

(p-ISSN: 1979-4894; e-ISSN: 2620-326X)

*AL-Munzir Journal* 17 (1), page 63-82,

Publish 30<sup>th</sup> May 2024

*This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License.*

## **Examining the Media Coverage of the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election on Tempo.co's Online Platforms**

Yuzmanizar<sup>1</sup>, Mahdar<sup>2</sup>, Syahrudin<sup>3</sup>, Abdul Sarlan  
Manungsa<sup>4</sup>, Nur Alim<sup>5</sup>

[ninayusmanizar@unifa.ac.id](mailto:ninayusmanizar@unifa.ac.id), [nuralimdjalil@unifa.ac.id](mailto:nuralimdjalil@unifa.ac.id)<sup>1</sup>,  
[mahdarbkk@gmail.com](mailto:mahdarbkk@gmail.com), [syahrudin303@gmail.com](mailto:syahrudin303@gmail.com),  
[abdulsarlanmenungsa@gmail.com](mailto:abdulsarlanmenungsa@gmail.com)

<sup>1,5</sup>Universitas Fajar, Universitas Nahdatul Ulama Sulawesi Tenggara<sup>2,3,4</sup>

### **Abstract**

This article discusses the analysis of news content about conditions after the 2024 Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections. Researchers will analyze six news reported by Tempo.co online media between February 15 and 18, 2024. The news is analyzed to find out how journalism works and construct reality carried out by Tempo.co. The media, which is business-under the auspices of the Tempo Media Group company, has been known to be independent and critical. This research uses Holsti Theory or (*Holsti Theory*) to analyze the content of Tempo.co news with descriptive analysis methods. The subject of this study is Tempo.co as a source of information researchers get data. The object of research is six post-2024 Presidential Election news on the Tempo.co page of the February 15-18, 2024 edition. Supporting sources for this research are books and other research journals that can explain the information needed by researchers.

The results shows that Tempo.co reported the dynamics of the 2024 Presidential Election within the framework of critical, analytical, and independent journalism, but still prioritized the principle of balancing *or* covering both sides, verified, and factual (based on facts). Tempo.co presents news about the presidential election without having a tendency of interest and only presents facts with the selection of competent sources. This is evidenced by the variation of post-Presidential Election news without cornering any of the three existing Presidential Candidate-Vice President pairs.

**Keywords:** *Content Analysis, Journalism, Presidential Election, Tempo.co*

## **1. Introduction**

The presidential election is a crucial political event in all democratic countries, including Indonesia. The election of the president not only determines the leader of the country for a certain period, but also influences the direction of policy and the future of the country. 2024 is an important year for Indonesia as it will hold presidential elections that will determine the political, economic, and social direction for the next few years. In this context, the issue of the 2024 presidential election is the focus of deep attention, especially in terms of media and online publications.

In 2024, Indonesia will experience a dynamic and challenging political landscape. Competition between presidential candidates and political parties creates a tense political atmosphere and triggers various speculations and expectations from the public. Crucial issues such as economic development, social welfare, environmental sustainability, and other political issues are the main highlights in this presidential election. With mass media and the internet increasingly playing an important role in shaping public opinion, analysis of news content presented by online platforms is crucial to understanding the political dynamics that occur.

One of the leading online media in Indonesia that is in the center of attention in the 2024 presidential election is Tempo.co. As one of the leading news platforms, Tempo.co has a significant influence in shaping public opinion and providing information to the public. Analysis of the news content regarding the 2024 presidential election presented by Tempo.co is an important step to understand the narrative built by the media and how it affects public perceptions of candidates and issues raised in the context of the presidential election.

Research on the analysis of news content for the 2024 presidential election through online media Tempo.co be relevant in investigating the role of the media in the democratization process in Indonesia. Through this approach, we can identify news trends, news framing, and editorial preferences that might influence public views of presidential candidates and

competing political parties. The analysis can also provide insight into how certain issues are presented by the media in the context of presidential elections, as well as their impact on political awareness and public participation in democratic processes.

The attention of the national mass media on the implementation of the 2024 Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections (Pilpres) is very high. The national media is busy reporting it both before the election (voting), during the election, and after the election. Various information with various *angles* (points of view) about the Presidential Election is presented to the public every day, even at any time. Online media Tempo.co, is one of the media that pays great attention to every dynamic that occurs about the Presidential Election. Sanusi, R., & Purwanto<sup>12</sup>, S. A. (2020).

Although there is quite a lot of Tempo.co news about the Presidential Election, this research is limited to news published the day after voting, namely Thursday (15/2/2024) to four days after voting Sunday (18/2/2024). It is also limited again to certain news that according to the author's observations are interesting and prominent to be analyzed, namely as many as six (6) news.

The six news are considered important and interesting which can be a representation of Tempo.co news in the period of February 15 to 18, 2024 by looking at Tempo.co attitudes towards the voting results, Sadono, T. P., & Amina, N. W. R. (2023). The content of these stories is analyzed to find the extent of the implementation of the principles of journalism carried out by Tempo.co and how the direction of the reporting.

The principles of journalism in question are contained in 9 elements of journalism (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2001), namely conveying the truth, loyalty first to the public, verification discipline, independent, independent monitoring of power, providing a forum for criticism for the public, making important things interesting and relevant, keeping news comprehensive and proportional, and following the voice of conscience. Similarly, four

functions of the press as stipulated in Law Number 40 of 1999 concerning the Press, namely the functions of information, education, entertainment, and social control are carried out by Tempo.co, Yulianto, Y. F., Suharso, S., Dewi, D. A. S., Syafingi, H. M., & Budiharto, B. (2021).

### **Theoretical Foundation**

The Holsti theory introduced by Harold D. Lasswell (1967) in Fardiah, (2018) is a theoretical framework used to analyze how online media blurs the line between facts and opinions and influences public perception of the news and issues discussed. This theory focuses on the concept of framing or presenting news by the media, where the media has the power to select, expose, and interpret the information presented to the audience. In the context of online media, Holsti's theory is relevant because online platforms often speed up the circulation of news and increase the likelihood of spreading poorly verified information.

According to Holsti, the media has an important role in shaping public perception of political and social issues. One of the main concepts in Holsti's theory is "gatekeeping", which refers to the process of news selection by the media and how it affects the selection of topics, framing, and narratives presented to the public. In the context of online media, gatekeeping is often changed by algorithms and the speed of news circulation which makes it difficult to verify the veracity of the information presented. In addition, Holsti's theory also highlights the important role of the media in influencing public perception of political issues. Online media has the power to influence public opinion through the presentation of selected news and the framing used. In this context, online media can influence public views of political candidates, parties, and issues discussed in presidential elections.

Research into online media news using Holsti's theoretical framework can provide valuable insights into how online media influences public perceptions of political issues. By analyzing the framing, emphasis, and selection of news by online media, we can understand

how online media influences the way audiences understand and respond to political issues discussed. In practice, analyzing online media news using Holsti theory involves collecting and analyzing news content published by online media, Sjøvaag, H., & Stavelin, E. (2012). The data collected may include the headline, narrative, framing used, sources cited, as well as public interaction with the news. Through this analysis, we can identify patterns in the presentation of online media news and understand how they affect public perception.

For example, in the context of the 2024 presidential election in Indonesia, analysis of online media news using Holsti theory can help us understand how online media presents news about presidential candidates, issues discussed in campaigns, and public reactions to the news. Thus, we can understand how online media affects public perception of the presidential election and how it affects political dynamics in Indonesia.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that online media news analysis using Holsti theory also has some limitations. One of them is the difficulty in verifying the veracity of information presented by online media, especially in the context of spreading fake news and manipulation of information. In addition, the use of algorithms by social media platforms can also reinforce existing biases and filter bubbles, making analysis of Holsti's theoretical framework difficult, Yarchi, M., Baden, C., & Kligler-Vilenchik, N. (2021).

In the context of technological developments and new media, such as the presence of social media platforms and the spread of fake news, Holsti's theory is still relevant as a framework for understanding the role of media in shaping public opinion. However, to overcome these limitations, a holistic and interdisciplinary approach is needed that involves not only the analysis of news content, but also involves information technology, communication psychology, and political science. In conclusion, Holsti's theory provides a useful framework for analyzing online media news and understanding how online media influences public perception of political issues. Using this approach, we can identify patterns

in the presentation of online media news and understand their impact on political dynamics and people's participation in democratic processes.

The Holsti Theory or *Holsti Theory* proposed by Ole R. Holsti (1967) is the theory used in this study. This content analysis theory used to describe the characteristics of message content or categorize and analyze media coverage. This involves using code to identify themes, issues, or actors that appear in news coverage, then measuring the frequency and distribution of those elements in a given context. This can provide insight into how media coverage reflects political views and national interests

Furthermore, the theory is used to answer the questions *of what, to whom, and how* to a communication process. The *what question* relates to the use of analytics to answer questions about what is the content of a message, trends, and differences between messages from different communicators. The *to whom* question is used to hypothesize the content of messages intended for different audiences. The *how question* is primarily concerned with the use of content analysis to describe the form and techniques of the message, e.g. persuasion techniques.

Researchers analyzed or reviewed news Tempo.co a day to four days after the 2024 presidential election, namely as many as six news stories in the February 15-18 edition. The reason for choosing a day and four days after the Presidential Election is because a number of news Tempo.co are quite interesting, important, and relevant to be analyzed related to the implementation of the five-year democratic party contestation by electing the President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia.

## **2. Method**

This research method uses the content analysis method. According to Eriyanto (2011), the content analysis method is a systematic method to analyze content and how the message is conveyed. Content analysis can predict who is delivering a message and how it is being delivered. Content analysis is research that discusses in depth the content of information submitted to the mass media (Hafsyah & Darmawan, 2022). The content analysis method used in reviewing this research is descriptive content analysis. Rakhmat (2009) explains that the descriptive content analysis method aims to: (1) collect detailed actual information that describes the existing symptoms; (2) identify problems or examine applicable conditions and practices; and (3) make comparisons or evaluations. Descriptive research not only describes or analyzes, but also integrates these messages.

## **3. Finding and Discussion**

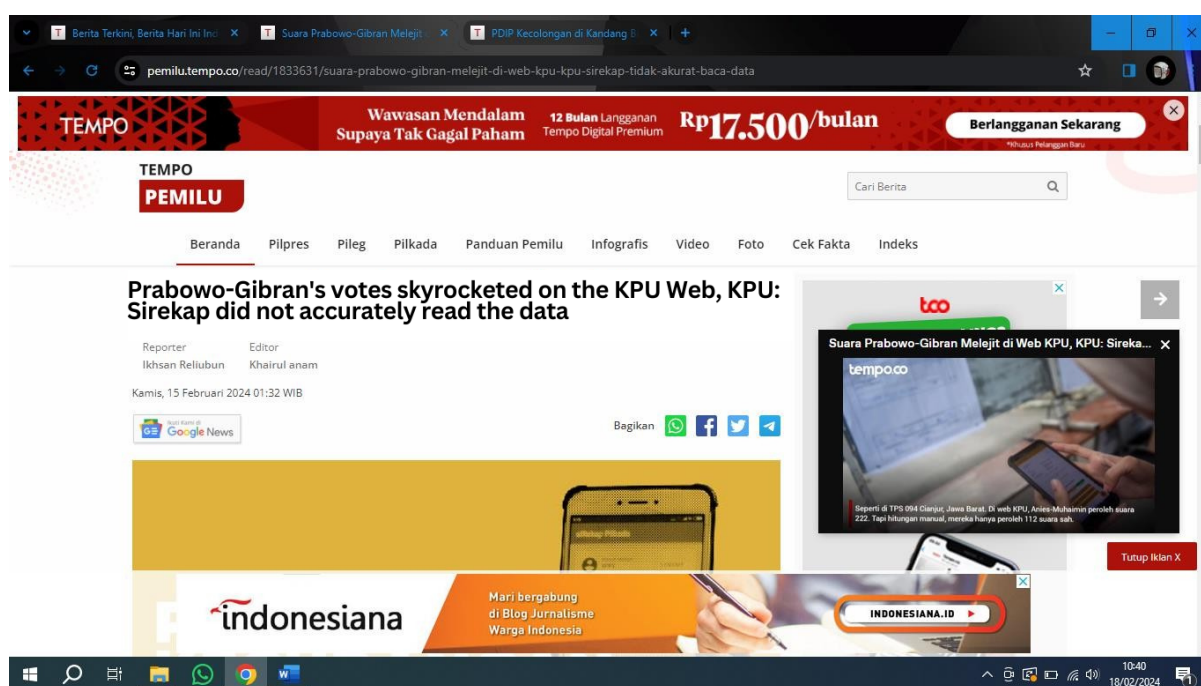
The 2024 Presidential and Vice Presidential elections will be held on February 14, 2024. Based on the results of the *quick count* version of several pollsters put the pair of Presidential Candidate-Vice President Prabowo Subianto-Gibran Rakabuming Raka with sequence number 02 ahead in obtaining votes over two other pairs, namely Anies Rasyid Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar (sequence number 01) and Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD (sequence number 03).

The advantage of obtaining votes with a percentage of more than 50 percent make The presidential election will certainly be one round if later the *real count* by the General Elections Commission (KPU) of the Republic of Indonesia is also more than 50 percent. However, various problems arose from the results of the vote. For example, about the error data displayed on *the website* pemilu2024.kpu.go.id different from the manual data on Form C1.

In addition, the alignment of the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko

Widodo or Jokowi in the Presidential Election in supporting the Prabowo-Gibran pair is also inseparable from the public spotlight, and several other issues. Tempo.co is one of the national media that paid great attention after the presidential election with various dynamics that occurred. For example, Tempo.co released a news on Thursday (15/2/2024) with the title "Prabowo-Gibran's Voice Skyrockets on the KPU Web, KPU: Sirekap Is Not Accurate to Read Data".

Figure 1. Shot frame of Tempo.co news, Thursday (15/2/2024).



Overall, the content of the news describes Prabowo-Gibran's vote in data displayed through the KPU website, pemilu2024.kpu.go.id. These data turned out to be different from the manual data of Form C1 based on the counting of votes at polling stations (TPS). Tempo.co revealed that the difference in votes of the three Candidate-Vice President pairs between *the web* and the manual count was seen in the vote count at Polling Station 094 Cianjur, West Java. On the KPU website, the Anies-Muhaimin pair obtained 222 votes, but in manual counts only obtained 112 valid votes. On the *web*, the Prabowo-Gibran couple is also was recorded to get 884 votes, while the number of manual counts was only 84 valid



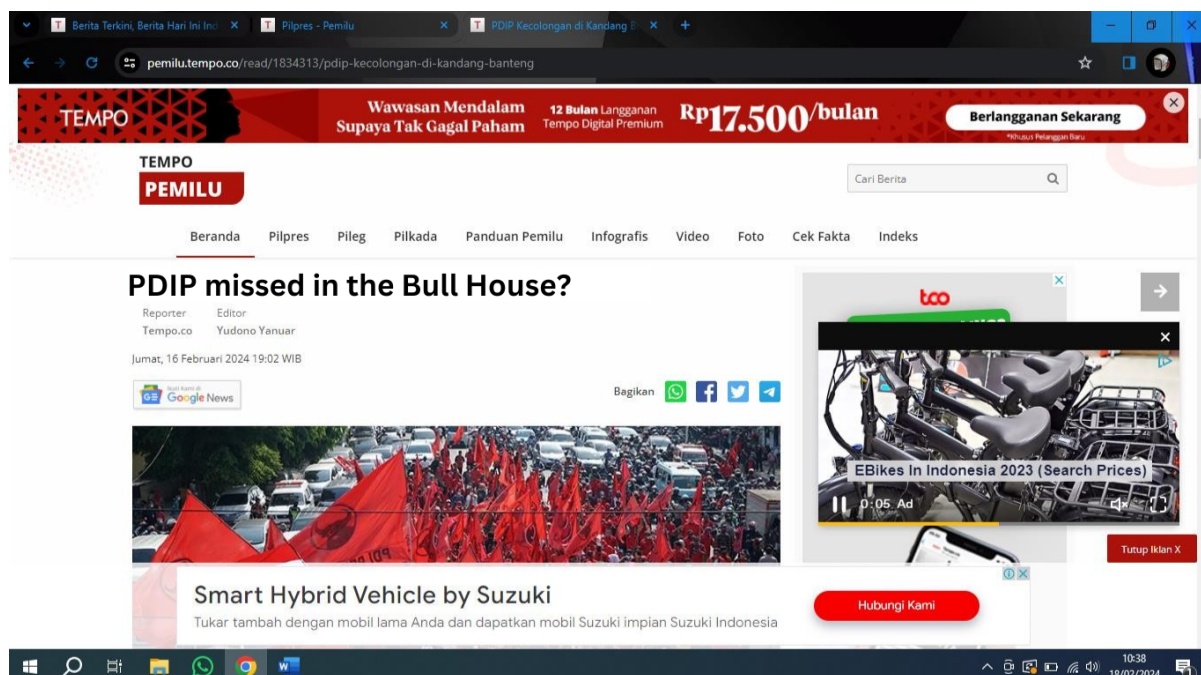
votes. Furthermore, the Ganjar Pranowo-Mahfud MD pair on the *web* recorded 817 votes. Though the manual count of only 17 votes was valid.

This news is interesting, important, and factual. When analyzing the content of this news, the message that Tempo.co want to convey to the public is to highlight the chaotic performance of the KPU, especially in inputting data on the *website*. This news is critical for the KPU as the organizer of the election accompanied by the presentation of accurate data and facts (based on truth). Therefore, KPU is reminded to be careful in inputting data and working professionally.

However, Tempo.co prioritizes the principle of balancing by presenting speakers from the KPU, namely Idham Holik as commissioner or KPU Member. Tempo.co provide space for the KPU as the criticized party to provide an explanation (read: defense) regarding the reasons for the discrepancy between data on the *web* on the Recapitulation Information System (Sirekap) and manual data. Even this news provides solutions from sources that there will be performance improvements in the future.

Regarding the defeat of Ganjar-Mahfud carried by PDI-Perjuangan as the winner of the 2019 election, it was specifically reviewed by Tempo.co on Friday (16/2/2024) with the title "PDIP Missed in the Bullpen?"

Figure 2. Shot frame of Tempo.co news, Friday (16/2/2024).



Tempo.co commented on Ganjar-Mahfud's unexpectedly very low vote in Central Java Province, which incidentally is the 'cage' of PDI-P. According to the results of the Kompas R&D quick count until Friday (16/2/2024), Prabowo won 52 percent of the votes, Ganjar-Mahfud 33 percent, and Anies-Muhaimin 14 percent. Similarly, in several provinces as the main base of PDI-P voters such as East Java, West Java, North Sumatra, and Bali, Ganjar-Mahfud's vote share is also far from Prabowo-Gibran. This result was inversely proportional to the party's vote for parliament which was actually won by the PDI-P. There was even an increase in the number of PDI-P votes compared to the results in the 2019 election as seen in the following table.

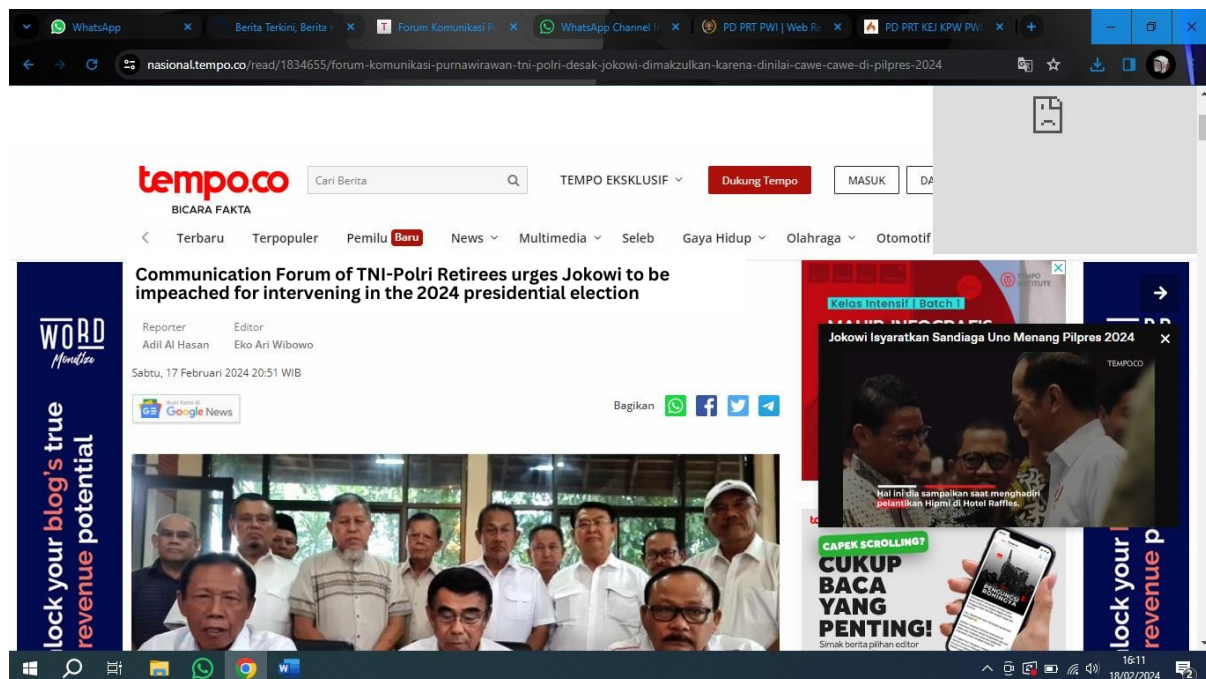
Table 1. *Quick Count* R & D Kompas about PDI-P votes in the 2024 election, until Friday (16/2/2024).

<b>Provinsi</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>2019 Results</b>
Central java	26,37 %	7.46 million	5.76 million
East java	15,19 %	4.76 million	4.31 million
West Java	10,24	3.65 million	3.51 million
North Sumatra	16,04 %	1.74 million	1.4 million
Bali	46,92	1.53 million	1.26 million

Based on the content analysis, the news mentioned above is quite important and informative by presenting a comparison of data between the Ganjar-Mahfud presidential election votes with the main PDI-P carrying party and the PDI-P party votes in the contrasting parliament. Using the diction of "missed at home", Tempo.co actually wanted to 'nudge' the PDI-P that his running mates could lose in areas that Ganjar-Mahfud should have won. Unfortunately, the use of question marks (?) in news titles is a form of doubt Tempo.co that should no longer need to use question marks. However, the PDI-P did "miss" in Central Java and other base areas with low Ganjar-Mahfud votes.

President Jokowi's overt involvement in supporting the number 02 couple also did not escape the news Tempo.co when a number of retired TNI-Polri gave statements related to Jokowi's attitude. On Saturday (17/2/2024), Tempo.co published a news article with the title "Forum Communication of Retired TNI-Polri Urges Jokowi to Be Impeached for Being Considered *Cawe-cawe* in the 2024 Presidential Election". This news specifically highlights Jokowi's political moves that publicly before the election made controversial statements that the president could take sides. Although it is permissible, a president as head of state should prioritize statesmanship by not *cawe-cawe* (Javanese: interference) for presidential election affairs.

Figure 3. Screenshot of Tempo.co news, Saturday (17/2/2024).



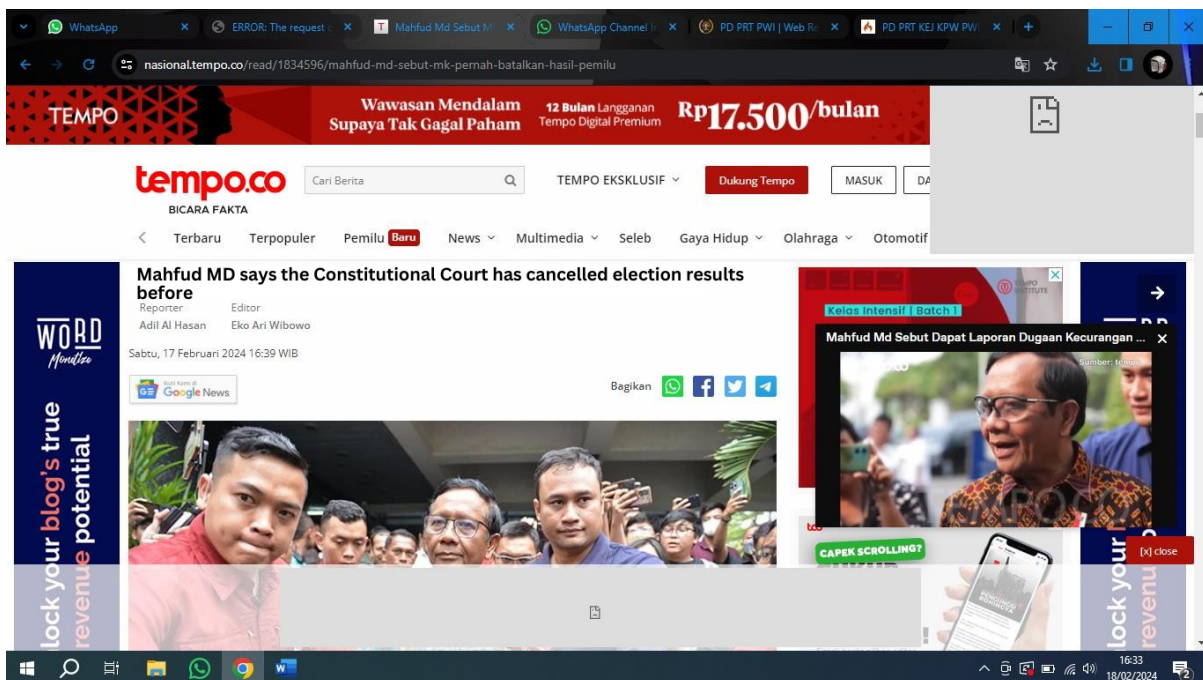
This news was made by Tempo.co reporter Adil Al Hasan and edited by editor Eko Ari Wibowo by taking sources from the TNI-Polri Retired Communication Forum or FKP3 through the Refly Harun Channel Youtube account, Saturday (17/2/2024). The news of this Tempo.co is very harsh and critical of Jokowi. This can be seen from the narrative conveyed by quoting the statement of General (Ret.) Fachrul Razi represents FKP3. The forum urged President Jokowi and officials who undermine Indonesia's democracy and law to immediately resign or be impeached. They also criticized the Constitutional Court (MK) and KPU in the process of nominating Gibran Rakabuming Raka as Vice President.

Based on content analysis, the message conveyed by Tempo.co is that there are groups that want and call for Jokowi's impeachment from his position as president. This is certainly interesting, because those who voiced were a group of figures from retired TNI and Polri. In terms of the function of the press, two things that are conspicuous in this news are the information function and the social control function. The weakness of this news, Tempo.co has not managed to get a statement from Jokowi or the Presidential Palace until this news is uploaded. Ideally, in journalism, covering *both sides* at the first opportunity

should still be prioritized. Tempo.co has indeed contacted the Coordinator of the Presidential Special Staff Ari Dwipayana for a response to this call. However, until the news was published, Ari had not responded. The editorial policy of the Tempo.co is understandable because it has made confirmation efforts to meet the provisions of *cover both sides*, although it has not been successful.

An interesting news angle was also reported Tempo.co in a news entitled "Mahfud Md Says MK Once Canceled Election Results" which was reported on Saturday (17/2/2024) as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Screenshot of Tempo.co news, Saturday (17/2/2024).



This news is interesting due to of its raises the perspective of the possibility that the results of the 2024 election could be canceled by the Constitutional Court by quoting the statement of Vice President Mahfud MD (Tempo.co writes Md) responding to the results of the 2024 Presidential Election which was considered fraudulent. This refers to the decision taken by the Constitutional Court when it overturned the results of the 2008 election. At that time, Mahfud served as Chairman of the Constitutional Court. Mahfud said that the Constitutional Court decided to cancel the election results in the form of a re-election order

or a full cancellation. "The winners are disqualified, the losers go up," Mahfud said on Saturday, February 17, 2024 as written Tempo.co in this news.

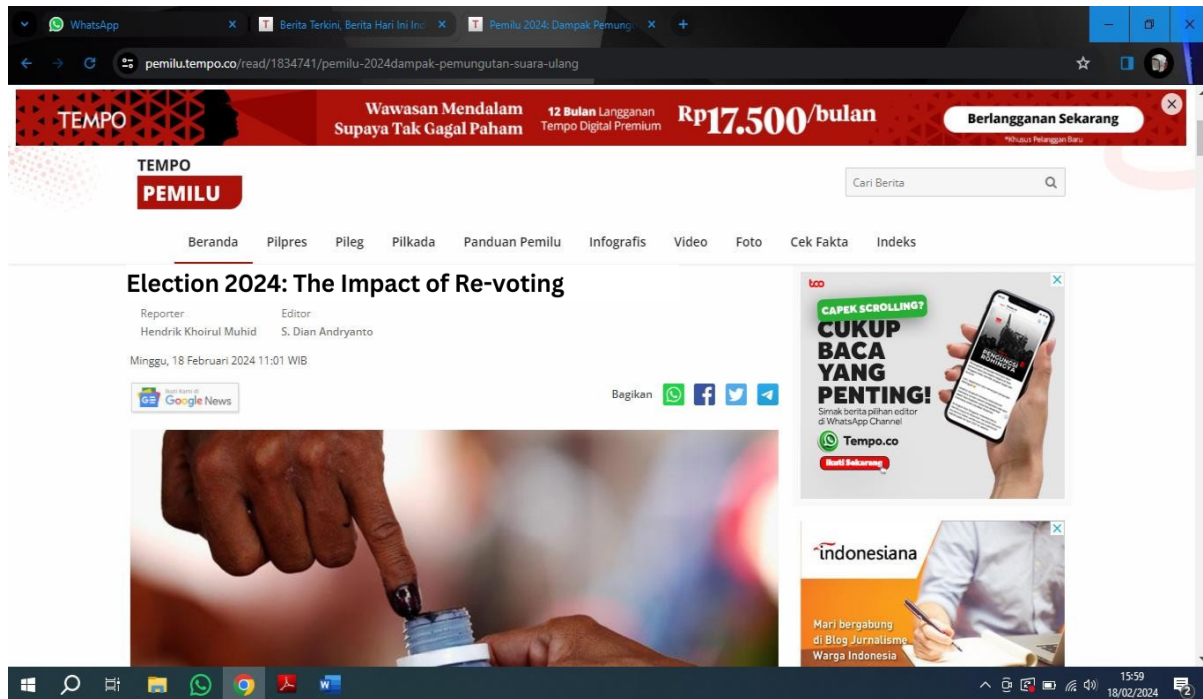
At that time, the gubernatorial election was a competition between Soekarwo-Saifullah Yusuf and the Khofifah Indar Parawansa-Mudjiono couple. Khofifah was declared defeated by Soekarwo after the MK annulled the results of the previous election and repeated it. Mahfud also said that the Constitutional Court had handed down a verdict on regional elections or regional elections in South Bengkulu and West Kotawaringin. At that time, in the regional elections in the two locations, Mahfud said the winner was disqualified. The results of the South Bengkulu regional election that won were disqualified and below immediately rose. The results of the West Kotawaringin regional election are the same as those of South Bengkulu.

This news is informative and educational news. Based on content analysis, the message conveyed by Tempo.co is that it does not rule out the possibility that the results of the Presidential Election can be repeated or canceled if the prosecution reaches the Constitutional Court and the Constitutional Court convicts based on the facts of the violation of Structured, Systematic, and Massive Elections or TSM. The term TSM itself emerged in 2009 when the Constitutional Court decided the dispute over the East Java gubernatorial election, namely Soekarwo *versus* Khofifah. Starting from this verdict, Mahfud said that TSM violations were officially included in election law, including the Law, General Election Commission Regulations or KPU Regulations, and Election Supervisory Agency Regulations or Bawaslu Regulations.

Another news reported by Tempo.co post-Presidential Election voting is about the consequences that arise if a Re-Election (PSU) is carried out at thousands of polling stations based on the findings of the Indonesian Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu). The news with the title "2024 Election: Impact of Re-Voting" was uploaded on Sunday (18/2/2024).

Bawaslu RI recommended PSUs at thousands of polling stations due to a number of problems after the election held on Wednesday, February 14, 2024. Bawaslu revealed that as many as 2,413 polling stations had the opportunity to conduct PSUs. This is partly due to voters at the polling station who get their right to vote more than once.

Figure 5. Screenshot of Tempo.co news, Sunday (18/2/2024)



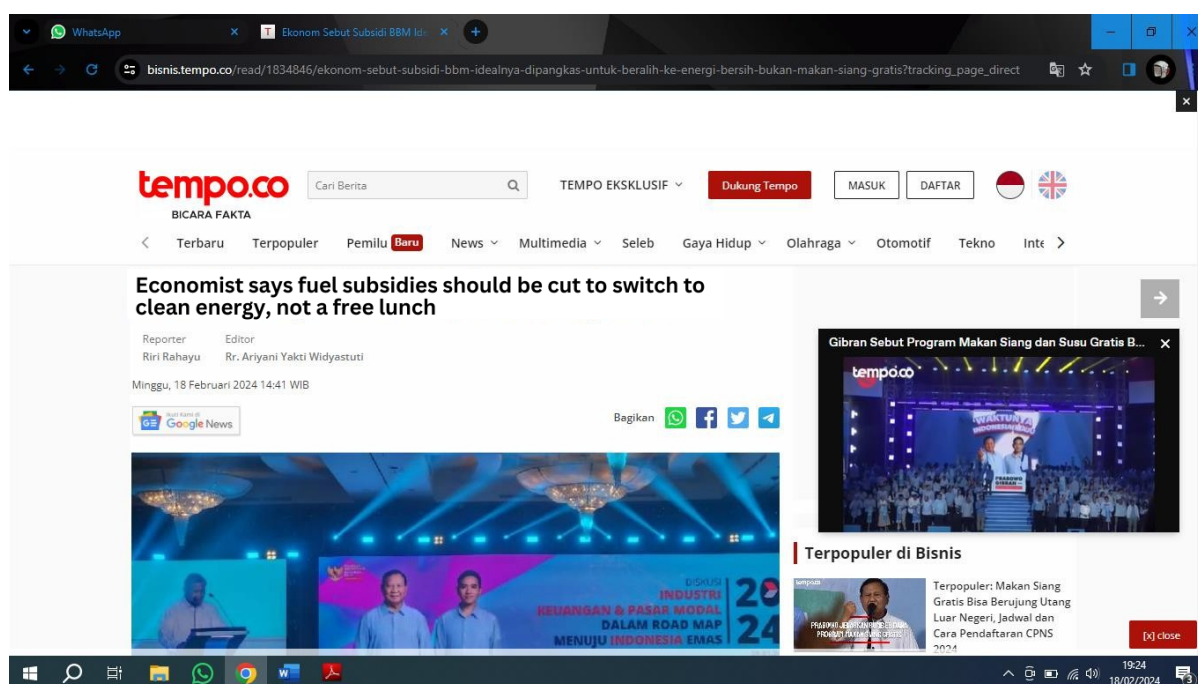
This news is informative and educative. Provide information about the effects of re-elections and educate readers that there are repercussions associated with re-elections. However, Tempo.co provides a balance by writing that PSUs are usually carried out to ensure the principles of elections, namely direct, public, free, secret, honest, and fair, can run well.

The message conveyed by Tempo.co in the news above is to remind all parties that the re-election at thousands of polling stations clearly has a negative or bad impact. Tempo.co quoted from the publication of *Re-Voting: Questioning Time Limits and Causative Factors* (Kurniawan, 2020) that the holding of re-voting has two consequences at once. On the one hand, PSUs are procedural mechanisms constitutionally guaranteed by law

and on the other hand there are repercussions that must be accepted. Kurniawan (2020) summarized that there are four negative effects of reorganizing voting. The four negative impacts of PSU are that extra budget is needed, limited implementation time, and opportunities causing a lot of abstention (white or not voting), as well as rising political temperatures and potentially causing conflict in certain regions.

Another interesting news with a sarcastic angle about one of Prabowo-Gibran's main programs, namely free lunch. Quoting economist and Director of the Center of Economic and Law Studies (Celios), Bhima Yudhistira. This news was raised in response to Prabowo-Gibran's statement that he would cut fuel subsidies by diverting his budget to a free lunch program. According to Bhima, if you cut fuel subsidies, then the budget is for programs that are really useful.

Figure 6. Screenshot of Tempo.co news, Sunday (18/2/2024)



Based on content analysis, Tempo.co tried to confront the statement of Prabowo-Gibran's Deputy Head of the National Campaign Team (TKN), Eddy Soeparno, in an interview session with BloombergTV. Eddy conveyed the plan to cut fuel subsidies because



they are more enjoyed by the poor. The budget from the cuts will later be used to realize the program promised by Prabowo-Gibran during campaigning and debate, namely free lunch. According to Bhima, ideally cut energy subsidies to encourage people to switch to cleaner energy at affordable prices and accompanied by the addition of public transportation.

This news is of a social control nature. Quoting Bhima Yudhishtira's statement, Tempo.co wanted to remind that cutting the fuel subsidy budget would actually cause new problems. The reason is, according to Bhima, the fuel subsidy cut is automatically followed by an increase in subsidized fuel prices. As a result, there is inflation, especially the increase in food prices. In addition, the direct impact is the increase in poverty and the pressure on the purchasing power of people who still need energy subsidies.

## **Conclusion**

The post-voting Tempo.co news in the 2024 General Election, February 14, regarding the 2024 Presidential Election has presented informative, analytical, critical, and educational news as well as factual, actual, important, relevant, and interesting while still prioritizing the principles of journalism and implementing the function of the press. Tempo.co showed its independence in addressing the dynamics of the post-presidential election and showed editorial policies that were more pro-public interest. In the practice of journalism, Tempo.co also position themselves to remain independent of power.

Despite exercising social control in its reporting, Tempo.co is also not tendentious in constructing facts into news. This can be seen from the diction (choice of words) in the news that is released precisely and does not judge or corner the criticized. The messages conveyed also led to efforts to create a conducive and peaceful atmosphere after the Presidential Election.

## Reference

- Esser, F., & Strömbäck, J. (2014). *Mediatization of Politics: Understanding the Transformation of Western Democracies*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eriyanto. (2011). *Analisis Isi: Pengantar Metodologi untuk Penelitian Ilmu Komunikasi dan Ilmu-ilmu Sosial Lainnya*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group.
- Fardiah, D., Hikmat, M., Wahyudin, A., Mardiansyah, D., Sarbini, A., Muhaemin, E., & Setiana, W. (2018). *Konten lokal digitalisasi dan Pandemi Covid-19 di Lembaga Penyiaran Jawa Barat*.
- Gunther, R., & Mughan, A. (Eds.). (2000). *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press
- Hafsyah, A., & Darmawan, A. (2022). *Analisis Isi Berita Kebocoran Data Pribadi Jokowi ke Publik (Studi Pada Media Online Tempo. co Edisi 3-5 September 2021)*. ... *Nasional Hasil Skripsi, september*.
- Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge University Press
- Holsti, Ole R. (1969). *Content Analysis for the Social Science and Humanities*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison–Westley Publishing.
- Kovach, Bill dan Tom Rosenstiel. (2001). *The Elements of Journalism, What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect*. New York: Crown Publishers.
- Kurniawan, H. (2020). *Re-Voting: Questioning Time Limits and Causal Factors*. *Kpu Ri*,

*2019: Evaluation of the 2019 Concurrent Elections in the Field of Evaluation of Legal Aspects of Elections, 2.*

<https://journal.kpu.go.id/index.php/ERE/article/view/151>

Kunczik, M., & Zipfel, A. (2010). *Introducing Communication Science: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. Routledge.

McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. SAGE Publications.

Rakhmat, Jalaluddin. (2009). *Communication Research Methods*. Bandung: PT. Juvenile Rosdakarya.

Sadono, T. P., & Amina, N. W. R. (2023). The Fight for the 2024 Presidential Election within the PDIP within the Framework of Tempo (Roland Barthes' Semiotics Study on the Cover of the May 2021 Edition of Tempo Magazine). *Journal of Law and Sustainable Development*, 11(9), e1172-e1172.

Sanusi, R., & Purwanto<sup>12</sup>, S. A. (2020). Organization Culture, Online Journalism, and Media Independence: The Case of Tempo Newsroom.

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of communication*, 49(1), 103-122.

Sjøvaag, H., & Stavelin, E. (2012). Web media and the quantitative content analysis: Methodological challenges in measuring online news content. *Convergence*, 18(2), 215-229.

Yarchi, M., Baden, C., & Kligler-Vilenchik, N. (2021). Political polarization on the digital sphere: A cross-platform, over-time analysis of interactional, positional, and affective polarization on social media. *Political Communication*, 38(1-2), 98-139.

Yulianto, Y. F., Suharso, S., Dewi, D. A. S., Syafingi, H. M., & Budiharto, B. (2021). Effectiveness of Law No. 40 of 1999 on the press (study of the journalistic code of ethics on reporting that triggers conflict in society). *Borobudur Law Review*, 3(2).