





## **Assessing Political Communication Reform in Digital Age: Case of 2024 Indonesia Presidential Elections**

**Nabila Ridwan Mohamad <sup>a</sup>, Ali Sahab <sup>a</sup>  ,  
Aribowo Aribowo <sup>a</sup>  Rizky Bangun Wibisono <sup>b</sup> ,  
Mohammad Asfar <sup>a</sup> **

<sup>a</sup> Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Airlangga, Indonesia

<sup>b</sup> School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Glasgow, United Kingdom

 corresponding email: [ali.sahab@fisip.unair.ac.id](mailto:ali.sahab@fisip.unair.ac.id)

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### **Abstract**

This research examines the role of Metro TV media in shaping the political image of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar for the 2024 Presidential Election. The study focuses on how Surya Paloh, a member of the Democratic National Party (Nasdem), biasedly reported on the candidates, affecting their electability in the 2024 General Election contestation. The research uses a qualitative content analysis method, a systematic approach to understanding and interpreting text data, to identify themes, patterns, and deep meaning. The study uses content analysis techniques to analyze narratives and framing strategies used in YouTube videos, while quantitative data, such as views, likes, dislikes, and comments, is analyzed to understand public sentiment and response to the political actors studied. The research provides a deeper understanding of Metro TV's media alignment and the construction of the political image of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar on YouTube, ultimately impacting public perception and increasing their electability in the context of democracy and participation politics in the 2024 presidential election.

### **Keywords**

*Political Perception, Media, Presidential Election, Political Behavior.*

## Introduction

The mass media has enormous power to influence public opinion in election contestation.<sup>1,2</sup> Mass media can provide information that is clearer and acceptable to the public.<sup>3,4,5</sup> Campaigning, political advertising, and political propaganda often utilize the mass media as a platform.<sup>6,7,8,9,10</sup> Post reformation, the media evolved into a propaganda machine.<sup>11</sup> Based on the relationship between mass media and politics, Kratochwil (2015) employs the constructivist view.<sup>12,13</sup> The

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- <sup>1</sup> Didik Haryadi Santoso, “New Media and Nationalism in Indonesia: An Analysis of Discursive Nationalism in Online News and Social Media after the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election,” *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication* 37, no. 2 (2021): 289–304.
  - <sup>2</sup> Muninggar Sri Saraswati, A Sinpeng, and R Tapsell, “The Political Campaign Industry and the Rise of Disinformation in Indonesia,” in *From Grassroots Activism to Disinformation: Social Media in Southeast Asia* (ISEAS Publishing Singapore, 2021), 43–62.
  - <sup>3</sup> Vincent Price, *Public Opinion*, vol. 4 (Sage, 1992).
  - <sup>4</sup> Des Freedman, *The Contradictions of Media Power* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014).
  - <sup>5</sup> Carroll J Glynn, *Public Opinion* (Routledge, 2018).
  - <sup>6</sup> (Baines & O’shaughnessy, 2014)
  - <sup>7</sup> Oberiri Destiny Apuke, “The Role of Social Media and Computational Propaganda in Political Campaign Communication,” *Journal of Language and Communication* 5, no. 2 (2018): 225–51.
  - <sup>8</sup> Holli A Semetko and Hubert Tworzecki, “Campaign Strategies, Media, and Voters: The Fourth Era of Political Communication,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Elections, Voting Behavior and Public Opinion* (Routledge, 2017), 293–304.
  - <sup>9</sup> Michael Bossetta, “The Digital Architectures of Social Media: Comparing Political Campaigning on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Snapchat in the 2016 US Election,” *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 95, no. 2 (2018): 471–96.
  - <sup>10</sup> Lynda Lee Kaid, “Political Advertising,” in *Handbook of Political Communication Research* (Routledge, 2004), 155–202.
  - <sup>11</sup> Brendan Maartens, “From Propaganda to ‘Information’: Reforming Government Communications in Britain,” *Contemporary British History* 30, no. 4 (2016): 542–62.
  - <sup>12</sup> Friedrich V Kratochwil, “Constructivism as an Approach to Interdisciplinary Study,” in *Constructing International Relations: The next Generation* (Routledge, 2015), 13–35.
  - <sup>13</sup> Aktieva Tri Tjitrawati and Mochamad Kevin Romadhona, “Affliction in the Post Palu Disaster: State Failure to Implement Human Rights Standard on Disaster

constructivist paradigm perceives and evaluates news as the outcome of media actors' social construction.<sup>14,15</sup> This basic view is based on the facts and nature of the mass media, which includes stories and events that occur.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, the mass media's orientation shapes the reality or event it reports. The role of the media also utilized by prospective candidates who will contest to cover all their political activities in order to improve the political image of the candidate pairs to the public.<sup>17</sup> This commonly done by political actors because the mass media is able to construct public opinion according to what is expected of journalists or even politicians themselves.<sup>18</sup>

Based on Malik study shows<sup>19</sup>, the rapid advancement of technology and information has resulted in a substantial transformation in cyberspace communication, altering society via diverse information and advanced technologies.<sup>20</sup> Social media platforms, like Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube, have emerged as essential channels for

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Management," *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, no. 1 (December 31, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2233255>.

<sup>14</sup> Anders Hansen, "Communication, Media and the Social Construction of the Environment," in *The Routledge Handbook of Environment and Communication* (Routledge, 2015), 46–58.

<sup>15</sup> Viv Burr and Penny Dick, *Social Constructionism* (Springer, 2017).

<sup>16</sup> Anders Hansen and David Machin, *Media and Communication Research Methods* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018).

<sup>17</sup> Joseph Trenaman and Denis McQuail, *Television and the Political Image: A Study of the Impact of Television on the 1959 General Election* (Taylor & Francis, 2023).

<sup>18</sup> Brian McNair, *Journalism and Democracy: An Evaluation of the Political Public Sphere* (Routledge, 2012).

<sup>19</sup> Dedy Djamaluddin Malik, "Ethics of Political Communication in Welcoming the Implementation of the 2024 General Election," *Ijd-Demos* 2, no. 1 (2022): 34–50.

<sup>20</sup> Jonathon Hutchinson, Fiona Suwana, and Cameron McTernan, "Social Media, News and the Public Sphere," in *Social Media in Society* (Springer, 2024), 101–18.

users to engage, disseminate, and generate information.<sup>21,22,23,24</sup> This transition has influenced power dynamics, governmental administration, and the essence of democracy in Indonesia. Social media has emerged as a dominant force in political, economic, and cultural spheres, and its impact on political communication<sup>25,26,27</sup>, is contingent upon the manner in which political communicators integrate it into their practices.<sup>28,29</sup> Media and social media are crucial in political communication, especially during the 2024 general election.<sup>30</sup> Political communication<sup>31</sup>, is a

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<sup>21</sup> DASAD Latif et al., “Social Media in Shaping Public Opinion Roles and Impact: A Systematic Review,” *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication* 40, no. 2 (2024): 205–23.

<sup>22</sup> Anders Olof Larsson et al., “Calls to (What Kind of?) Action: A Framework for Comparing Political Actors’ Campaign Strategies across Social Media Platforms,” *New Media & Society*, 2024, 14614448241229156.

<sup>23</sup> Soorya Balendra, “The Evolution of Free Speech in the Era of Social Media,” in *Free Speech in the Puzzle of Content Regulation: Insights from the West and the Global South* (Springer, 2024), 11–31.

<sup>24</sup> Doris Ngozi Morah and Oluchukwu Augustina Nwafor, “Beyond Tribal Politics for E-Participation and Development: Social Media Influence on Nigeria’s 2023 Presidential General Election,” *Journal of Innovative Digital Transformation* 1, no. 1 (2024): 32–47.

<sup>25</sup> Richard M Perloff, *The Dynamics of Political Communication: Media and Politics in a Digital Age* (Routledge, 2021).

<sup>26</sup> Gadi Wolfsfeld, *Making Sense of Media and Politics: Five Principles in Political Communication* (Routledge, 2022).

<sup>27</sup> Ulrike Klinger, Daniel Kreiss, and Bruce Mutsvairo, *Platforms, Power, and Politics: An Introduction to Political Communication in the Digital Age* (John Wiley & Sons, 2023).

<sup>28</sup> Philipp Staab and Thorsten Thiel, “Social Media and the Digital Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 39, no. 4 (2022): 129–43.

<sup>29</sup> Sebastian Sevignani, “Digital Transformations and the Ideological Formation of the Public Sphere: Hegemonic, Populist, or Popular Communication?,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 39, no. 4 (2022): 91–109.

<sup>30</sup> Katharine Dommett and Peter J Verovšek, “Promoting Democracy in the Digital Public Sphere: Applying Theoretical Ideals to Online Political Communication,” *Javnost-The Public* 28, no. 4 (2021): 358–74.

<sup>31</sup> Moran Yarchi, Christian Baden, and Neta Kligler-Vilenchik, “Political Polarization on the Digital Sphere: A Cross-Platform, over-Time Analysis of Interactional, Positional, and Affective Polarization on Social Media,” *Political Communication* 38, no. 1–2 (2021): 98–139.

multifaceted process that entails managing and orchestrating all components within the realm of government to attain objectives and address symbols of public interest and authority. Establishing a society where the state and its citizens are interconnected is crucial, facilitating avenues for input and promoting more engagement.

Furthermore, research conducted by Indainanto, Bangun, and Nasution<sup>32</sup> indicates that the 2024 Indonesian presidential and vice presidential elections have seen an increase in popularity and age criteria, resulting in the use of social media platforms such as TikTok to sway public opinion. Presidential candidates Prabowo Subianto, Anies Baswedan, and Ganjar Pranowo have used TikTok to further their campaigns and enhance their public personas.<sup>33</sup> Nonetheless, TikTok's functionality may also serve as a mechanism for polarizing the populace and disseminating false information.<sup>34</sup> Candidates use political framing to emphasize their strengths and highlight significant topics with the objective of swaying public opinion. The content of each candidate on TikTok illustrates their political framing, constructs their narrative, and affects public opinion. Such an arrangement has resulted in intricate political dynamics, since TikTok serves not only as a campaign instrument but also as a battleground for political narratives.

Moreover, research conducted by Arditama, Lestari, and Munandar shows<sup>35</sup>, the 2024 Indonesian election has highlighted the significance of digital citizenship, since political sentiments on social media platforms impact the ethics of digital citizens. Political ethics in digital environments must prioritise virtue and advantage, while

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<sup>32</sup> Yofiendi Indah Indainanto, Immanuel Cristwo Bangun, and Faiz Albar Nasution, "Political Framing: TikTok as Media in Shaping Public Opinion on Presidential Candidates in the 2024 Indonesia Presidential Election," *Journal Elections and Political Parties* 2, no. 1 (2025): 16–32.

<sup>33</sup> Fathimah Azzahrah, "Ethical Considerations in Political Use of AI: Case Study of 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election Campaign," in *Proceeding of Internasional Seminar on Arts, Artificial Intelligence & Society*, 2024, 96–107.

<sup>34</sup> Donghee Shin, "Misinformation, Extremism, and Conspiracies: Amplification and Polarization by Algorithms," in *Artificial Misinformation: Exploring Human-Algorithm Interaction Online* (Springer, 2024), 49–78.

<sup>35</sup> Erisandi Arditama, Puji Lestari, and Moh Aris Munandar, "Political Ethics in Indonesia: A Study of Political Ethics of Digital Citizenship in the 2024 Election," *JESS (Journal of Educational Social Studies)* 13, no. 1 (2024): 1–9.

cooperation between scientific communities and governmental entities is crucial to mitigating the dissemination of misinformation. Indonesian social media users have been identified as the most discourteous in Southeast Asia, underscoring the need for a more inclusive digital community.

The 2024 Presidential Election Contest is the democratics party that Indonesian citizens have been waiting for.<sup>36</sup> In the 2024 election, there are 204, 807, 222 voters, and details of recapitulation are national, both from within the country and abroad. Media is a forum that is used as an effective form of political communication in transferring information and influencing someone's choice.<sup>37,38</sup> In digital age many first-time voter which has affected on political campaign especially in Indonesia 2024 presidential election, according to study Paadoma and Rahmawati<sup>39</sup>, social media significantly influences politics, especially among millennials, in Indonesia. Politicians and political parties use

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<sup>36</sup> Dimiyati Huda, Agus Edi Winarto, and Lestariningsih Lestariningsih, "Analysis of 2024 General Election Digitalization System as An Effort to Improve The Quality of Democracy in Indonesia," *Journal of Development Research* 7, no. 2 (2023): 272–82.

<sup>37</sup> Jay G Blumler and Dennis Kavanagh, "The Third Age of Political Communication: Influences and Features," *Political Communication* 16, no. 3 (1999): 209–30.

<sup>38</sup> Perloff, *The Dynamics of Political Communication: Media and Politics in a Digital Age*.

<sup>39</sup> Orlando Padoma and Dian Eka Rahmawati, "Analyzing Social Media Usage and Political Participation Among First-Time Voters in Indonesia's 2024 Election," *JRP (Jurnal Review Politik)* 14, no. 2 (2024): 170–87.

online platforms<sup>40,41</sup> such as Facebook<sup>42</sup>, Twitter (X)<sup>43</sup>, and WhatsApp<sup>44</sup> to engage directly with first-time voters and disseminate information on their vision and objective. Instagram serves as a prominent tool for disseminating photographs and videos used in political campaigns<sup>45,46</sup>, engaging first-time voters via visual media. Indonesia is among the leading countries in social media use, with 78% of Internet users, equating to 212.9 million individuals, or 64.4% of the total 276.4 million Internet users. These platforms enable users to engage with others globally, exchange ideas and viewpoints, and enhance their understanding of many subjects. TikTok, a nascent video-sharing network in Indonesia, has garnered significant popularity, with 70.8% of users engaging with it. Telegram, a widely used instant messaging service, enables users to establish groups and channels, disseminate messages, files, photographs, and videos, all while ensuring privacy and security. Social media significantly influences the political engagement of first-time voters, especially among the millennial demographic. It is essential to exercise caution about the dissemination of misinformation and

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<sup>40</sup> Bowale Oluwaseun Odukale, "Online Political Participation Among Younger Generations: A Case Study of the Nigerian Presidential Election" (Clemson University, 2024).

<sup>41</sup> Klinger, Kreiss, and Mutsvairo, *Platforms, Power, and Politics: An Introduction to Political Communication in the Digital Age*.

<sup>42</sup> Maria Saleem, Waseem Hayat, and Muhammad Jamsheed Akbar, "Role of Social Media in Shaping Voting Patterns: A Comparative Study of 2018 and 2024 General Elections in Pakistan," *Annals of Human and Social Sciences* 5, no. 2 (2024): 182–93.

<sup>43</sup> Samuel Umoh Uwem, "The Use of Social Media by Three Political Parties during South Africa's 2014 General Election," *Digital Policy Studies* 1, no. 2 (2022): 40–46.

<sup>44</sup> Viktor Chagas et al., "The 'New Age' of Political Participation? WhatsApp and Call to Action on the Brazilian Senate's Consultations on the e-Cidadania Portal," *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* 19, no. 3 (2022): 253–68.

<sup>45</sup> Xénia Farkas and Márton Bene, "Images, Politicians, and Social Media: Patterns and Effects of Politicians' Image-Based Political Communication Strategies on Social Media," *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 26, no. 1 (2021): 119–42.

<sup>46</sup> Yilang Peng, "What Makes Politicians' Instagram Posts Popular? Analyzing Social Media Strategies of Candidates and Office Holders with Computer Vision," *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 26, no. 1 (2021): 143–66.

defamation. Enhancing understanding of politics may augment the political engagement of first-time voters.

Surya Paloh, an addition to the Nasdem party nominates Anies Baswedan as Presidential Candidate in 2024, is also together and together. The political image itself can also form a positive image and process a construction of political reality for political actors<sup>47</sup>. This research aims to reveal the role of the media in reporting on the 2024 Presidential Candidate Election by taking cases from the mass media Metro TV and Anies Baswedan. According to a study conducted by Anom, Vina and Samani<sup>48</sup>, Anies Baswedan, an Indonesian politician, uses Instagram and hashtags to articulate his political perspectives and interact with his people. He disseminates photographs, films, text, quotations, and narratives to engage with his people and orchestrate his campaign. Baswedan's team use meticulously selected photographs, films, attire, and visual components to shape voters' perceptions. Comprehensive interviews with informants, notably Geiz Chalifah, elucidate Baswedan's communicative approach, marked by clear explanations and reciprocal dialogue. This strategy has resulted in the establishment of volunteer movements and the designation of Nasdem as the inaugural political party. Baswedan has advocated innovative strategies in education, health, welfare, economics, and finance to modernise Indonesia. His conversational manner demonstrates an openness to others' views, opinions, or ideas, hence facilitating his support and candidacy as a presidential candidate. Baswedan has evolved from a chancellor to a governor and politician, adopting a more approachable demeanour and exhibiting adaptable body language.

Indonesia innovates using channels to disseminate information efficiently and effectively.<sup>49</sup> One of the current interests in Indonesia is the YouTube social media platform. In a survey by one of the international survey institutions, namely "We Are Social," which was

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<sup>47</sup> Fengmin Yan, *Image, Reality and Media Construction* (Springer, 2020).

<sup>48</sup> Erman Anom, Elisabeth Vina, and Mus Chairil Samani, "Political Communication Strategy in the 2024 Indonesia's Presidential Election," *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication* 40, no. 2 (2024).

<sup>49</sup> Rini Rachmawati et al., "Innovation in Coping with the COVID-19 Pandemic: The Best Practices from Five Smart Cities in Indonesia," *Sustainability* 13, no. 21 (2021): 12072.



launched in 2023, the number of YouTube users in Indonesia has reached over 139 thousand people. One of the mass media that utilizes YouTube channels is the development of time and technology. Metro TV has made significant progress in disseminating its information across various media platforms. Metro TV's YouTube channel boasts eight followers and has viewed 170,782 videos. Metro TV currently has a greater orientation in providing news content about Anies Baswedan. Nasdem and Metro TV's implemented strategy will streamline the public's access to information about the 2024 Presidential Election.

Metro TV has several special segments to report on Anies Baswedan in a varied way. In this research, we identified 10 Metro TV YouTube videos that reported on the AMIN couple, garnering a high viewership and trending during the campaign period. Based on data via YouTube Metro TV, it can be seen that Metro TV media provides channels and types of news that highlight the attitudes of the candidate pair Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. The content liked by the majority of viewers is when Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar hold public discussions with the public and entertainment programs in Indonesia. However, this requires further research to determine the extent to which Metro TV plays a role in increasing public attention and positive sentiment toward Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, who are seen as democratic leaders.

The constructed paradigm suggests that reporting does not always focus on facts and reality. However, we fundamentally construct facts and reality.<sup>50</sup> This paradigm posits that the media plays a unique role in political coverage and news, leading to media internalization and subsequent news creation. The mass media uses two models to build images: the good news model and the bad news model. Based on the names of these two models, the mass media can construct a positive political image and provide positive news content if they so choose. Therefore, the aim of this research is to examine how Metro TV functions as mass media that favors a particular candidate pair, specifically reconstructing the political image of Anies Baswedan and

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<sup>50</sup> R. Y. Ramadani, A. T. Tjitrawati, and M. K. Romadhona, "Humanitarian Commitment: Indonesia's Policy on Refugees' Rights to Health," *Healthcare in Low-Resource Settings* 12, no. s2 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.4081/hls.2024.12603>.

Muhaimin Iskandar. Based on explanation on previous study the position of this research is to examines the role of Metro TV media in shaping the political image of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar for the 2024 Presidential Election, the urgency of this research also provide a legal perspective related to Law Number 7 year 2017 concerning on General Election Law, this research also provide the procedure on political campaign.

This research uses a qualitative content analysis method, Krippendorff's pioneering understanding informs this research. This research method is by definition qualitative content analysis. Qualitative research itself is a systematic approach to understanding and interpreting text data with the aim of identifying themes, patterns, and deep meaning.<sup>51</sup> Basically, qualitative content analysis is an interpretive process for understanding textual data in depth. The focus is on identifying key themes, concepts, and patterns in data generated from texts, such as interviews, documents, transcripts, or other media. In the process, qualitative content analysis consists of several stages. This stage begins with collecting data. In this research, the data comes from selected Metro TV YouTube videos. Next, transcribe the data into a text format for content and public response results. Next, carry out initial reading to gain a general understanding of the content, and then carry out coding to identify text segmentation that is relevant to the research topic. The next stage is to carry out categorization and end with interpretation and analysis.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **A. Mass Media as a Political Tools in the Digital Distruption Era**

Mass media plays a crucial role in everyday life, providing information and influencing the community through various channels.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Sage publications, 2018).

<sup>52</sup> Jack M McLeod, Dietram A Scheufele, and Patricia Moy, "Community, Communication, and Participation: The Role of Mass Media and Interpersonal

In Indonesia, national mass media has significantly influenced the digital disruption situation, leading to a transformation in media dissemination.<sup>53</sup> Mass media has expanded from traditional television and radio to other digital platforms like YouTube<sup>54</sup>, allowing for more direct interaction and increased creativity.<sup>55</sup> However, mass media must be cautious in presenting accurate and reliable information, as information can easily spread without proper verification processes. In the current digital era, information can be spread widely without proper verification, causing confusion or conflict in society.<sup>56</sup> In the 2024 election contestation in Indonesia<sup>57</sup>, national mass media has a complex influence on society.<sup>58,59</sup> Digital disruption has transformed how people obtain, interact, and receive information, with many contestants using it to gain votes and attract public attention.<sup>60</sup>

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Discussion in Local Political Participation,” *Political Communication* 16, no. 3 (1999): 315–36.

<sup>53</sup> Ross Tapsell, *Media Power in Indonesia: Oligarchs, Citizens and the Digital Revolution* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

<sup>54</sup> Svetlana N Gikis, “Digitalization in the Development of Media Systems: The Impact of YOUTUBE on Traditional Television,” in *Modern Global Economic System: Evolutional Development vs. Revolutionary Leap 11* (Springer, 2021), 1279–85.

<sup>55</sup> Stuart Cunningham, David Craig, and Jon Silver, “YouTube, Multichannel Networks and the Accelerated Evolution of the New Screen Ecology,” *Convergence* 22, no. 4 (2016): 376–91.

<sup>56</sup> Irfan Wahyudi et al., “Biosecurity Infectious Diseases of the Returning Indonesian Migrants Workers,” *Global Security: Health, Science and Policy* 9, no. 1 (December 31, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23779497.2024.2358756>.

<sup>57</sup> Fradhana Putra Disantara, Dicky Eko Prasetyo, and Badrudin Kurniawan, “Ethical Challenges and Political Corruption in the 2024 Elections: A Perspective on Dignified Justice,” *Nagara Law Journal* 1, no. 02 (2024).

<sup>58</sup> Ihsan Yilmaz et al., “Competing Populisms, Digital Technologies and the 2024 Elections in Indonesia,” *Populism & Politics (P&P). European Center for Populism Studies (ECPS)*, 2024.

<sup>59</sup> Moch Rifqi Mei Redha, Suswanta Suswanta, and Ridho Al-Hamdi, “Analysis of Media Report Framing on Jokowi Dynasty Politics in the 2024 Presidential Election,” *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review* 9, no. 2 (2024): 124–41.

<sup>60</sup> Taylor Owen, *Disruptive Power: The Crisis of the State in the Digital Age* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2015).

Mass media utilized by politicians to form opinions, shape images, and shape preferences for voters in determining their decisions.<sup>61</sup> Mass media has several roles in political contestation, including providing information to the public, determining which issues are considered important, triggering the bandwagon effect, and becoming an effective channel for candidates to carry out political campaigns.<sup>62</sup> The press in Indonesia has the main function of monitoring the government's running through supervision and distribution of publications for public viewing. Media serves as a means of communicating when the sender and recipient are apart. Political parties and candidates competing for political positions in general elections now turn to the media to campaign for their vision, mission, programs, and profiles, as well as build the image and branding of the political instrument itself. Mass media plays a significant role in social life and politics in Indonesia, particularly in the era of digital disruption.<sup>63</sup> Its role includes providing information, influencing voter perception, triggering the bandwagon effect, and serving as an effective channel for candidates to communicate their ideas and goals.

## **B. Internet Usage and the Political Implication Trends in Indonesia**

There is no doubt that the presence of a variety of electronic media influences Indonesia.<sup>64</sup> Based on data reported by We Are Social in 2024 regarding the number of Internet users in Indonesia, it can be seen that there has been a significant increase. If we look at it, in the 2013-2015 period, the number of Internet users in Indonesia reached an average of up to 89 million users. However, in 2019, the number of Internet users in Indonesia doubled from the previous year, reaching 174 million. This is in line with the political contestation situation, as simultaneous

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<sup>61</sup> Maxwell McCombs and Sebastian Valenzuela, *Setting the Agenda: Mass Media and Public Opinion* (John Wiley & Sons, 2020).

<sup>62</sup> Charles Girard, "Making Democratic Contestation Possible: Public Deliberation and Mass Media Regulation," *Policy Studies* 36, no. 3 (2015): 283–97.

<sup>63</sup> Tapsell, *Media Power in Indonesia: Oligarchs, Citizens and the Digital Revolution*.

<sup>64</sup> Dina Sunyowati et al., "Can Big Data Achieve Environmental Justice?," *Indonesian Journal of International Law* 19, no. 3 (2022): 6.

elections were held in that year.<sup>65</sup> In 2023, the number of Internet users in Indonesia will reach 213 million people. Seeing the development of Internet users, which continues to increase rapidly every year, and there has been a massive increase since 2019, the Internet can be used as a strategic tool or forum in forming public opinion. The communications and information technology (ICT) revolution in the political context has had a major impact on the media ecology, trends in the digital ecosystem, the popularity of candidates and politics, and the existence of digital-based campaigns. This digital political popularity is related to the significant increase in the number of Internet users in Indonesia in the classified period, whether in the 2014 or 2019 presidential election contest, or the 2024 presidential election.

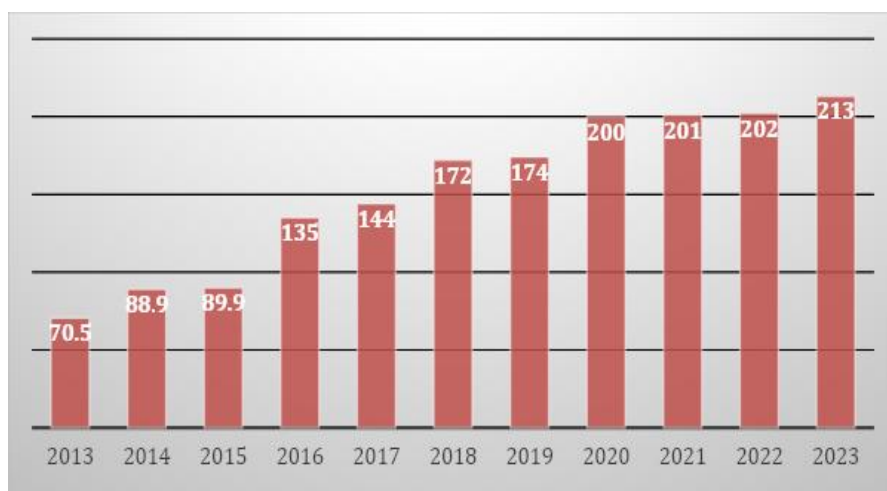


Figure 1. Number of Internet Users in Indonesia

Based on data released by We Are Social in 2024 regarding the number of Internet users in Indonesia, it can be seen that there has been a significant increase. If we look at it, in the 2013-2015 period, the number of Internet users in Indonesia reached an average of up to 89 million users. However, in 2019, the number of Internet users in Indonesia doubled from the previous year, reaching 174 individuals. This

<sup>65</sup> C A Sayu, S Aprilianto, and M K Romadhona, “A Criminological Review of Dextromethorphan Abuse By Adolescents,” *Malaysian Journal of Medicine and Health Sciences* 19 (2023): 51–57.

is in line with the political contestation situation, where simultaneous elections were held that year. In 2023, the number of Internet users in Indonesia will reach 213 million people. Seeing the development of Internet users, which continues to increase rapidly every year, and there has been a massive increase since 2019, the Internet can be used as a strategic tool or forum in forming public opinion. Based on survey results and data conducted by the Association of Internet Service Providers in Indonesia (APJII), it can be seen that in Indonesia, the level of internet penetration based on generational groups is dominated by the Millennial generation aged 28–43 years, at 93.17%, with a total contribution of 30.62% on the Internet. Furthermore, the Gen Z generation, aged 12-27 years, dominates the Internet penetration, accounting for 87% and contributing 34.40% overall.

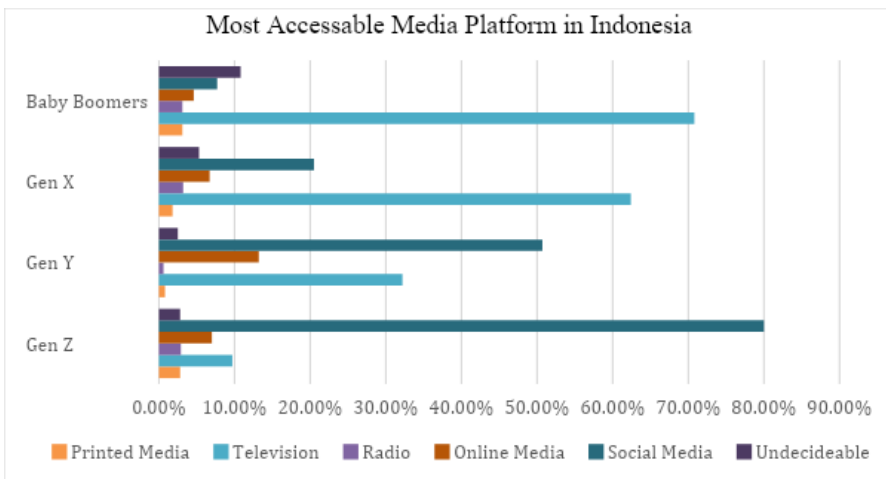


Figure 2. Most Accessed Media in Indonesia

Based on the data presented previously, social media has become an alternative forum for forming opinions and marketing a product so that it has become an option for politicians and political consultants to use social media as a forum for constructing a political image and introducing their respective candidates as a product. Political events through various things, namely as language of politics, framing strategies and agenda setting. This strategy of using branding in social media is successful considering that several platforms are widely used, such as Instagram, Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and Tiktok. The ads came from

around 19,000 advertiser accounts. The main aim and motive for investing in political advertising on social media channels is to reach as wide a range of social media users as possible as a niche of potential voters in the event of political contestation or other information dissemination.

## C. The Role of Metro TV in Shaping Democracy During the 2024 Indonesian Elections

**TABLE 1.** Details of 10 Metro TV YouTube Videos Reporting on the Couple Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) Period September 2023 - January 2024

Date	Headline (Segmen)	Viewers	Likes	Comment	Link
1 Sep 2023	<i>Sudah Final, PKB Sepakat Duetkan Anies-Cak Imin</i>	111.925	764	1.606	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=jsuigrp7z8s">https://youtube.com/watch?v=jsuigrp7z8s</a>
(Live Stream) 2 Sep 2023	<i>Seksus Deklarasi Bacapres Dan Bacawapres</i>	177,750	2,600	242	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=tx0gi_if-4m">https://youtube.com/watch?v=tx0gi_if-4m</a>
5 Sep 2023	Special Interview	520,117	6,800	3,992	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=s1-zmvnn2js">https://youtube.com/watch?v=s1-zmvnn2js</a>
3 Oct 2023	<i>KAWAL PEMILU - Taktik "AMIN" Menangkan Jateng</i>	163,394	2,200	1,037	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=q4012ivdco4">https://youtube.com/watch?v=q4012ivdco4</a>
19 Oct 2023	BREAKING NEWS - <i>Perdana! Setelah Daftar ke KPU, Anies-Muhaimin Tampil Bersama di Program Metro TV</i>	128.967	3.200	806	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=zuvnirivgg4">https://youtube.com/watch?v=zuvnirivgg4</a>
19 Oct 2023	KICK <i>KONTROVERSI - AMIN Makin Yakin</i> [FULL]	2,369,911	2,300	12,089	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=yму1gyylwi4&amp;t=561s">https://youtube.com/watch?v=yму1gyylwi4&amp;t=561s</a>
5 Jan 2024	<i>TANPA DICUT!</i> Kiky Saputri Roasting AMIN #RESOLUSIINDONESIA	5,398,680	83.000	13.051	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=aivfi1qgmfe">https://youtube.com/watch?v=aivfi1qgmfe</a>
29 Jan 2024	<i>PEDAS! Momen Rakyat Nyelepet &amp; Mendesak Anies - Muhaimin</i> #DESAKANIES	538,136	10.000	2.133	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=v35ve_ww0jg">https://youtube.com/watch?v=v35ve_ww0jg</a>
27 Jan 2024	<i>Laskar Santri Deklarasi Dukungan Anies-Muhaimin di Wonosobo</i>	69.000	2.600	773	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=vexui6efsoa">https://youtube.com/watch?v=vexui6efsoa</a>
10 Feb 2024	[FULL] – <i>Pidato Perubahan Anies Baswedan di Kampanye Akbar</i>	1.201.992	42.000	11.583	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=8zlfh66zans&amp;t=440s">https://youtube.com/watch?v=8zlfh66zans&amp;t=440s</a>

Metro TV, a prominent television station in Indonesia, has been dedicated to overseeing the election and democracy process, particularly in the 2024 election. It is the first TV station to carry out rapid calculations (Quick Count) during the 2004 election, aligning with the fourth pillar of democracy. Metro TV claims to be “The Election



Channel,” focusing on reporting and focusing on democracy regarding the 2024 election. Metro TV operates not only on television stations but also on social media platforms, providing information about elections, candidates, and political education. The company is one of the 16 private media broadcasting companies owned by politicians and party officials running in the 2024 election contest. The Broadcasting Law requires private media owners and actors to uphold principles of independence and neutrality in broadcasting. However, Metro TV is part of a media group that has “indications” of strengthening the pair, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. This is evident in how Metro TV frames and reports on Anies Baswedan–Muhaimin Iskandar with other presidential candidate pairs such as Ganjar Pranowo–Mahfud MD or Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka.

Metro TV tends to frame other candidate pairs with negative connotations, constructing a political image that shows daily life and campaign activities. Despite Metro TV’s declaration of independence and direction in its reporting during the 2024 presidential election, it has a bias and direction for more and varied reporting on the pair Anies Baswedan–Muhaimin Iskandar. This is demonstrated by the classification made by Metro TV through hashtags and keywords created for presenting news related to Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. In conclusion, Metro TV’s commitment to monitoring and maintaining the integrity and facts of the election, including the 2024 election, is evident in its coverage of the election and the media group’s bias towards the pair Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. The hashtags and keywords created by Metro TV to make things easier for users and attract public attention are as follows:

**TABLE 2.** Types of hashtags included in Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar’s reporting on Metro TV

Hashtags Listed in Metro TV News	Hashtags Listed on YouTube Metro TV
#Topreviewmetrotv	#AniesBaswedan
#TheElectionChannel	#MuhaiminIskandar
#AniesBaswedan	#Pemilu2024
#MuhaiminIskandar	#Pilpres2024
#Pemilu2024	#NasDem

<i>#Pilpres2024</i>	#PKB
<i>#KoalisiPerubahan</i>	#PKS
	#Koalisperubahan
	<i>#capres2024</i>
	<i>#cawapres2024</i>

Apart from that, Metro TV via YouTube Metro TV has several programs and program segments that directly invite Anies Baswedan, Muhaimin Iskandar and people involved in the Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar campaign. Several segments of the event were created in 2024 with the aim of directly inviting and conducting a question and answer segment with Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. Some of the agenda items include:

**TABLE 3.** Title of Youtube Metro TV News Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar Campaign Time.

<b>Title of Metro TV's YouTube program about Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar</b>	
<i>RE-SOLUSI INDONESIA</i>	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=1diiupmr6da">https://youtube.com/watch?v=1diiupmr6da</a>
<i>Desak Anies</i>	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=73s8bd8xnpa">https://youtube.com/watch?v=73s8bd8xnpa</a>
<i>Slepet Imin</i>	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=1kk1dmfabbg">https://youtube.com/watch?v=1kk1dmfabbg</a>
<i>Q&amp;A: Kalau Cinta Aminin Aja</i>	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=gilzwclivna">https://youtube.com/watch?v=gilzwclivna</a>
<i>Q&amp;A: Abjussi Tom Lembong</i>	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=li1egw0hkxs">https://youtube.com/watch?v=li1egw0hkxs</a>
<i>Q&amp;A: Satu Asa Mutiara</i>	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=weoff-_rhey">https://youtube.com/watch?v=weoff-_rhey</a>
<i>Kick Andy: Dosa – Dosa Anies</i>	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=pigjihdpyy0">https://youtube.com/watch?v=pigjihdpyy0</a>
<i>Kawal Pemilu 2024</i>	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=bdf6t7wabn0">https://youtube.com/watch?v=bdf6t7wabn0</a>
<i>Special Interview</i>	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=s1-zmvnn2js&amp;t=151s">https://youtube.com/watch?v=s1-zmvnn2js&amp;t=151s</a>
<i>Kick Kontroversi</i>	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=ymu1gyylwi4&amp;t=754s">https://youtube.com/watch?v=ymu1gyylwi4&amp;t=754s</a>
<i>Live AMIN</i>	<a href="https://youtube.com/watch?v=ckmnydg0ark">https://youtube.com/watch?v=ckmnydg0ark</a>

Source: YouTube Metro TV

Based on the program that carried by Metro TV and only presents Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, there are several special programs specifically for reporting on Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. The reports made by Metro TV via the YouTube channel generally describe the daily life of the AMIN couple during the campaign

period and other parties’ points of view regarding Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. With the variations in content uploaded by YouTube Metro TV as explained above, it can be seen that there is a tendency from Metro TV, as one of the private media in Indonesia, towards movements and support that lean towards candidate pair Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar. Another thing that helps Metro TV stay fair is that they always report the same thing about the Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka and the Ganjar Pranowo–Mahfud MD.

### D. Metro TV YouTube Data Visualization

This research is based on Metro TV YouTube video comments have been collected from 10 selected Metro TV YouTube videos. The flow, details and number of comments were analyzed using Rstudio and Rapidminer Studio. First, researchers used the MAXQDA application to extract YouTube Video comments and processed them into data in Excel form. The comments extracted in order of most comments on YouTube Metro TV are as follows.

Table 4. Accumulated Results of the Highest Number of Metro TV YouTube Comments

No.	YouTube Video Title	Number of Comments Extracted
1	<i>TANPA DICUT!</i> Kiky Saputri Roasting AMIN #RESOLUSIINDONESIA	13.051
2	<i>KICK KONTROVERSI - AMIN Makin Yakin</i> [FULL]	12.089
3	[FULL] – <i>Pidato Perubahan Anies Baswedan di Kampanye Akbar</i>	11.583
4	Special Interview	3.982
5	<i>PEDAS! Momen Rakyat Nyelepet &amp; Mendesak Anies</i> - Muhaimin #DESAKANIES	2.133
6	<i>Sudah Final, PKB Sepakat Duetkan Anies-Cak Imin</i>	1.608
7	<i>KAWAL PEMILU - Taktik “AMIN” Menangkan Jateng</i>	1.037
8	BREAKING NEWS - <i>Perdana! Setelah Daftar ke KPU, Anies-Muhaimin Tampil Bersama di Program Metro TV</i>	806
9	<i>Laskar Santri Deklarasi Dukungan Anies-Muhaimin</i> di Wonosobo	774
10	<i>Seksus Deklarasi Bacapres Dan Bacawapres</i>	244
<b>Total</b>		<b>47.307 Comment</b>

In general, it can be seen that there has been an increase both in terms of content and the number of people commenting on the content published by Metro TV.

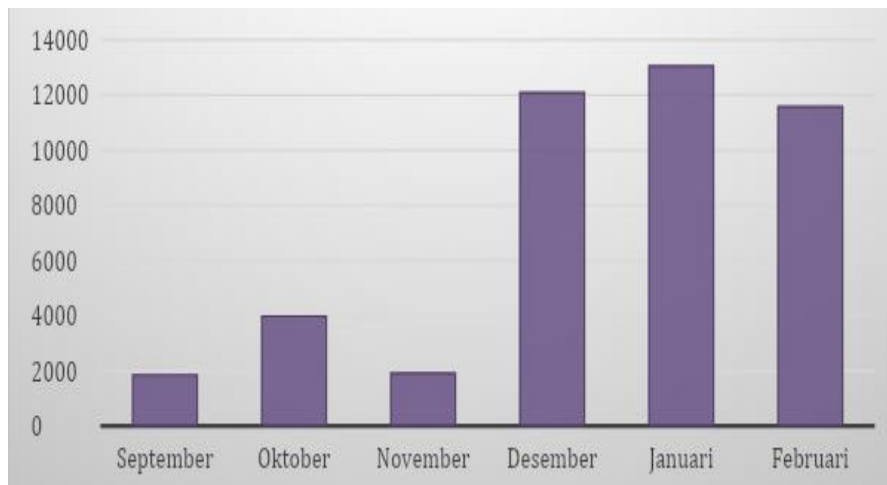


Figure 3. Number of Metro TV YouTube Comments during the Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar news report

Metro TV's consistency in disseminating information and content regarding the reporting of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar has fluctuated. Judging from general statistics, Metro TV has a role in increasing public attention toward Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar through social media, namely YouTube. The public can respond and interact in the YouTube comments column. With direct public response and interaction, it can increase the popularity and electability of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as candidates for President and Vice President. Furthermore, to see the weight of the news regarding the comparison between each presidential and vice presidential candidate on Youtube Metro TV, researchers found a significant comparison in the news on Youtube Metro TV. Metro TV tended to report and collect content about Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar during the campaign period. The amounts are as follows:

Table 5. Comparison of the Number of Videos Uploaded by YouTube Metro TV

Number of Metro TV YouTube Playlist Videos in the 2024 Presidential Election Campaign Period			
No	Candidate	Total	Information
1	Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar	1. 386 Video Khusus 2. 428 Video Konten Berita Pemilu	1. <i>Desak Anies</i> (170 Video); 2. <i>Kick Kontroversi</i> (33 Video); 3. <i>Kampanye Akbar Perubahan</i> (124 Video); 4. <i>Slepet Imin</i> (59 Video)
2	Prabowo Subianto – Gibran Rakabuming Raka	1. Muatan Konten Khusus 2. 428 Konten Berita Pemilu	1. <i>Berita Pemilu</i> ; 2. <i>Breaking News</i> ; 3. <i>Metro Hari Ini</i>
3	Ganjar Pranowo – Mahfud MD	1. 56 Video Khusus 2. 428 Berita Pemilu	1. <i>Tabrak Prof</i> (25 Video); 2. <i>Kick Kontroversi</i> (31 Video)

Source: Metro TV YouTube Channel Page

Furthermore, in general, based on comments that have been extracted via MAXQDA and using RStudio to provide general data visualization, there are results or a general picture of the response displayed by the public through Metro TV YouTube comments. RStudio runs a word cloud to visualize the response. The YouTube comments on Metro TV’s 10 videos about Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as presidential and vice presidential candidates primarily focus on Baswedan’s personality and popularity. The tagline “AMIN,” created by the successful team of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, is considered successful because it sticks and is effective, making it easier for the public to remember and repeat the words, increasing the popularity of the couple. The words that appear next often refer to a person’s nature, such as trustworthy, firm, and honest. The campaign and reporting on Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar’s YouTube content place more emphasis on interviews and speeches. YouTube Metro TV aims to establish Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as political figures who are firm in their speeches and honest in their responses to public questions and riots. To get more accurate results from Metro TV’s political image construction on its social media, researchers used RStudio to visualize the data and see which words are used most often and more than once in the responses to certain

Metro TV YouTube videos. The researchers extracted comments from 10 selected YouTube Metro TVs and combined 47,307 comments. The aim was to produce visualizations that are purely based on words conveyed by the public in the YouTube Metro TV comments column. The process is as follows. Based on data cleaning carried out by researchers at RStudio, there are results regarding the words that appear most often in the selected Metro TV YouTube video content. The first result that appears most frequently is the word “change.” This word is one of the slogans and visions brought by the couple Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, who promote change. If viewed in general, the couple Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar were considered successful in strengthening their campaign through the narrative of change they built and the vision and mission they proclaimed. Next, they repeatedly use adjectives such as “smart,” “firm,” and “intelligent.” Then followed by the word “win”.

### **E. Analysis of Public Sentiment towards Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar on Metro TV YouTube Media**

In this study, researchers used corpus-based research to obtain results from sentiment analysis. The aim of corpus-based research is to extract and analyze opinions, public responses, public attitudes, and emotions in texts. We use RapidMiner software for data processing. We carried out data processing in three stages during the research. First, create a dataset for sentiment analysis in RapidMiner. The goal is to purify the previously extracted raw data from the MAXQDA application, specifically from selected Metro TV YouTube comments. The purpose of creating this dataset is to clean text content, including symbols, characters, and emoticons, and empty or repetitive data so that the data to be processed becomes clean data. After cleaning the data, researchers manually labeled it to analyze its sentiment. The data’s negative or positive sentiment labels already make up 30% of the total data under analysis. After having a dataset that had been labeled with 30% of the total data, researchers carried out sentiment analysis using the Naïve Bayes algorithm in the RapidMiner application. The Naïve Bayes method is a method in machine learning that aims to carry out

classification using the principles of Bayes theory. This method basically utilizes the naive assumption that each feature in the data is independent of each other. Researchers use this method because the applied algorithm is simple and effective for handling large amounts of data. In addition, the basic concept of this method is easy to understand and implement in large datasets. Because, in carrying out classification, this algorithm does not use complicated parameter tuning; it can be used repeatedly for sentiment analysis in this research.

The second stage is carrying out sentiment analysis using the Naive Bayes algorithm. In this stage there are several processes in it. First, train data that has been labeled so that it can process data that does not yet have a sentiment label. Machine algorithm for data classification based on Bayes probability. In other words, Naive Bayes will train itself to find out data patterns that exist in data that has been previously trained or labeled. Next, carry out the process of labeling data that does not yet have a label, or the sentiment is still empty, by utilizing the sentiment classification model data from earlier and the training data. The process is: Read CSV - Filter Example Sentiment = is missing - Nominal to text - Process Document from data: - Tokenize - Transform cases - Filter stopwords (Dictionary) - Filter tokens by length- Enter training data Attributes of training data and test data must be The same. Use the union operator to combine attributes. filterexample, which aims to display test data only by > Sentiment = is missing - Replace missing values: to remove empty data. Default = zero, to fill in data with a question mark to 0. Test data ready to be processed > Test data that is ready to go to ULB (unlabel) > Enter the analysis data model > Apply model. In the third stage, researchers use graphs to visualize the results of their sentiment analysis. So in creating this visualization, the steps taken are to use the features in Result, namely the Statistics option, then select the sentiment feature and then select Open Visualizations. Meanwhile, the dominant words that appear can be identified easily through Wordcloud; in Result, select the Visualizations option; then the plot type used is Wordcloud; the value column used is sentiment; and the weight used is total. After successfully displaying the graphics, save them in JPEG format. If explained further, the first stage is carried out by combining training data and testing data, which then produces a third table of sentiments along with percentages and levels of

accuracy or precision. The second stage involves step-by-step visualization of the training and testing data from the first stage.

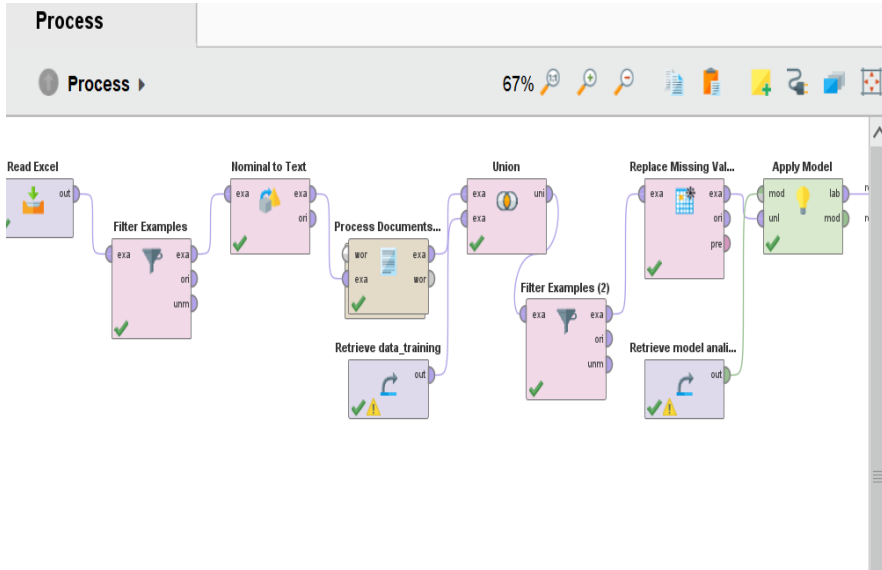


Figure 4. Visualization of the Public Sentiment Analysis Process via Metro TV YouTube Comments Using RapidMiner

This research uses a type of classification data analysis through *sentiment analysis* by dividing it into three sentiments, namely; (1) positive sentiment; (2) neutral sentiment and (3) negative sentiment. The benchmarks for categorizing sentiment are as follows.

1. Categorized as positive sentiment when comments from YouTube have positive connotations such as an orientation towards supporting, defending and praising the AMIN couple both individually and as a couple;
2. Categorized as negative sentiment when the comment has a negative connotation that tends to insult, criticize and badmouth the AMIN partner both individually and as a couple;
3. Categorized as neutral sentiment when the comment does not tend to support or vilify the AMIN pair and does not have any correlation with the couple AMEN.



This was done to find out the sentiments expressed by YouTube users through their comments towards Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. The data sources used in this research include the following:

1. *It's final, PKB agrees to pair Anies-Cak Imin and Sex Declaration Bacapres And Bacawapres*

The presence of Muhaimin Iskandar as Vice Presidential candidate for Anies Baswedan received quite varied responses from the public. Therefore, researchers chose one of Metro TV's YouTube videos to see how public sentiment was towards the couple Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. The number of comments from the video entitled "It's Final, PKB Agrees to Pair Anies-Cak Imin" totaled 1,606 comments and the number of comments from the video entitled "Sex Declaration Bacapres And Bacawapres" as many as 242 comments.

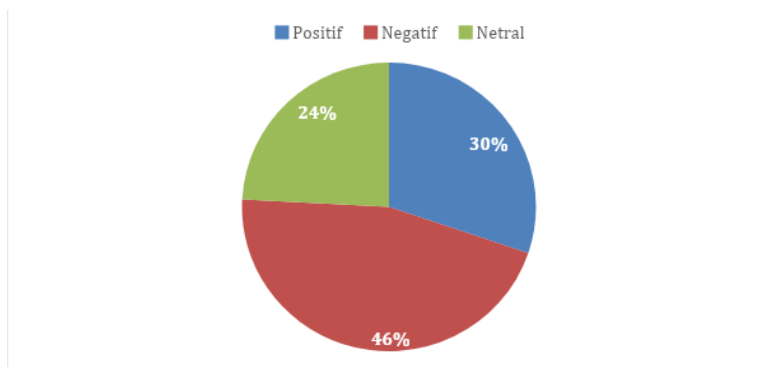


Figure 5. YouTube User Sentiment Analysis of Metro TV's Official Declaration Video

Based on the analysis carried out by researchers on comments that represent the public reaction to the video uploaded by YouTube Metro TV regarding the official declaration of Anies Baswedan Muhaimin Iskandar, 46% of responses received negative sentiment. There are 688 comments containing negative sentiments and negative reactions to the pairing of Anies Baswedan with Muhaimin Iskandar, considering that previously Muhaimin Iskandar and the PKB party were part of Prabowo Subianto's coalition, namely the

Great Indonesia Awakening coalition, which has changed to the Advanced Indonesia coalition. Some of the reactions are in the form of disappointment with Anies Baswedan because he chose Muhaimin Iskandar as his vice presidential candidate. Furthermore, this video received a positive response and sentiment from the public by as much as 30%. There were 455 comments containing positive responses and support from the public for the couple Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. Furthermore, there was a neutral response of 24% to the content of this video. This research is impartial and does not discuss Anies Baswedan or Muhaimin Iskandar. This resulted in 364 comments that indicated neutrality. Based on the results of sentiment analysis through this content, it can be seen that the public gave negative responses and sentiments to this news content. Initially, people felt disappointed and dissatisfied with the couple: Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar.

2. *BREAKING NEWS - Premiere! After registering with the KPU, Anies-Muhaimin appeared together on the Metro TV program*

This content selection aims to review the public's response to Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar after registering the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates and being officially appointed as Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates by the General Election Commission. This also packaged by Metro TV through one of its YouTube media channels, namely by uploading the first content inviting Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar simultaneously to conduct a live interview on the Metro TV program.

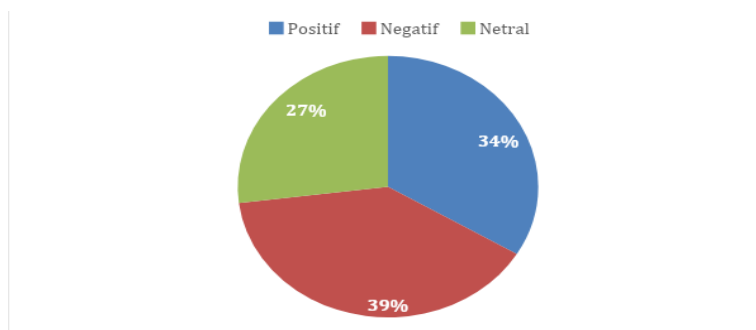


Figure 6. Results of YouTube User Sentiment Analysis of First Appearance Metro TV Video

Based on the analysis carried out by researchers on comments that represent the public reaction to the video uploaded by YouTube Metro TV regarding the official declaration of Anies Baswedan — Muhaimin Iskandar, 39% of responses received negative sentiment. This sentiment was obtained from 244 comments that gave negative sentiments and negative reactions to the emergence of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as an official couple after registering with the KPU. Some of the reactions were a form of negative emotion towards the two of them because they were considered an unsuitable pair for contestation, considering that during this period other candidates had been declared and the pair Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD had officially registered. Furthermore, this video received a positive response and sentiment from the public of as much as 34%. There were 208 comments containing positive responses and support from the public for the couple Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. Furthermore, there was a neutral response of 27% to the content of this video. The neutral indication in this research is that it does not take sides and does not discuss the candidate pair, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. This resulted in 167 comments that indicated neutrality. Based on the results of sentiment analysis through this content, it can be seen that the first appearance of the AMIN pair was responded to by the public by providing negative responses and sentiments to the content of this news.

### 3. *Anies Baswedan's Change Speech in the Grand Campaign*

This content selection aims to review how the public responded to Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar after going through several stages of the election, one of which was the campaign. In the last campaign, the couple Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar held a big campaign broadcast lived on YouTube Metro TV. Apart from that, the selection of Metro TV YouTube videos aims to review how electability has increased and the development of the public response to Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar before the election on February 14 2024. The number of comments from the video entitled “Anies Baswedan’s Changing Speech in the Grand Campaign” amounts to as many as 11,583 comments.

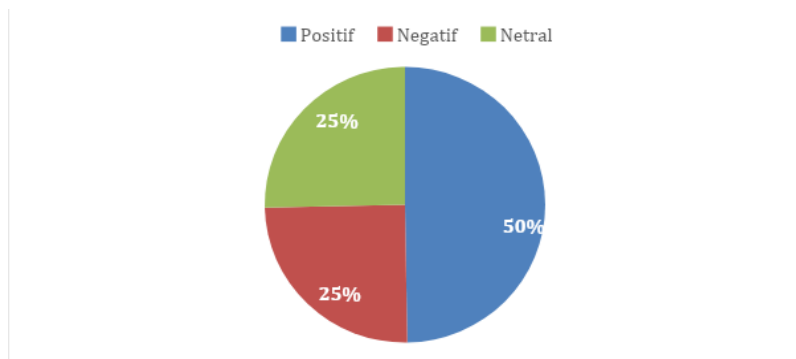


Figure 7. Results of YouTube User Sentiment Analysis of the Video “Changes in Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar”

Based on the analysis carried out by researchers on comments that represent the public reaction to the video uploaded by YouTube’s Metro TV regarding the speech delivered by Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar in their last campaign, which was covered live and only by Metro TV media, it can be seen that the Anies Baswedan couple Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN)—received a 50% positive response from the public. It can be seen that as many as 3,652 comments had positive responses in the form of support, prayers for victory, and the public who felt enthusiastic and satisfied with the content of the speeches and speeches delivered

by Anies Baswedan at the AMIN couple's grand campaign event. Furthermore, this video received a neutral response from the public by as much as 25%. There were 1,860 neutral responses, which were responses from YouTube users who commented out of context or did not support any party, such as only mentioning cases in Indonesia and their reactions to the content of the speech delivered by Anies Baswedan. This content also received a negative response from the public, as much as 25%. The responses shown by the public tended to have a negative connotation, containing support for other candidate pairs, criticizing Anies Baswedan's speech, and insulting or criticizing Anies Baswedan's partner. Negative comments also included calls for defeat for the AMIN pair, resulting in 1,830 negative comments. Based on the results of sentiment analysis through this content, it can be seen that the public gave positive responses and sentiments to this news content.

Metro TV YouTube videos and comments over time and found that people's reactions have changed over time since Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar were named presidential and vice presidential candidates. Initially, when Muhaimin Iskandar was declared as the running mate for vice presidential candidate Anies Baswedan, who had previously been promoted by the Nasdem party as a presidential candidate, he received a negative response from the public who watched and followed the content published by Metro TV. Many felt disappointed with the pairing of Anies Baswedan with Muhaimin Iskandar. Public annoyance arose due to Muhaimin Iskandar's past performance. First, Muhaimin Iskandar is the chairman of the PKB party, which previously nominated Prabowo Subianto as a presidential candidate and joined the Greater Indonesia Awakening coalition. Second, Muhaimin Iskandar was accused of betraying Gus Dur, and the coalition with Yenny Wachid fell apart. As the son of Gus Dur, Iskandar has a large following and has worked with community groups like *Nahdatul Ulama* (NU). Furthermore, in the process of searching for a partner for Anies Baswedan, it was previously

predicted that Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, who is the chairman of the Democratic Party,. The entry of the PKB party and the nomination of Muhaimin Iskandar as the vice presidential candidate from the Change Coalition also made the Democratic Party leave the Change Coalition and join the Advanced Indonesia Coalition, which won Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka.

However, through the content uploaded by Metro TV on YouTube, negative public sentiment and response began to shift and tended to change to support Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. This represented by the increasing positive public response and the tendency to provide support to Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. This increase in positive public sentiment was caused by Metro TV's YouTube content uploaded regarding Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar being presented as presidential and vice presidential candidates who were open with the public. This is demonstrated by how Metro TV packages campaign news carried out by Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as figures who want to come directly to the public. In addition, the AMIN couple portrays themselves as individuals who embrace criticism and are prepared to confront public criticism. This is shown by how Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar responded to the criticism and controversy displayed by several Metro TV YouTube videos. This depiction received a positive public response, including support and admiration for Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. Metro TV's success in increasing positive sentiment and support for Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar is proven by the results of Metro TV's YouTube video featuring Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar in the grand campaign, which is the last campaign on the schedule set by the General Election Commission. This sentiment has increased and is inversely proportional to the negative response they received when they first appeared as a couple.

## **F. Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar’s Form of Political Image Framing in the 2024 Presidential Election Contest via YouTube Metro TV**

As a media channel, Metro TV has the capability to frame or shape the political actors it wants to build. This can be built starting from the narrative aspect, political image and thoughts or vision of the political actor. In this case, researchers reviewed how construction built by Metro TV through uploaded content regarding Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar in the 2024 Presidential Election contest. Researchers examined more specifically the 10 Metro TV YouTube videos that had been selected. The ones chosen to analyze the political image construction built by Metro TV itself are:

### *1) Special Interview: Anies Baswedan*

Metro TV uploads a direct interaction with Anies Baswedan or Muhaimin Iskandar on its YouTube channel. This video features a direct interview with Anies Baswedan. The interesting thing in this content is how Anies Baswedan answered negative accusations and questions that were directly related to Anies Baswedan’s track record as a previous government official, starting from being Minister of Education and Culture to serving as Governor of Jakarta. Therefore, the presence of interactive content or direct interviews with Anies Baswedan can depict him as a wise leader. Anies Baswedan’s media appearances and his responses to negative accusations demonstrate this. In addition, Metro TV portrays Anies Baswedan as a leader with extensive political experience. Anies Baswedan’s work and track record in politics are evident in this content. This video generated 520,177 YouTube user views and received 3,982 comments or public responses. So in this case, researchers examined 3,982 comments that appeared in Metro TV’s YouTube comments. This comment can be analyzed as a reaction or form of public response to the content uploaded by Metro TV on its social media, namely YouTube. Based on the results of comment data or public responses (YouTube users and Metro TV YouTube viewers) in the Metro TV YouTube

video entitled “Special Interview: Anies Baswedan,” Anies Baswedan is broadly described as an intelligent leader. This is because Anies Baswedan’s character tends to be academic in answering the questions given in Metro TV’s YouTube content. Furthermore, the public’s varied and often positive response consistently stands out. This is described by Anies Baswedan, who brings a narrative of change and becomes a form of antithesis to the continuity promoted by other couples. The public consistently describes Anies Baswedan as a good figure. However, apart from the positive adjectives that appear most often in comments on this YouTube video, there are also words that have negative connotations and are tendentious. The phrase “like a doll” comes to mind. Anies Baswedan is described as a puppet of Surya Paloh, the supporting party, and is also described as an “imaging” figure. The numerous references to imagery in the YouTube Metro TV comments column prove this. However, in Metro TV’s YouTube comments column, positive words and responses tend to outweigh negative ones. The frequency of positive words in this video demonstrates this.

2) *Kick Controversy – AMIN Increasingly Confident*

Metro TV’s Kick Andy program on its YouTube channel aired controversies regarding Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, which were clarified in a direct interview by both of them. This event program clarified Muhaimin Iskandar’s decision to join the Change Coalition and refuted accusations that he is a “hopping flea.” The low electability survey of AMIN pairs was also discussed, as well as the lowest campaign funds recorded compared to other candidates. Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar’s change strategy was considered “against” the current government, particularly in the agricultural sector. They responded to the controversy firmly, appearing united and accompanied by jokes. The political image built for Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar was constructed as a partnership, not only in terms of professionalism but also in terms of personal relationships and closeness between the two. The video generated 2,369,911 YouTube user views and



received 12,089 comments or public responses. Researchers examined the comments in Metro TV's YouTube comments, which can be analyzed as a reaction or form of public response to the content uploaded by Metro TV on its social media, namely YouTube. The most common words in the comments column of the video representing Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar are "amen," which is the tagline created by the winning coalition team for Change, and "change," the narrative created by the change coalition in the 2024 presidential election. In terms of their individual responses, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar were described as suitable couples in the 2024 presidential election contest, as demonstrated by their answers and responses together. However, in the negative connotation of being a couple, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar were attached to identity politics, as shown by the many public responses regarding their "identity." In terms of individual responses, Anies Baswedan's word "Yemen" has a tendentious connotation due to his background and image of identity politics. Muhaimin Iskandar's word "Jegal" has a negative and tendentious connotation because he is seen as the foil for the political actor from the Democratic Party, which often votes on the selection of the vice presidential candidate chosen by Anies Baswedan. However, positive words and responses tend to outweigh negative ones in Metro TV's YouTube comments column.

3) *NO CUT! Kiky Saputri Roasting AMEN #RESOLUTION INDONESIA*

One of the events and content that was present during the Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar campaign period, which was broadcast and uploaded by YouTube Metro TV, was Resolution Indonesia. Ahmad Sahroni, a NasDem party cadre, created the Indonesian Resolution event. This event serves as a political platform, incorporating entertainment such as music concerts, dangdut concerts, and stand-up comedy events. The main highlight of this event and the content uploaded by YouTube Metro TV was Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar during a stand-up comedy session whose

content was aimed at criticizing Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar wrapped in comedy. With this content, Metro TV and the NasDem party constructed Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as leaders who accept criticism and are ready to face public criticism. The humorous response of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar to Kiky Saputri's criticism demonstrates this. This video generated 5,398,680 YouTube user views and received 13,051 comments or public responses. So in this case, researchers examined 13,051 comments that appeared in Metro TV's YouTube comments. This comment can be analyzed as a reaction or form of public response to the content uploaded by Metro TV on its social media, namely YouTube. Based on the results of the analysis carried out based on Metro TV's YouTube video comments, it can be seen that the public's reaction tends to be quite positive. This means that the content and events organized by Metro TV have successfully reached the public. Remember, this is the first event held by Metro TV, namely a political event packaged with art that features concerts and comedy shows. This research highlights a comedy show from Resolution Indonesia, which invited Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. The public's response to Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar during this event primarily revolved around freedom of opinion and relaxation. This is because during this event, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar received harsh and sarcastic criticism. However, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar responded to this with jokes and tended to act relaxed. Based on the content and public response to Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, it can be said that the political image construction built by Metro TV towards Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar was successful and built the political image of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as leaders who are open to criticism and have integrity. to freedom of expression. Freedom of opinion and media freedom are currently highly influential factors that can enhance the electability of political actors.

## **G. Metro TV Setting Agenda for Anies Baswedan – Muhaimin Iskandar in the 2024 Presidential Election**

Metro TV itself is one of the media founded by Surya Paloh, as chairman of the The Nasdem Party, which supports Anies Baswedan in the 2024 presidential election, has a strong relationship with the ownership of Metro TV, which has full authority in editorial and company policies. This involvement in politics gives rise to perceptions and movements on Metro TV that may support the Nasdem party's agenda. The 2024 presidential election contestation has a significant influence on the pair, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. Metro TV has a strategic role in forming opinions and providing support through its reporting. The media is used as a tool to carry out a political agenda, and Metro TV's agenda in the 2024 presidential election contest is to win the pair. To achieve this, Metro TV has increased news frequency about Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, increasing public awareness and awareness of their presence. Metro TV also carried out news framing, which tended to have a positive connotation towards the AMIN couple, building public perception of them. The content on YouTube, which highlighted their achievements in their political careers and aspects of their daily lives, demonstrated this. In terms of campaign activities, Metro TV provides broad and in-depth coverage of the AMIN couple, improving their visibility and popularity in the eyes of the public. This is in line with the power relations held by Surya Paloh, the owner of the media group, who carries the AMIN partnership.

## **H. The Impact of Political Image Construction Built by Metro TV on the AMIN Couple**

Agenda setting and framing are crucial concepts in media and political studies, as they significantly impact the political image of reported political actors. Agenda setting refers to the ability of the media to influence public attention to an issue and topic by determining the content of the public agenda through news coverage produced by the media. Metro TV has successfully used its YouTube channel to present news about Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar more often, while

other couples' news coverage is less. The innovation carried out by Metro TV in reporting on Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar is demonstrated by the presence of content on the platform that interacts directly with them. This shows that Metro TV presents information about Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar through various content and media channels, while other discussions are ignored or not a priority for Metro TV. The agenda-setting carried out by Metro TV through its YouTube channel had a significant impact on Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, increasing public attention to the couple. The content on YouTube focused on their achievements, visits to various levels of society, and the positive connotations and coverage of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. The most significant impact was the emergence of Muhaimin Iskandar as Anies Baswedan's partner, who previously received negative reactions from the public through the Metro TV YouTube channel, which transformed into more positive responses and support for Muhaimin Iskandar.

Framing is another concept that aims to create public perception of a political actor by selecting certain aspects or creating aspects to be highlighted in a report. Metro TV's YouTube channel has a significant impact on the news content regarding Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as presidential and vice presidential candidate pairs by forming public perceptions and opinions, influencing their electability, strengthening the political narrative carried by Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, and constructing the political image of both of them. Metro TV's media framing of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar significantly influenced its reporting. This is shown by the construction of the character images of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, which were highlighted from various aspects, starting from their background, personality, daily life, and behavior with their family and society. This impacts the public perception of the trustworthiness, personality, and honesty of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. In conclusion, agenda setting and framing play a crucial role in media and political studies, as they have a significant impact on the political image of political actors reported. Metro TV's YouTube channel has been instrumental in providing news about Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, influencing public perceptions and opinions, and strengthening the political narrative carried by the couple. By presenting

a positive framing of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, Metro TV has successfully constructed the political image of a solid couple with integrity and solidarity.

### **I. The Electability of the Anies - Muhaimin (AMIN) Pair in the 2024 Presidential Election**

The political image construction built by Metro TV has a significant impact on the electability of the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair Anies Baswedan–Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN). This construction influences the perception, identification, credibility, issues of change, vision, and mission carried by the AMIN partner and the character of the AMIN partner. The presence of this couple was marked by controversy and quite negative responses to both of them. Results and electability are very important in the context of the 2024 Presidential Election for political actors because this is one of the benchmarks for a candidate's success in gaining votes and one of the reasons that has a direct impact on their success in obtaining or maintaining a position of power. In this research, the basis of the survey, which is the benchmark, is a survey from the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) from the period August 2023 to January 2024. LSI conducted a survey in August 2023, which ranked Anies Baswedan lowest among other couples. Prabowo Subianto ranked highest with electability at 36.2%, followed by Ganjar Pranowo at 35.8%, and Anies Baswedan at 19.7%. In September 2023, following his pairing with Muhaimin Iskandar, Anies Baswedan's electability also declined. This decrease left Anies Baswedan with an electability rating of 14.5%. This percentage is much different from other presidential candidates. Prabowo Subianto's electability was 39.8%, indicating an increase, while Ganjar Pranowo's electability was 37.9%.



Figure 8. Results of the Electability Survey for Presidential Candidates August – September 2023

Source: Denny, Indonesian Survey Institute (2023)  
 Visualization and Publication: Metro TV (2023)

Furthermore, based on a survey conducted by LSI in the October 2023 period, in the survey the population of the survey was Indonesian citizens starting from the age of 17 years and above or who were married. The margin of error in this survey is 2.9 percent at a confidence level of 95 percent.

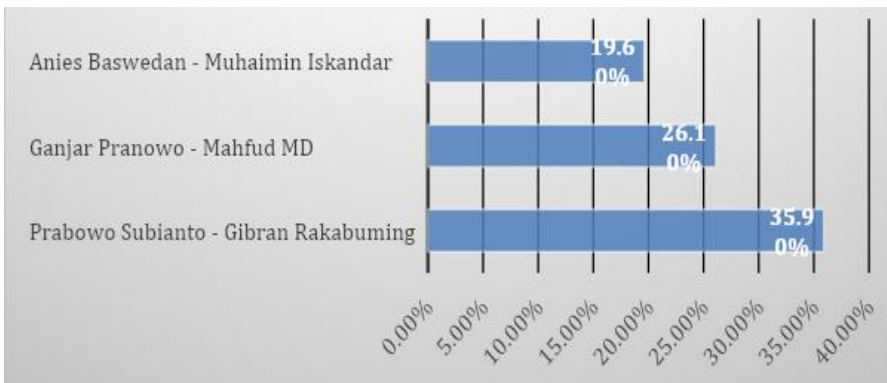


Figure 9. Electability Results for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates for the October 2023 Period

Source: Indonesian Survey Institute (2023)

Based on a survey conducted by LSI, in the October 2023 period, Anies Baswedan still occupies the lowest ranking compared to other couples. Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming with their electability still at a consistent figure of 35.9%, while Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD experienced a decrease in votes, namely 26.1%. Meanwhile, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar also experienced an increase, with electability of 19.6%. With this, the AMIN pair has increased even though it is still the lowest compared to other candidates.

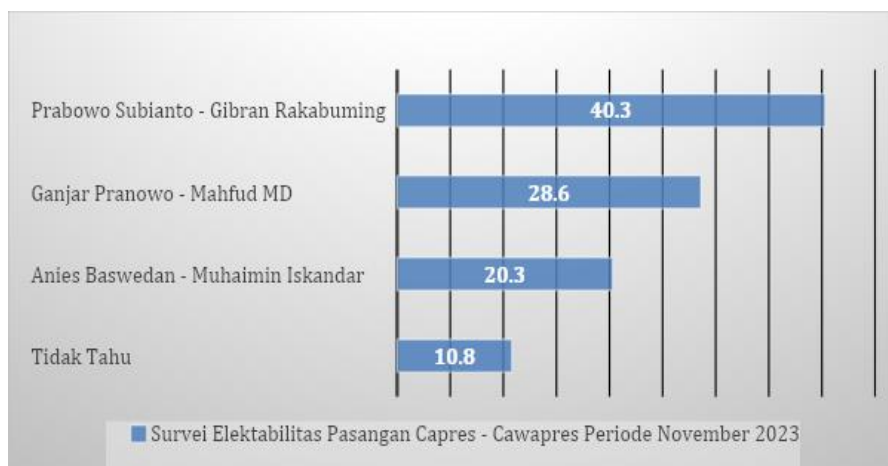


Figure 10. Electability Results for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates for the November 2023 Period  
 Source: Indonesian Survey Institute (2023)

Furthermore, in the November 2023 period, the pair Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar experienced an increase compared to the previous month's period. This pair received an electability of 20.3%. In the October period, Metro TV uploaded YouTube content and reports on Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar which were quite massive, thus influencing the electability and public perception of the AMIN pair. However, this gain is still small and still relatively low compared to other candidate pairs, namely Ganjar Pranowo with Mahfud MD with 28.6% and Prabowo Subianto with Gibran Rakabuming who obtained the highest electability gain, namely 40.3%.

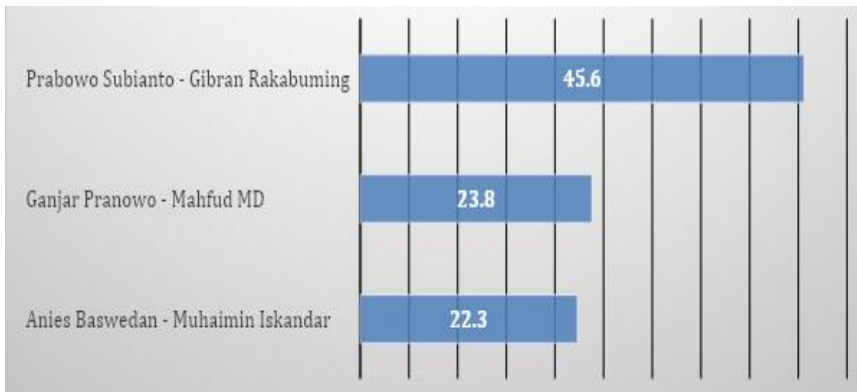


Figure 11. Electability Results for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates for the December 2023 Period  
 Source: Indonesian Survey Institute (2023)

Furthermore, in the December 2023 period, the couple Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar experienced another increase compared to the November period. This pair obtained an electability of 22.3%. Also in the November period, Metro TV uploaded YouTube content and reports on Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar which were quite massive so this also had an impact on the electability and public perception of the AMIN pair. However, this gain is still relatively low compared to other candidate pairs, namely Ganjar Pranowo with Mahfud MD with 23.8% and Prabowo Subianto with Gibran Rakabuming who obtained the highest electability gain, namely 45.6%.

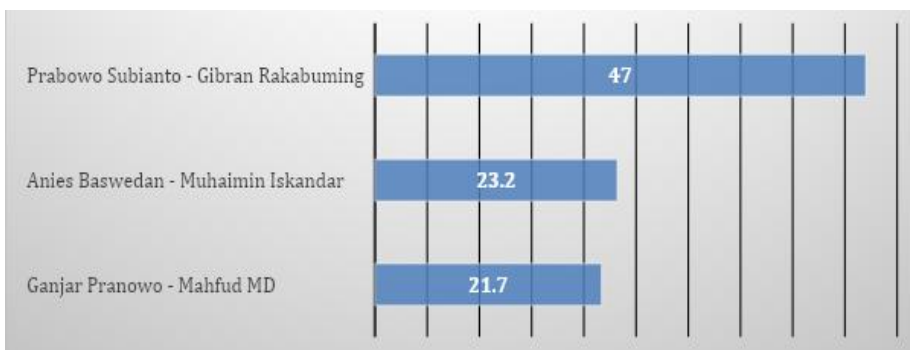


Figure 12. Electability Results for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates for the January 2024 Period  
 Source: Indonesian Survey Institute (2024)



In the January 2024 period, the pair Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar experienced improvement and succeeded in passing Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD. This pair obtained an electability of 23.2%. Also in the December period, Metro TV uploaded YouTube content about Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, whose reporting and content were quite different from other couples. This is due to Metro TV's presentation of several special contents that feature direct interviews and invites from the AMIN couple. This electability gain succeeded in overtaking Ganjar Pranowo with Mahfud MD, who obtained the lowest electability, namely 21.7%. Meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto with Gibran Rakabuming still obtained the highest electability, namely 47%. It can be seen that the electability and mass gains of the pair Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar tend to consistently increase since the pairing of this pair in the September to January period. However, these gains were not massive and did not increase drastically. This increase enabled the AMIN pair to secure the second most votes in the 2024 Presidential Election. The presence of Metro TV media in the 2024 Presidential Election contest has had a significant impact on public perception of the AMIN pair. This is because Metro TV is the only media that covers, creates, and uploads content about the couple, Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar, with different variations of reporting. The focus in the reporting places more emphasis on the personality of each individual. The Indonesian Survey Institute conducted a survey to understand why voters selected their presidential and vice presidential candidates.

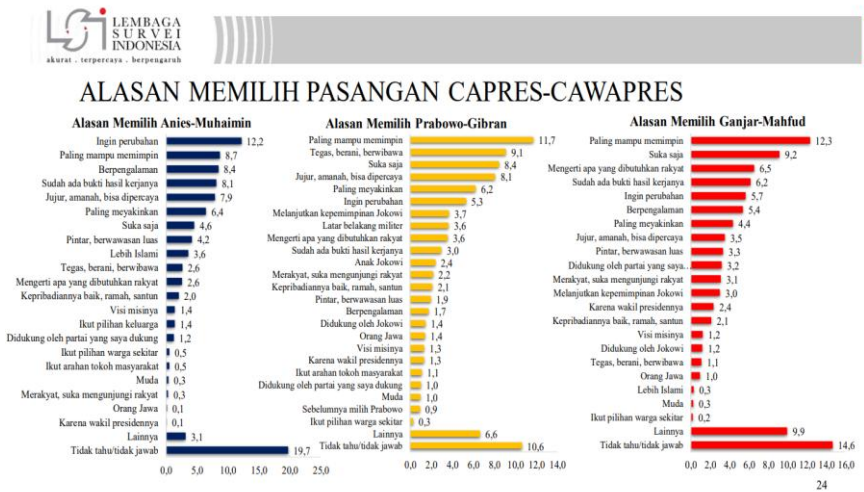


Figure 13. LSI Survey Results Reasons Choose Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates for the December 2023 Period  
 Source: Indonesian Survey Institute (2023)

The highlight reasons voters chose Anies and Muhaimin, they tend to be similar to the results of an analysis conducted by researchers on several Metro TV YouTube videos. Voters look in terms of experience and more in terms of behavior of this pair. Voters see that the pair Anies and Muhaimin are leaders who are honest, firm, authoritative and trustworthy. Viewed from an age perspective, the character and reporting of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar during the campaign period had an impact and influence on the movement of votes from first-time voters and swing voters. This was proven and stated by one of the national institutions in Indonesia, namely the National Survey Media Institute (Median). Based on a survey conducted by Median regarding the mapping of vote acquisition for Presidential Candidates and Vice Presidential Candidates in 2024, it is as follows.

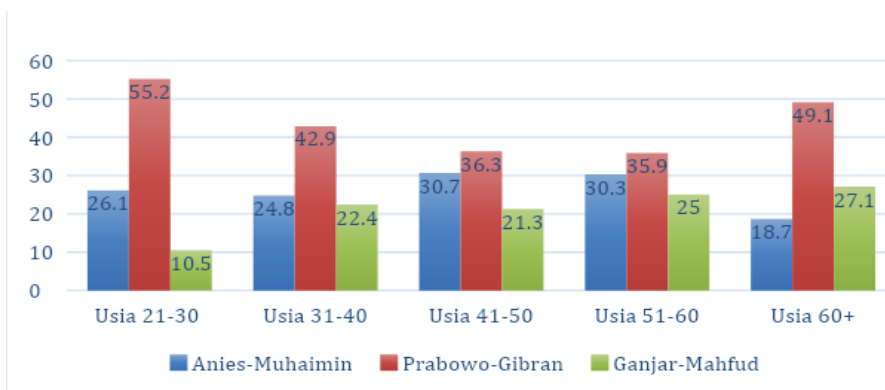


Figure 14. Electability Results for Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates Based on Age  
 Source: Median (2024)

Reviewed the electability results based on age, it can be seen that Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar managed to get the second largest number of votes on average, ahead of the Ganjar-Mahfud pair, where previously Ganjar-Mahfud occupied second place. Furthermore, specifically Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar were able to get the second highest number of votes based on the age classification of 21-50. Judging from the analysis carried out by Median in November 2023, this was influenced by the campaign style of Anies Baswedan with Muhaimin Iskandar and the figure portrayed through the media and the campaign carried out by the winning team of the pair Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar. This is in line with the reporting carried out by Metro TV, where the orientation and segmentation of Metro TV's YouTube content variations target the 21- to 50-year-old age group. This means that Metro TV media also has a significant impact on the electability of the pair Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar based on the results of the framing carried out by Metro TV through several media, one of which is YouTube media with various variations of news content uploaded. The formation of a political image of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as ideal, honest, and firm figures is also the main focus of Metro TV's reporting on them. The political image construction built by Metro TV succeeded in increasing the electability of the presidential and vice presidential candidate pair Anies Baswedan–Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN), which was originally in the lowest position

until the official recapitulation of the results of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections, which was reported by the General Election Commission on March 20. In 2024, he can get the second vote, namely 40,971,906 votes.

## J. Regulatory Framework on Social Media Campaign Under Law Number 7 of 2017

Election campaigns are a crucial aspect of public political education and are conducted with due responsibility.<sup>66</sup> Article 267, paragraph 1 of the Election Law stipulates that election campaigns may be conducted through restricted meetings<sup>67</sup>, in-person meetings, distribution of campaign materials<sup>68</sup>, placement of campaign displays in public areas, social media, advertisements in print, electronic, and online media, public gatherings<sup>69</sup>, debates between candidate pairs regarding their campaign materials, and other activities that comply with election campaign restrictions and legal regulations. Article 280 of the Republic of Indonesia Law Number 7 of 2017 prohibits certain actions during general elections<sup>70</sup>, including challenging *Pancasila's* state ideology, jeopardizing the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, insulting individuals based on religion, ethnicity, race, group affiliation, candidates, or other election participants, inciting discord among individuals or within the community, disrupting public order, threatening violence or promoting the use of violence against individuals, groups, or other election participants, destroying or removing campaign

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<sup>66</sup> Steven Donbavand and Bryony Hoskins, "Citizenship Education for Political Engagement: A Systematic Review of Controlled Trials," *Social Sciences* 10, no. 5 (2021): 151.

<sup>67</sup> Alif Wili Utama, "Election Campaigns in Government Facilities, Places of Worship, and Education Units," *Constitutionale* 5, no. 1 (2024): 25–38.

<sup>68</sup> Taufiq Yuli Purnama and Ramalina Ranaivo Mikea Manitra, "The Proposal for the Implementation of Elections in Indonesia: A Framework Based on the Presidential System," *Wacana Hukum* 29, no. 2 (2023): 181–205.

<sup>69</sup> Nia Prilia Nirwana and Nasrullah Nasrullah, "Legal Provisions Related to Election Campaigns: A Perspective on the Protection of Freedom of Speech," in *Proceeding Legal Symposium*, vol. 2, 2024.

<sup>70</sup> Yusuf Hamzah, "Reconstruction of Article 280 Section 1 Law Number 7 of 2017 Concerning Election," *Dambil Law Journal* 1, no. 2 (2021): 130–51.

materials of the election participants, using government facilities, places of worship, and educational institutions, introducing or employing symbols and attributes not belonging to the respective election participants, and offering or providing money or other resources to election campaign participants.

During the campaign's execution, it is anticipated that participants, candidates, and their support teams will comply with the stipulations outlined in the Election Law, specifically Article 280, to ensure the realization of the General Election Commission's (*KPU*) vision of a harmonious campaign devoid of societal division and fulfilling the objectives of the election. The general election is inextricably linked to the concept of democracy, and Indonesia upholds *Pancasila* democracy and implements a free and direct voting system. However, several difficulties continue to impede the democratic process during elections, such as the prevalence of black campaigns, financial malfeasance, voter abstention, duplicate electoral rolls, inflation of vote counts, and the abuse of government subsidies for campaign financing. Social media plays a significant role in disseminating and generating information about democracy, particularly in electoral campaigns. With the advancement of digital technology, political campaign techniques have seen considerable changes, and the updated campaign strategies mandated for the 2024 election include social media and internet media broadly.

Article 275 of Law No. 7 of 2017 enumerates nine campaign strategies<sup>71,72</sup>, including restricted meetings, in-person meetings, distribution of campaign literature to the public, erection of campaign props in public spaces, social media, advertisements in print, electronic, and digital media, public meetings, and discussion among candidate pairs over campaign materials. The regulation of campaigns via social media, print media, internet platforms, social media, and broadcasting entities is delineated in Articles 287 to 297 of Part Five of Law Number 7 of 2017 about General Elections. This legislation emphasizes the need for

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<sup>71</sup> Lasse Schuldt, "Shaping the Fake News Discourse: Laws, Electoral Arenas and the Emergence of Truth as a Public Interest," in *Fake News and Elections in Southeast Asia* (Routledge, 2022), 16–44.

<sup>72</sup> James Gomez and Robin Ramcharan, *Fake News and Elections in Southeast Asia: Impact on Democracy and Human Rights* (Taylor & Francis, 2022).

electoral participants to convey equitable and balanced campaign messages to the public, ensuring fairness, transparency, and democratic integrity during the designated quiet period.

## Conclusion

Metro TV has a special agenda to win Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar for the 2024 presidential election. This is evident in the media's partiality towards the couple, as evidenced by the amount and type of content uploaded through YouTube. Metro TV portrays the couple as a religious and democratic couple with values of tolerance and a change orientation, which contrasts with other candidates who have sustainability and innovation orientations. The media framing against the couple significantly impacts its reporting, as it highlights their character images from various aspects, including their background, personality, daily life, and behavior with their family and society. The media framing has resulted in the construction of the political image of Anies Baswedan and Muhaimin Iskandar as a solid couple with integrity. Initially, the couple received the lowest electability from the public compared to the other three candidates. However, the Anies-Muhaimin candidate must broaden the electorate by utilizing campaign media that appeals to the lower middle class. Election campaigns in Indonesia are crucial for public political education and must adhere to legal regulations. Article 267 allows restricted meetings, in-person meetings, and distribution of campaign materials. Article 280 prohibits actions such as challenging Pancasila's ideology, disrupting public order, and promoting violence. Social media plays a significant role in disseminating democracy information, and the 2024 election will include updated campaign strategies. Law Number 7 of 2017 emphasizes fairness, transparency, and democratic integrity during the quiet period.

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