kuat, adil, makmur, dan aman bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia. • Menegakkan kerukunan dan persatuan sebagai satu "keluarga" Bangsa Indonesia • Berjuang menghilangkan korupsi. • Melaksanakan program transformasi bangsa.

Source: Research Results (2025)

Throughout his political narrative, Anies frequently invokes the word "change," which can be interpreted as optimism for achieving a better life. According to Anies, the Indonesian people must move together to "embrace destiny," especially since change for the better is already imminent, not suddenly appearing for campaign purposes.

The idea of “change” initiated by Anies-Cak Imin is based on a fighting spirit to realize power based on love and compassion, while simultaneously prioritizing the principles of steadfastness and sincerity. The idea of “change” is also an idea to elevate the common people without lowering the status of the prosperous. Therefore, the public should not be overly afraid of the idea of “change.” Anies himself defines change as achieving something better in the future while maintaining and continuing what has been achieved successfully today.

The changes proposed by Anies are not entirely new, and he firmly rejects the continuation of Joko Widodo’s flagship program of providing direct assistance to the community. Anies himself will focus on poverty alleviation from a different perspective and fully involve the state. From here, the idea of “change” demonstrates Anies’ background as an intelligent academic, as he is able to choose sentences that can raise awareness and touch the hopes of the Indonesian people.

Prabowo rarely mentions the word “sustainability” on his Instagram account. Instead, he frequently mentions Jokowi and the pro-people programs deemed successful during his administration. This also demonstrates Prabowo’s assertiveness regarding the “sustainability” narrative, stating that he will continue the flagship programs known as Jokowiomics, including the Free Nutritious Meals (MBG) program for all students in Indonesia. Following Prabowo’s inauguration as President of Indonesia, the MBG program was implemented. The allocated funds for its implementation amounted to 71 trillion rupiah (Aji, 2025).

This reality demonstrates that the ideas in Prabowo’s narrative of sustainability can meet the expectations of the Indonesian people compared to those in Anies’ narrative of change. Although Anies has offered ideas for change, namely realizing prosperity and justice, the Indonesian people still seem to need the continuation of the pro-people programs of Jokowi’s administration, known as Jokowiomics (Mietzner, 2025; Pangestu, 2020).

The contestation of Anies Baswedan and Prabowo’s political narratives is also visible in terms of development targets and work programs to be implemented.

Table 2. The Contestation of Anies and Prabowo's Political Narratives from the Perspective of Development Targets and Programs to be Implemented

Pemilihan dan Penonjolan Aspek	Kontestasi Narasi	
	Anies	Prabowo
Sasaran Pembangunan dan Program yang akan Dijalankan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ekonomi, salah satu prioritas utamanya adalah menstabilkan harga bahan pokok di pasar-pasar tradisional. • Keadilan • Kesetaraan dalam hal pendidikan, salah satunya menghilangkan perbedaan lulusan pesantren dengan lulusan sekolah umum. • Kesejahteraan bagi seluruh masyarakat Indonesia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ekonomi Politik Kebangsaan (Jokowinomics), seperti program Kartu Indonesia Sehat (KIS), Kartu Indonesia Pintar (KIP), Kartu Sembako, Program Keluarga Harapan, dan Bantuan Langsung Tunai untuk Alokasi Dana Desa. • Pengentasan kemiskinan (program baru), seperti makan siang gratis untuk seluruh siswa di Indonesia • Keadilan harus dirasakan seluruh rakyat Indonesia. • Kesejahteraan bagi petani, nelayan, guru, buruh, driver ojek online, dan tukang bakso agar hidup makmur. • Memberantas korupsi. • Swasembada dalam beberapa aspek, seperti swasembada pangan, swasembada BBM (energi), dan swasembada air. • Seluruh kekayaan bumi Indonesia wajib dimanfaatkan oleh rakyat Indonesia demi tercapainya kemakmuran dan kesejahteraan yang berkeadilan.

Source: Research Results (2025)

Prabowo's narrative in outlining development targets and programs appears more concrete and specific, while Anies only mentions generalities, such as the economy, justice, equality in education, and welfare for the Indonesian people. Anies only listed two steps he would take if elected. First, stabilize the prices of staple commodities in traditional markets. This step aims to protect traders who often experience price fluctuations due to staple food import policies, including during periods such as Eid al-Fitr, Christmas, and New Year. Second, eliminate the disparity between graduates of Islamic boarding schools and public schools, which have long been characterized by disparities and injustice. However, Anies did not specify what programs he would implement in this regard.

The competing narratives between Anies and Prabowo were particularly evident when highlighting the economic aspect. Anies only highlighted the need to curb price fluctuations for basic necessities in traditional markets. However, he didn't provide more detailed information, as most of the economic programs currently being implemented were Jokowi's work programs. Anies could only promise to prioritize economic reform efforts to improve people's lives.

One thing Anies emphasized in his narrative was optimism and confidence in eradicating systemic poverty in Indonesia. In Anies's view, Indonesian poverty is the result of an unequal social and economic structure, making it difficult for some to escape poverty. As an academic, Anies believes that the causes of poverty are not solely individual factors (low education and lack of skills), but also a system that tends to hinder social and economic mobility.

Anies also rejected programs that provide routine assistance to underprivileged communities, as implemented by the Jokowi administration. For Anies, the change he wants to achieve is to improve people's living conditions so that poverty is not passed down through generations. He believes the state must play a role in eradicating poverty.

Unlike Anies, Prabowo is committed to implementing Jokowiomics. According to Prabowo, Jokowiomics is a concrete manifestation of a pro-people program that has been successfully implemented. In fact, Prabowo has firmly stated that he intends to continue all of Jokowiomics' programs if elected president. Furthermore, Prabowo will also add one of his flagship programs: Free Nutritious Meals (MBG) for all students in Indonesia.

Prabowo's mastery of the economic sector was not built overnight. After retiring from the military, Prabowo became known as a successful entrepreneur with a national and international business network. Prabowo is listed as the owner of 27 companies, both in Indonesia and around the world. Some of Prabowo's major companies include PT Jaladri

Nusantara (fisheries), PT Tidar Kerinci Agung (palm oil production), PT Nusantara Energi (oil and gas, agriculture, mining, pulp, and forestry), and PT Kertas Nusantara (paper raw material management).

Prabowo Subianto's ability and expertise in leading these various companies are inseparable from the role of his father, Prof. Dr. Soemitro Djojohadikusumo, a renowned economist who served as Minister of Trade and Industry during the Natsir Cabinet (Old Order). For his outstanding services and achievements, Soemitro was reappointed by President Sukarno as Minister of Finance under the Wilopo Cabinet. Soemitro's expertise in economics made him a leading figure in Indonesian economics.

Prabowo has a younger brother, Hashim Djojohadikusumo, who is known as a prominent financial analyst. Together with Prabowo, Hashim manages several companies and is a leading financial analyst in Indonesia. Hashim was also named by Forbes magazine in 2021 as one of the richest people in Asia, with a net worth reaching US\$850 million. As a successful entrepreneur who has built numerous companies both in Indonesia and internationally, his first venture was establishing PT Era Persada (domestic trade). Hashim then managed PT Tidar Kerinci Agung (since 1984), followed by managing PT Bank Universal, PT Prahabama, PT Ina Persada, and establishing PT Tirtamas Majutama in 1987. The familial structure between Prabowo and Hashim then gave rise to an elite unitary structure founded on the principle of shared business interests (Putri, Hanifan, D, Habibah, & Fatkhuri, 2025).

Another aspect that emerged from the framing of Anies and Prabowo's political narrative contestation was the emphasis on context and the naming of actors to legitimize their respective positions. Table 3 below shows the differences between the two..

Table 3. The Contestation of Anies and Prabowo's Political Narratives from the Perspective of Context and the Reference to Actors as Legitimizers

Pemilihan dan Penonjolan Aspek	Kontestasi Narasi	
	Anies	Prabowo
Konteks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pasar Raya 1 Salatiga • Pondok Pesantren Al Aziziyah Sebaneh Bangkalan Madura. • JIS (Jakarta Internasional Stadium) 	Sulawesi Selatan
Aktor untuk Melegitimasi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Para Pedagang Pasar Raya 1 Salatiga • Pemuka Agama yakni Bani Kholil, KH Mohammad Faishol Anwar berasal dari Demangan Timur • Ribuan massa bertempat JIS (Jakarta Internasional Stadium) • AMIN 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mas Anies, Mas Muhaimin, Prof Mahfud, dan Mas Ganjar merupakan saudara-saudara saya sendiri. • Bung Karno, Pak Harto, Pak Habibie, Gus Dur, Ibu Megawati, Pak SBY dan terakhir Pak Joko Widodo. • Para buruh, petani, pedagang, guru, nelayan, ojek <i>online</i>, dan pedagang bakso. • Prabowo-Gibran

Source: Research Results (2025)

Anies Baswedan tends to mention traditional markets in Salatiga, Islamic boarding schools, and the Jakarta International Stadium (JIS). Anies' mention of JIS in his political narrative certainly refers to his tenure as Governor of Jakarta from 2017 to 2022 and his role as a key figure behind JIS's construction. When Anies was nominated as a presidential candidate by a political party, he imagined JIS would be his final campaign venue for the 2024 presidential election.

JIS is one of Anies's achievements during his time as Governor of Jakarta. JIS was named the most magnificent football stadium in Indonesia and Asia. It is the first football stadium in Indonesia to feature a retractable roof and has been awarded the platinum green building designation. JIS was even used as a venue for the 2023 U-17 World Cup.

Starting from a dream at JIS, Anies became increasingly passionate about realizing his big dream, which he then championed in the 2024 presidential election. This big dream is to

realize Indonesia as a protector of the people, a friend of the people, and a watchdog of the people. This dream was finally promoted by Anies in his final presidential election campaign at JIS; he hoped that the spirit of change for the better would remain alive and be championed by the Indonesian people. These changes, among others, relate to issues of equality and justice, which he believes still need to be fought for together. When policymakers and the people can work together, the hope of a clean, prosperous, just, and prosperous Indonesia can be realized.

Contextual aspects also relate to the mention of actors who provide legitimacy. In his political narrative about change, Anies mentions traders at Pasar Raya 1 Salatiga, several religious leaders, including an elderly cleric from Bangkalan (KH. Mohammad Faishol Anwar), thousands of JIS supporters, and the acronym AMIN (Anies-Cak Imin) repeatedly as a reminder that the narrative about change will always be synonymous with AMIN (Anies-Cak Imin).

Prabowo himself mentioned South Sulawesi in a post about sustainability. According to Prabowo, the people of South Sulawesi are resilient, brave, and loyal. He experienced their support for many years, leading up to his election as president. Furthermore, Prabowo has a historical closeness to the people of South Sulawesi, particularly during his time as a soldier. The South Sulawesi people he knows often accompany him when he serves in swampy areas, coastal areas, remote areas, or even when he serves in Papua. For Prabowo, South Sulawesi is the center of Eastern Indonesia, and its presence is a crucial part of his sustainability narrative.

Prabowo also mentions many important figures who serve as legitimacy to support his political narrative of sustainability, such as Soekarno, Soeharto, BJ Habibie, Gus Dur, Megawati Soekarnoputri, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), and Joko Widodo. He even refers to his political opponents as brothers: Anies Baswedan, Muhaimin Iskandar, Ganjar Pranowo, and Mahfud MD. In addition to them, farmers, fishermen, teachers, laborers, online motorcycle taxi drivers, and small traders are also part of the Indonesian people who must live in prosperity. Prabowo also repeatedly uses the term “Prabowo-Gibran” in his political narrative, especially to remind people that Gibran is President Joko Widodo’s eldest son.

The Contestation of Political Narratives in the Framework of Entman’s Four Elements

The framing strategy behind the contestation of Anies and Prabowo’s political narratives during the campaign period will be clearly visible when viewed using the four elements of Entman’s model as presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4. The Contestation of the Narrative of Change versus Sustainability

Elemen Pembingkai	Anies Baswedan	Prabowo Subianto
<i>Define Problems</i>	Perubahan, dari warga miskin ke kondisi hidup yang lebih baik. Karena masih ada sektor pembangunan yang belum berjalan dengan baik. Seperti aspek ekonomi, keadilan, kesetaraan pendidikan, dan kesejahteraan.	Keberlanjutan, dengan berpegang pada Ekonomi Pancasila untuk menghadapi ekonomi politik kebangsaan (Jokowinomics) yang merupakan aplikasi nyata dari program pro rakyat unggulan di masa pemerintahan Jokowi.
<i>Diagnose Causes</i>	Negara belum sepenuhnya hadir membantu masyarakat Indonesia lebih makmur dan sejahtera.	Belum hilangnya kemiskinan dari Indonesia
<i>Make Moral Judgement</i>	Berjuang dengan cinta kasih, welas kasih, keteguhan dan ketulusan menuju Indonesia yang lebih baik dan lebih adil. Jangan menjadikan kemiskinan sebagai "warisan" dari orangtua kepada anak. Anak bisa hidup lebih baik jika orangtua mau mendukung program perubahan.	Tercapainya Indonesia Emas 2045 melalui Ekonomi Pancasila atau Ekonomi politik kebangsaan. (Jokowinomics).
<i>Treatment Recommendation</i>	Perubahan sesungguhnya sudah semakin dekat. Rakyat harus bergerak solid untuk perubahan, karena rakyat sedang menyongsong takdir.	Bertekad untuk menjalankan program pro rakyat Jokowi (Jokowinomics) dan program lainnya dari pemimpin terdahulu (transformasi bangsa). Berjuang atas dasar cinta kepada Bangsa Indonesia.

Source: Research Results (2025)

Anies and Prabowo employ conflicting political narratives. Both Anies and Prabowo emphasize economic aspects, justice, and public welfare. However, their focus differs. Attention to the economic aspect becomes crucial as the number of underprivileged (poor) people continues to grow, both in cities (7.09 percent by March 2024) and in rural areas (11.79 percent by March 2024).

For Anies, poverty should not be viewed as a permanent condition passed down through generations. Furthermore, substandard development is also considered a contributing factor to poverty in Indonesia. This is where the narrative of change finds relevance, namely realizing a better life economically. In this context, Anies also believes that direct assistance programs are inappropriate and cannot be used as a solution to address poverty. Anies' proposed approach is technocratic, namely by keeping up with technological developments and involving technocrats (Fauzi, 2023). In addition, the state must also be present and play a role in realizing the people's welfare.

Anies's narrative of change has four (4) principles: (1) what work programs need to be updated; (2) what needs to be improved to be implemented now; (3) what ongoing activities need to be postponed; and (4) what new innovations can be incorporated into future work programs. According to Anies, if these four (4) principles of change are implemented effectively, the people will feel the benefits, especially in alleviating poverty.

During the campaign, Anies posted a photo of his campaign activities at a traditional market in Salatiga City. There, Anies tried to listen to and accommodate the aspirations of traders who wanted stable prices for staple foods. This visit was then constructed into a narrative and became part of the Anies-Cak Imin ticket's mission: ensuring the availability of staple foods at affordable prices, which will be achieved through food self-sufficiency, energy security, and water sovereignty.

Unlike Anies, Prabowo will focus on continuing the flagship pro-people programs implemented during Jokowi's administration (Jokowinomics). In Prabowo's view, Jokowinomics is in harmony with the Pancasila Economics that has been implemented by national leaders, from the era of Sukarno to Jokowi. Prabowo will use Pancasila Economics as a guideline or formula if elected president.

Regarding the causes of Indonesia's high poverty rate, Prabowo did not explicitly mention them in his political narrative. He simply stated that government programs were running well and needed to be continued. "Now we can enjoy it, and now we must be able to focus. Our enemies are poverty and hunger, and we must address them immediately. We want to build an Indonesia that is strong, just, prosperous, safe for all, and fair for all." Prabowo

used the word “we” several times in his narrative. The word “we” often used by Prabowo can be interpreted as meaning that sustainability belongs to all of society, just as he himself is part of the Indonesian people. Therefore, sustainability is a shared responsibility, and the benefits of Joko Widodo’s government programs have been felt for two terms, so there is no reason not to continue them.

Prabowo also wholeheartedly believes that the Indonesian people can realize the Golden Indonesia 2045 vision. The Golden Indonesia 2045 vision itself aims to make Indonesia a developed nation and free it from the trap of a middle-class nation. One key to achieving this is human resource development (HRD). However, Prabowo did not specifically explain what programs will be implemented to improve the quality of Indonesian human resources. Elsewhere, Anies expressed his desire to fight for equality between graduates of public schools and Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) to eliminate disparities. Anies also stated that he would use a technocratic approach to create a better Indonesia.

Love, compassion, steadfastness, and sincerity are the moral values behind the struggle to achieve a prosperous life. This struggle can begin with a change in mindset by not considering poverty as a hereditary legacy. For Anies, the change in question is imminent, namely a state where justice, equality, and prosperity will be realized in the lives of the Indonesian people.

Like Anies, Prabowo also stated his readiness to fight alongside the Indonesian people, primarily out of his love for the Indonesian nation. Prabowo is determined to implement poverty alleviation programs in Indonesia as an effort to realize Golden Indonesia 2045. Prabowo promised to work hard for all Indonesian people and is determined to build a strong, safe, just and prosperous Indonesia.

Despite the fierce battle between narratives, both aim to fulfill the hopes of the Indonesian people. On the other hand, the people want a narrative that specifically explains the ideas, development goals, and work programs that will be implemented if elected president, and these expectations appear to be met through Prabowo’s narrative of sustainability. This is in line with the results of a poll conducted by Indikator Politik Indonesia during the period of January 10-16, 2024, in which the majority of respondents (52.4%) tended to prefer the sustainability program promoted by Prabowo-Gibran. In the poll, the change program promoted by Anies-Cak Imin only received 44.5% support. Interestingly, the sustainability program was also campaigned by the Ganjar-Mahfud ticket, with 3.1% support (Tombeg, 2024). In this context, Ganjar-Mahfud did not fully support the sustainability program, and some of the Ganjar-Mahfud programs aligned with Anies-Cak Imin’s change program.

CONCLUSION

The narratives of change (Anis Baswedan) and sustainability (Prabowo Subianto) are contrasting political narratives. Although both political narratives address issues such as poverty, the economy, and welfare, the writing structures of both political narratives demonstrate an interesting contestation, as seen in various posts on Anis Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto's Instagram accounts.

Anies Baswedan tends to be humanistic, with a contemporary and informal writing style. He can also be more flexible when urging the public to make changes to achieve a better life. For Anies, poverty is not a condition inherited from generation to generation, but can be changed, starting with how we think and act.

In contrast to Anies, Prabowo tends to be more formal, particularly through his frequent use of the word "we." However, Prabowo's political narrative is more specific in explaining various programs related to economic issues. Prabowo firmly and clearly stated that he would continue the pro-people program of the Joko Widodo administration (Jokowinomics), which subsequently proved successful in meeting public expectations and leading Prabowo to victory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Acknowledgements are due to Allah SWT and the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) for the research idea and all the facilities provided. The researcher would like to express his deepest gratitude to Budi Luhur University, especially to the Budi Luhur Cakti Foundation, for generously providing financial support for this research.

REFERENCES

- Aji, W. T. (2025). Makan Bergizi Gratis di Era Prabowo-Gibran: Solusi untuk Rakyat atau Beban Baru? *NAAFI: JURNAL ILMIAH MAHASISWA*, 1(3), 215–226. <https://doi.org/10.62387/naafijurnalilmiahmahasiswa.v2i2.134>
- Akbar, A. F. (2025). *REPRESENTASI CITRA POLITIK ANIES BASWEDAN SEBAGAI CALON PRESIDEN INDONESIA PADA PILPRES 2024 DI TIKTOK* (Skripsi, Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau). Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Syarif Kasim Riau. Retrieved from <https://repository.uin-suska.ac.id/85886/>
- Al Izzati, R., Dartanto, T., Suryadarma, D., & Suryahadi, A. (2024). Direct elections and trust in state and political institutions: Evidence from Indonesia's election reform. *European*

- Journal of Political Economy*, 85, 102572. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2024.102572>
- Ali, C., Purnomo, E. P., & Husein, R. (2024). Media Influence on Political Development: Framing Analysis of Aceh's Poverty Reduction Programs. *Nyimak: Journal of Communication*, 8(1), 81–102. <https://doi.org/10.31000/nyimak.v8i1.9267>
- Alrizki, D., & Aslinda, C. (2022). Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Indonesia Tidak Lockdown di kompas.com dan detik.com. *Journal of Political Communication and Media*, 1(01), 24–36.
- Amarullah, S. Z., Rizky, L. A., Ramadhan, G., Pratitis, S. T., Rahim, A., Rachmawan, V., & Harmonis. (2025). RETORIKA POLITIK ANIS BASWEDAN DALAM PIDATO KEBANGSAAN MENJELANG PEMILU 2024. *Causa: Jurnal Hukum Dan Kewarganegaraan*, 15(1), 31–40. <https://doi.org/10.6679/nq3tgy51>
- Apriliyano, C. (2025). *Analisis strategi komunikasi politik prabowo gibran dalam melakukan personal Branding pada Pilpres 2024 di Kota Tangerang Selatan* (Other, UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung). UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung. <https://doi.org/10/DAFTAR%252520PUSTAKA.pdf>
- Ardana, N., & Matondang, M. A. (2025). Strategi Populisme Ganjar Pranowo di Instagram Melalui Slogan “Tuanku Rakyat Jabatan Cuma Mandat.” *Jurnal Komunikasi Nusantara*, 7(1), 156–166. <https://doi.org/10.33366/jkn.v7i1.2441>
- Arnanda, A. N. (2023). POLITICAL BRANDING AKUN INSTAGRAM @ANIES BASWEDAN DALAM ISU PILPRES INDONESIA 2024. *SCIENTIA JOURNAL/ : Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa*, 5(4). <https://doi.org/10.33884/scientiajournal.v5i4.7544>
- Atala, A., & Aji, M. P. (2024). Political Analysis Of Prabowo Subianto's Branding Through Instagram Social Media @Prabowo: Case Study Of The 2024 Election Campaign. *JHSS (JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL STUDIES)*, 8(3), 806–812. <https://doi.org/10.33751/jhss.v8i3.10965>
- Basit, A., & Nurlukman, A. D. (2023). Smart City dan Perubahan Komunikasi Publik: Tantangan dan Peluang Bagi Pemerintah dan Masyarakat. *Avant Garde*, 11(2), 224–240. <https://doi.org/10.36080/ag.v11i2.2620>
- Eriyanto. (2012). *Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- Fata, N. A., Jannah, S. R., & Wazis, K. (2025). The Phenomenon of Political Communication in the Era of Social Media Towards Public Polarization After the 2024 Presidential Election in Indonesia. *Electronic Journal of Education, Social Economics and Technology*, 6(1), 656–662. <https://doi.org/10.33122/ejeset.v6i1.450>

- Fauzi. (2023, November 8). Anies Baswedan jelaskan soal visi “perubahan.” Retrieved September 22, 2025, from Antara News website: <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/3814137/anies-baswedan-jelaskan-soal-visi-perubahan>
- Ferreira, C. H. G., Murai, F., Silva, A. P. C., Almeida, J. M., Trevisan, M., Vassio, L., ... Drago, I. (2021). On the dynamics of political discussions on Instagram: A network perspective. *Online Social Networks and Media*, 25, 100155. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.osnem.2021.100155>
- Firdausi, Z. D., & Djuyandi, Y. (2024). POPULISME DALAM KAMPANYE: ANALISIS PERAN ANIES BASWEDAN DALAM MENINGKATKAN ELEKTABILITAS PARTAI PADA PILPRES 2024. *Aliansi/ : Jurnal Politik, Keamanan Dan Hubungan Internasional*, 3(1), 39–52. <https://doi.org/10.24198/aliansi.v3i1.56108>
- Gilang Surya Nugraha, N./ : 20107030098. (2024). *BRANDING “TUANKU YA RAKYAT JABATAN CUMA MANDAT” GANJAR PRANOWO DI INSTAGRAM DALAM MASA KAMPANYE PEMILU 2024 (ANALISIS SEMIOTIKA ROLAND BARTHES PADA AKUN INSTAGRAM@GANJAR_PRANOWO)* (Skripsi, UIN SUNAN KALIJAGA YOGYAKARTA). UIN SUNAN KALIJAGA YOGYAKARTA. Retrieved from <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/66598/>
- Gonzalez, A., Schmuck, D., & Vandenbosch, L. (2024). Posting and framing politics: A content analysis of celebrities’, athletes’, and influencers’ Instagram political content. *Information, Communication & Society*, 27(8), 1605–1627. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2023.2285495>
- Habibi, M. I., & Yuliana, N. (2024). Strategi Komunikasi Retorika Klasik Anies Baswedan Pada Debat Pertama Capres 2024. *Sindoro: Cendikia Pendidikan*, 5(1), 41–50. <https://doi.org/10.9644/sindoro.v5i1.3873>
- Hafidli, M. N., Sasmita, R. N. D. L., Nurazhari, L., & Putri, N. R. G. (2023). ANALISIS FRAMING MODEL ROBERT ENTMAN TENTANG KASUS KANJURUHAN DI DETIKCOM DAN BBC NEWS. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial*, 3(1), 178–183.
- Hanifa, A., Debora, C., Hasani, M. F., & Wicaksono, P. (2024). Analyzing Views on Presidential Candidates for Election 2024 Based on the Instagram and X Platforms with Text Clustering. *Procedia Computer Science*, 245, 730–739. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.procs.2024.10.299>
- Hapsari, N. E., Fatinova, D., & Ardan, F. (2025). Analisis Komunikasi Persuasif Capres 2024 Dalam Debat KPU (Kajian Retorika Aristoteles). *Citizen/ : Jurnal Ilmiah Multidisiplin Indonesia*, 5(1), 165–175. <https://doi.org/10.53866/jimi.v5i1.652>

- Hasanah, U., Darussaidah, & Kurniawan, B. (2024). MODALITAS DALAM PIDATO DEKLARASI ANIES BASWEDAN SEBAGAI CALON PRESIDEN PADA PEMILU 2024. *Jurnal Media Akademik (JMA)*, 2(7). <https://doi.org/10.62281/v2i7.664>
- Ikhwan, M. (2024). Ekosistem Media di Era Digital dan Runtuhnya Jurnalisme Berkualitas. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Komunikasi (SENAKOM)*, 1(1). Retrieved from <https://senakom.budiluhur.ac.id/sk/article/view/30>
- Jun, H. (2024). 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election: How Prabowo Won. *Asia-Pacific Review*, 31(2), 105–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13439006.2024.2398375>
- KPU. (2023). KPU Tetapkan Tiga Pasangan Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden Pemilu 2024. Retrieved September 21, 2025, from <https://www.kpu.go.id/berita/baca/12081/kpu-tetapkantiga-pasangan-calon-presiden-dan-wakil-presiden-pemilu-2024>
- Melek, G. (2023). Instagramming the Political Image: Visual Campaigning Strategies of Successful Opposition Candidates in Turkey's 2019 Mayoral Elections. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, 30(3), 125–139. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15551393.2023.2232292>
- Mietzner, M. (2025). Flirting with Autocracy in Indonesia: Jokowi's Majoritarianism and its Democratic Legacy. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 18681034251318053. <https://doi.org/10.1177/18681034251318053>
- Nada, Z. Q., Riyadi, A., Hilmi, A., & Nisa, P. K. (2025). Retorika dan Publisitas Politik: Studi Analisis Pidato Prabowo dan Ganjar di TV Nasional. *Triwikrama: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial*, 10(5), 51–60. <https://doi.org/10.9963/723yfc41>
- Ningsih, A. W. M. (2024). *PERSONAL BRANDING PRABOWO SUBIANTO DI MEDIA SOSIAL INSTAGRAM PADA PEMILIHAN UMUM PRESIDEN TAHUN 2024 – 2029 (ANALISIS SEMIOTIKA PADA AKUN MEDIA SOSIAL INSTAGRAM @PRABOWO)* (Universitas Gadjah Mada). Universitas Gadjah Mada. Retrieved from <https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/245529>
- Olof Larsson, A. (2023). The rise of Instagram as a tool for political communication: A longitudinal study of European political parties and their followers. *New Media & Society*, 25(10), 2744–2762. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211034158>
- Oschatz, C., Gil-Lopez, T., Paltra, D., Stier, S., & Schultz, T. (2024). Social media posts as source for political news coverage inside and outside election campaigns: Examining effects on deliberative news media quality. *Journalism*, 25(8), 1638–1656. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849241231698>

- Osei Fordjour, N. K. (2025). Picturing Madam Vice President on the Campaign Trail: Instagram Narratives and User Fantasies of Kamala Harris. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 00027642251341819. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00027642251341819>
- Pangestu, C. (2020). Jokowiomics: A New Developmentalism with Rising Skyscrapers and Sinking Indonesian Civil Rights Liberty. *Jurnal Sentris*, 1(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.26593/sentris.v1i1.4189.1-14>
- Puspitasari, F. A., & Anggoro, A. D. (2024). Analysis of Public Opinion on The Hashtag #AniesPresidenRI2024 on Social Media Twitter. *Nyimak: Journal of Communication*, 8(1), 103–122. <https://doi.org/10.31000/nyimak.v8i1.9309>
- Putri, K., Hanifan, H. Z., D, P. R., Habibah, S. Z. N., & Fatkhuri. (2025). Analisis Eksistensi Hashim Sujono Djojohadikusumo Dalam Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara: Studi Kasus Kepemilikan HPH dan HGB Di Kalimantan Timur. *IKRA-ITH HUMANIORA/ : Jurnal Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 9(1), 279–295.
- Rahmawati, N. A., Prasetyo, S. A., & Ramadhani, M. W. (2024). Memetakan Visi Prabowo Gibran Pada Masa Kampanye Dalam Prespektif Pembangunan: (Analisis Wacana Kritis Visi Dan Misi Prabowo Gibran Dalam Prespektif Modernisasi). *WISSEN/ : Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora*, 2(3), 97–120. <https://doi.org/10.62383/wissen.v2i3.176>
- Rasyada, N. A. (2025). *Pembentukan Citra Anies Baswedan oleh Al-Jazeera dalam Pilpres 2024: Analisis Pembangkaian* (Universitas Gadjah Mada). Universitas Gadjah Mada. Retrieved from <https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/249583>
- Saptohutomo, A. P. (2023, December 18). Narasi Ganjar dan PDI-P di Pilpres Dianggap Kurang Tegas Berdampak ke Elektabilitas. Retrieved September 21, 2025, from KOMPAS.com website: <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/12/18/12015641/narasi-ganjar-dan-pdi-p-di-pilpres-dianggap-kurang-tegas-berdampak-ke>
- Saputri, R., Mutiarin, D., & Sukarno, M. (2024). Social Movement on Social Media: #TolakPengesahanRKUHP and #ReformasiDikorupsi. *Nyimak: Journal of Communication*, 8(1), 21–36. <https://doi.org/10.31000/nyimak.v8i1.8754>
- Setiawan, F., Aulia, R. R. A., & Saleh, R. R. (2024). STRATEGI PUBLISITAS CAPRES ANIES BASWEDAN MELALUI INSTAGRAM PRIBADINYA JELANG PEMILIHAN PRESIDEN 2024. *Paradigma POLISTAAT: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, 7(2), 50–67.
- Sugiyono. (2015). *Metode Penelitian Kombinasi*. Bandung: Al Husna Zikra.

- Sumarto, M., & McCarthy, J. F. (2025). Welfare and democratisation: How electoral politics shape Indonesian social policy and citizen's social rights. *Contemporary Politics*, 0(0), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2025.2502637>
- Syaftiani, M., Nurmandi, A., Misran, M., & Yunus, M. (2024). Transformative Governance: Utilizing Social Media Dynamics to Improve Public Service Implementation in the Digital Age in Indonesia. *Nyimak: Journal of Communication*, 8(2), 137–156. <https://doi.org/10.31000/nyimak.v8i2.10735>
- Thawley, C., Crystallin, M., & Verico, K. (2024). Towards a Higher Growth Path for Indonesia. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 60(3), 247–282. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2024.2432035>
- Tombeg, L. (2024). Survei Pilpres 2024: Narasi Perubahan Anies vs Melanjutkan versi Prabowo, Siapa Unggul? Retrieved September 22, 2025, from Tribunmanado.co.id website: <https://manado.tribunnews.com/2024/01/29/survei-pilpres-2024-narasi-perubahan-anies-vs-melanjutkan-versi-prabowo-siapa-unggul>
- van Hulst, M., Metze, T., Dewulf, A., de Vries, J., van Bommel, S., & van Ostaijen, M. (2025). Discourse, framing and narrative: Three ways of doing critical, interpretive policy analysis. *Critical Policy Studies*, 19(1), 74–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2024.2326936>
- Wijanarko, T. O., Agusta, Y. D. B., Hutapea, E. B., Mufti, Z., & Putri, A. K. (2025). Political Branding of Prabowo Subianto in Instagram During the Presidential Campaign in 2024. *Journal of Digital Marketing and Communication*, 5(1), 34–47. <https://doi.org/10.53623/jdmc.v5i1.541>
- Yahya, M., Syukri, S., Syarif, A., Arni, A., Manggaga, I. P., & Baharuddin, T. (2024). Twitter and Online Trust: Ganjar Pranowo and Anies Baswedan Towards the 2024 Presidential Election. *Nyimak: Journal of Communication*, 8(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.31000/nyimak.v8i1.8730>
- Zhao, L. L. (2025). The use of social media in political mobilisation: The case of WeChat in New Zealand politics. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 60(1), 37–54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2025.2514191>