



The Nationalist-Religious Political Image in the Construction of the News of Ganjar Pranowo's Appointment as a Presidential Candidate

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ABSTRACT

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This article attempts to read the political image that was highlighted by Ganjar Pranowo when he was appointed as the presidential candidate of the PDI-P by analyzing news framing from two mass media with quite different ideologies, namely *Kompas.com* and *Republika.co.id*. This study uses a descriptive-qualitative approach using the Robert N. Entman framing analysis model. From the research that has been done, it can be interpreted that *Kompas.com* displays aspects that are embedded directly with symbols that are identical to the PDI-P, such as Soekarno's cap and the venue of for the determination event at the Batu Tulis Palace, which was Soekarno's residence. Apart from that, *Kompas.com* also displays sources from internal PDI-P. Meanwhile, *Republika.co.id* displays several emphases linking religious symbols related to Megawati's beliefs and mentioning her attitude as a statesman. In addition, the news displayed by *Republika.co.id* tends to choose sources from political observers as the title choice, compared to direct opinions from actors or parties who understand.

Introduction

The appointment of Ganjar Pranowo as the presidential candidate from the PDI-P, which the party leader approved, Megawati Soekarnoputri, is an interesting phenomenon that deserves study in the political context of Indonesia. This determination coincided with the Idulfitri holiday, which was determined by the government (Nugraheny, 2023b), and the commemoration of Kartini's Day. Ganjar Pranowo's candidacy as a presidential candidate has been detected by the media since 2022. Before the PDI-P decision was officially issued, Ganjar Pranowo and Puan Maharani had carried out political maneuvers and imagery in various places and the mass media.

Ganjar Pranowo, who is predicted to be the best cadre and is currently the Governor of Central Indonesia, must face Puan Maharani, who is currently the Chair of the DPR-RI as well as the biological child of Megawati, the PDI-P leader. Even so, the name Ganjar came out as the elected candidate from the PDI-P.

Research on the political image of these politicians has been carried out by many researchers before. First, a study entitled "Political Communication and the Formation of Party Image" by Khoiruddin Muchtar shows how the party builds its image through the image of the politicians it carries (Muchtar, 2016). This research examines how political parties build their image through various political events or carry out the political aspirations of their voters. This image is built by political parties through individual administrators who have achievements. The individual achievements of party officials have also indirectly contributed to the existence or credibility of a party. The same thing was done by politicians just before the 2014 election (Haryati, 2013).

The second study was presented by Rusmulyadi and Hanny Hafiar when presenting the political image built by Indonesia Widodo's opposition on social media. In the research entitled "Deconstruction of Jokowi's Political Image in Social Media," Indonesia Widodo is shown as a figure without competence, has Indonesia ability as a leader, and is inconsistent with his political promises (Rusmulyadi & Hafiar, 2018). In this study, social media has become a competitive arena between pro and contra Indonesia Widodo.

The third research shows several political actors who use social media as a place to present themselves and gain an image. Research conducted by Yos Horta Meliala and Taufik Nurdiansyah entitled "Indonesia Widodo's Instagram Social

Media Effect on Indonesia Widodo's Electability in the 2019 Presidential Election" shows Indonesia Widodo's success in building image on social media, especially Instagram (Meliala & Nurdiansyah, 2019). Muttaqin, Putri Maulina, and Said Fadhlain conducted a similar study entitled "Prabowo-Sandi's Political Image in the 2019 Presidential Election (Pilpres) on Instagram Social Media Accounts". In this research, Prabowo-Sandi comes up with three approaches to personal branding. They started with appearance, personality, and critical political messages (Maulina dkk., 2020). Similar research was also presented by Rahayu Ramadani and Mifda Hilmiyah when researching social media Twitter to form the image of politicians, which later became the basis of news coverage in the mass media (Ramadani & Hilmiyah, 2019). Social media, especially Instagram, is the best choice because it can reach a relatively younger audience or social media users (Bahar dkk., 2022).

In addition to social media, the primary basis, this fourth study shows how politicians present their self-image in the mass media. Research conducted by Aidil Haris, Asrinda Amalia, and Khusnul Hanafi entitled "Anies Baswedan's Political Image in the Mass Media" presents the image of Anies Baswedan in the mass media. This research shows that the mass media is a channel that is reasonably calculated to shape the personality of a politician. Therefore, in this study, Anies was described positively (Haris dkk., 2022).

From the research described, this research has many significant differences. This study presents the framing of two mass media with different characteristics. *Kompas.com*, a media subsidiary of the Kompas Gramedia company, is a national media that contributes to the formation of the political image of politicians. In the 2019 presidential election, Kompas had ideological alignments in every political report it presented (Zainuddin, 2021).

Meanwhile, *Republika.co.id* is a subsidiary of Republika which is also present in every political news. In the election for the Governor of DKI Indonesia in 2017, Republika showed its alignment with Anies Baswedan, who was called a challenger and had an Islamic ideology. Meanwhile, the defense, which at that time was held by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama alias Ahok, was represented as the leader of blasphemy against Islam (Alam, 2019).

Therefore, this research has a novelty to see how the determination of Ganjar Pranowo as a presidential candidate is represented in two media which have pretty different roots in the history of Indonesian mass media.

Method

This research is media research with practical political issues. This study uses qualitative methods with a mass media construction theory approach or media constructionism theory. Communication researchers widely use this approach to understand how mass media creates framing and interprets it. According to Gamson and Modigliani, the mass media plays an essential role in shaping public opinion, especially in shaping perceptions of risk and security (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

In this study, researchers used the mass media construction theory approach, according to Robert N. Entman. For Entman, framing is “selection and emphasis on some aspects of existing reality so that other aspects become less important in media text communication” (Entman, 1993). In the same article, Entman also stated that mass media framing highlights certain aspects and can influence public perceptions of political issues. As with online mass media such as *Kompas.com* and *Republika.co.id*, they tend to be quite different. Entman also emphasizes the importance of understanding the social and political context in which framing occurs. He said ideology, economic interests, and political power could influence framing and its effect on public perception.

In the same article, Entman also describes several types of framing, including episodic and thematic. Episodic framing highlights specific events and often focuses on individual actions or dramatic incidents. On the other hand, thematic framing emphasizes broader patterns and often considers more systemic issues.

In addition, according to Alex Sobur, a communication expert in Indonesia who has written various books on communication, framing is a process of presenting a message by highlighting one aspect of reality by ignoring or reducing other aspects. Framing can affect a person's perception, judgment, and attitude toward an issue or problem (Sobur, 2009).

Sobur distinguishes four types of framing: attribute framing, value framing, causality framing, and strategy framing. Attribute framing highlights the nature or attributes of an issue or problem. Value framing highlights the values or norms associated with the issue or problem. Causality framing emphasizes the causal relationship between an issue or problem and other things. Strategy framing emphasizes ways or strategies to address an issue or problem. In addition, Sobur also distinguishes between positive framing and harmful framing. Positive framing

highlights the benefits or advantages of an issue or problem. Meanwhile, negative framing emphasizes the risk or loss of an issue or problem.

Robert N. Entman's framing model is known for its four models: Define Problems, Diagnose Causes, Make Moral Judgments and Treatment Recommendations. According to Eriyanto, Define Problems is defined as defining a problem. After the problem is defined, then proceed with Diagnosing Causes or estimating the source of the problem. Then it is continued with Making a Moral Judgment, defined as a moral choice from a decision taken by the subject under study to proceed to Treatment Recommendation, which emphasizes solving the problems faced (Eriyanto, 2002).

Findings and Discussion

Image politics or the political image of a politician is part of an effort to compare that figure as desired (Bahar dkk., 2022). Because of this, the news before and before the PDI-P nominated Ganjar Pranowo is quite relevant to see how far Ganjar Pranowo was prepared and imaged by the PDI-P. On October 19, 2022, Ganjar Pranowo stated that he was personally ready to be declared a presidential candidate (Purnama, 2022), even though his party had not taken a stance at that time.

Meanwhile, on the other hand, Anies Baswedan has been officially nominated by the Nasdem Party to become a presidential candidate since October 3, 2022 (Dirgantara, 2022). This section will present reports made by *Kompas.com* and *Republika.co.id*, which were carried out in real-time based on the appointment of Ganjar Pranowo as the PDI-P presidential candidate.

This study uses 10-12 primary news sources from the two media studied. These primary sources will be investigated to what extent the two media frame the coverage of Ganjar Pranowo as a candidate from the PDI-P.

Ganjar Pranowo in *Kompas.com* Frame

News about the announcement of Ganjar Pranowo's candidacy, which took place at the Batu Tulis Palace, Bogor, on April 21, 2023, at 13.45 WIB, was reported by *Kompas.com* as many as 79 news stories from various angles about Ganjar Pranowo. This news has been carried out since 13.47, which is marked

with information related to the live streaming link *Kompas.com* until 23.59, which continues the next day. From the various news reports, researchers will take the news when Ganjar Pranowo was appointed as the presidential candidate of the PDI-P. Therefore, this then makes researchers filter the news that is quite relevant to this research. Of the many pieces of news presented, there are ten selected pieces.

In the second news, *Kompas.com* immediately presented Define Problems or defining the problem regarding the inauguration of the Ganjar Pranowo candidate. The news that came with the title “Official, Ganjar Pranowo, the PDI-P presidential candidate” eliminated various news about anyone who was previously reported as a presidential candidate from the PDI-P. Not only that, the first news featured Megawati’s entire speech. In that speech, Megawati stated that she chose that day because it coincided with Kartini Day, which Soekarno had designated as a National Hero (Nugraheny, 2023b).

Ganjar Pranowo’s appointment was constructed as the best choice and defeated Puan Maharani, who had previously been predicted to be a presidential candidate. Because of this, the news entitled “Officially Becoming a PDI-P Presidential Candidate, Ganjar: Special Thanks to Ms. Puan” became Diagnose Causes or estimated who were the actors in the selection of presidential candidates. The news shows Ganjar Pranowo’s gratitude for being given political assignments (becoming Governor of Central Java) for up to two terms (Astungkoro, 2023a).

After that, Make Moral Judgments or make moral decisions is presented in several news stories—first, the history of the Batu Tulis Palace, Bogor, which *Kompas.com* showed. In the news, the Batu Tulis Palace was built by Abraham Van Riebeeck, a volcano expert, in 1702, not far from the Batu Tulis Inscription, and during the Soekarno era, it was built to be his residence. During the time of President Abdurrahman Wahid, the management of this palace was returned to Soekarno’s heir, who was none other than Megawati Soekarno Putri. In the news entitled “The History of the Batu Tulis Palace, Where Mega Announced Ganjar as the PDI-P Presidential Candidate,” *Kompas.com* wanted to represent that Megawati often used the Batu Tulis Palace to make various political decisions, including when establishing Ganjar Pranowo as the PDI-P presidential candidate (Dzulfaroh, 2023).

In addition, secondly, the news entitled “The History and Meaning of the Black Cap, Bung Karno’s Characteristic, Now the Child is Dressed on Ganjar Pranowo” represents a political symbol of the PDI-P which attaches the figure of

Bung Karno with his trademark cap to Ganjar Pranowo (Putri, 2023). This political symbol was also strengthened when *Kompas.com* recorded the moment of giving a black cap from Megawati as heir to the Soekarno line to Ganjar Pranowo as the elected presidential candidate (Meiliana, 2023).

Apart from that, third, in the news “Ganjar Pranowo and How Megawati Announces the PDI-P Presidential Candidates,” *Kompas.com* also describes several models for determining the presidential candidates carried out by Megawati. In 2014, Megawati endorsed Jokowi through handwriting which Puan Maharani read at a PDI-P DPP meeting in Lenteng Agung, Jakarta. In addition, in 2019, Megawati again nominated Jokowi as a presidential candidate at the PDI-P National Working Meeting at the Inna Grand Bali Beach Hotel, Sanur, Denpasar, Bali, February 23, 2018 (Bramasta, 2023). The news described various variations Megawati chose with all her authority as a party leader to appoint a presidential candidate she approved. In addition, the determination of Ganjar Pranowo cannot be separated from the religiosity displayed. The news “Said Abdullah: Determination of Ganjar as the PDI Perjuangan Presidential Candidate Has Been Through a Long Spiritual Practice” stated that Ganjar Pranowo’s choice through a long spiritual practice was fulfilled by 30 days of fasting carried out by Megawati (Gewati, 2023).

In the Treatment Recommendation section or the emphasis on completion is presented in several news reports. In the news entitled “Officially Becoming the PDI-P Presidential Candidate, Ganjar: Hard Task, I Will Fight as Best as I Can,” an important point was made that stated Ganjar Pranowo’s ability as a final answer to his candidacy as a presidential candidate from PDI-P (Nugraheny, 2023c). This was reinforced by other news, such as news entitled “Appointed as a Presidential Candidate from the PDI-P, Ganjar Pranowo: Hopefully I Can Be Able” (Purba, 2023) and “Ganjar Please Be Able to Carry out the Duties of the Presidential Candidate from Megawati” (Nugraheny, 2023a).

Ganjar Pranowo in *Republika.co.id* Frame

In contrast to *Kompas.com*, the news on the candidacy of Ganjar Pranowo on *Republika.co.id* was relatively low. *Republika.co.id* reporting was carried out from 12.24 on the determination day, which explained the atmosphere around Batu Tulis, the event’s location, and ended at 23.06, which displayed how rich

Ganjar Pranowo was. Of the 39 news stories that were photographed on the day of Ganjar Pranowo's candidacy as a presidential candidate, researchers need to filter out news that is quite relevant to this research. Of the many studies, 12 pieces of news adequately represent various descriptions of Ganjar Pranowo's candidacy as a presidential candidate.

Republika.co.id's first three stories only describe the atmosphere at the Batu Tulis Palace location and on the Twitter timeline (Suryarandika, 2023a). *Republika.co.id* displays Define Problems or new problem definitions in the news "Choose Ganjar Candidate, Megawati: I Have Contemplated and Ask God's Guidance." In the news, Megawati's choice of Ganjar Pranowo is represented as a choice through spiritual practice by mentioning "God's Guidance" (Astunggoro, 2023d). This was also relieved and showed Megawati's attitude as a statesman, as in the news entitled "Ganjar as a Presidential Candidate, Megawati Shows Legawa and a Statesman's Attitude" (Nasrul, 2023).

In the following news, *Republika.co.id* displays Diagnose Causes or estimates who are the actors in Ganjar Pranowo's decision as a presidential candidate from PDI-P. In the news "Not Becoming a Presidential Candidate, Puan Maharani Was Asked to Win Winning Instead," it appears the actors involved. Apart from Megawati as the party's top leader and Ganjar Pranowo as the proposed presidential candidate, there is also Puan Maharani, who was previously predicted to be the party's choice. In the news, Puan Maharani, who is currently chairman of the DPR RI and chair of the PDI-P DPP in the political field, was asked to form a team to win the presidential and legislative elections in 2024 (Astunggoro, 2023e).

After that, Making Moral Judgments or making a moral decision is present in several news stories with different points of view. First, in the news "The Determination of the PDI-P Presidential Candidate Ganjar Is Believed to Change the Political Map of the 2024 Presidential Election", *Republika.co.id* presents an assessment of the determination of Ganjar Pranowo from experts who state that this determination changes the political map of the 2024 presidential election (Suryana, 2023b). Not long after this news, the following news entitled "Ganjar Candidate for PDI-P, Observer: The Map of the Coalition will Change" also has a similar assessment (Suryana, 2023a). In addition, the determination displays expert opinion regarding Megawati's choice, as shown in the news "Expert Reveals Why Megawati Choose Ganjar Over Puan" (Firmansyah, 2023).

Second, in addition to Making Moral Judgments from experts, *Republika.co.id* also displays statements from the opposition. This can be seen in the news “Regarding the PDI-P Announces Presidential Candidates, Democrats: Makes No Difference,” which contains statements from high-ranking Democrats regarding the determination of Ganjar Pranowo as the PDI-P presidential candidate (Suryana, 2023c).

After several components have been described, the Treatment Recommendation or emphasis on completion becomes the final part to see the point of view of Ganjar Pranowo’s determination at *Republika.co.id*. In this section, *Republika.co.id* displays some news. First, the news entitled “Jokowi: Ganjar Pranowo A Leader Close to the People” displays Jokowi’s statement that mentions Ganjar Pranowo, who is close to the people (Saputri, 2023). Jokowi’s statement was reinforced by further news entitled “Leaving the Batu Tulis Palace, Jokowi and Ganjar Semobil” (Suryarandika, 2023b). The second news indicates that Ganjar Pranowo is a figure who is quite close to Jokowi.

In addition, secondly, *Republika.co.id* presented two articles stating that he was eligible to be nominated as president of the PDI-P. In the news “Ganjar Pranowo: The Task of Becoming a PDI-P Presidential Candidate Is Much Harder,” Ganjar stated that this task was not an easy thing to go through after being a member of the DPR RI for two terms and Governor of Central Java for two terms (Astunggoro, 2023b). This was also reinforced by the news entitled “Ganjar: I was born from PDI-P and grew up in PDI-P,” stating that Ganjar was a cadre born and raised by PDI-P (Astunggoro, 2023c).

Nationalism at *Kompas.com*; Religiosity at *Republika.co.id*

Political imagery carried out by politicians involves two tendencies in every political event. First, emphasizing the quality of the appointed candidate, or second, the tendency of voters for a candidate (Nimmo, 1976). In the case of Ganjar Pranomo’s determination, both things could have happened. Until now, Ganjar Pranomo has become one of the best cadres who were born and grew up within the PDI-P environment. In addition, Ganjar’s electability in the Kompas R&D survey is quite promising, 25.3-37.0 percent from January 25-February 4, 2023 (Farisa, 2023).

Kompas.com and *Republika.co.id* presented the figure of Ganjar Pranowo from an entirely different point of view when Ganjar Pranowo was named the PDI-P presidential candidate. In the Define Problems aspect, *Kompas.com* directly displays various PDI-P officials' statements. In contrast, *Republika.co.id* displays the atmosphere of the location of the determination and the reasons why Ganjar Pranowo was named a presidential candidate. The aspect shown by *Kompas.com* focuses on the nomination day and reflection on Kartini Day. At the same time, *Republika.co.id* displays Megawati's decision as the result of contemplating Allah on Ganjar Pranowo's choice as a presidential candidate. In the first media, it is reflected as a warning of a moment, while in the media, it is the result of spiritual practice. This kind of attitude can be one of the tax strategies for national parties such as the PDI-P to attract Muslim voters. An Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) survey stated that national parties are superior to Muslim parties among Muslim voters (Mansur, 2019). Not only that but national parties are also considered to be more able to move tactically when faced with Muslim voters, such as the Golkar Party in West Sumatra, which can create da'wah or recitation institutions like Islamic parties can do (Hafiz, 2022).

Apart from that, in terms of Diagnosing Causes or estimating who is involved, *Kompas.com* and *Republika.co.id* is not much different. In the two media, Megawati appears as the party's mandate giver to step up as a presidential candidate, while Ganjar Pranowo is the recipient of the mandate. In the news of the two actors, Puan Maharani's name appeared as a party that had to give up herself not to become a presidential candidate from a party that was previously predicted to be one of the PDI-P candidates.

In the Make Moral Judgment section or making moral decisions, *Kompas.com* and *Republika.co.id* take a different point of view. In *Kompas.com*'s reporting, the news presented is a historical setting from the Batu Tulis Palace, which used to be the residence of Soekarno and his family. Apart from that, *Kompas.com* also displayed the procession of installing black caps for Ganjar Pranowo. Besides being used often, black caps are also used to identify themselves with the Soekarno symbol (Manggola & Thadi, 2021). The black cap is also a symbol loaded with Pancasila values (Anggraini & Alfikri, 2022).

Meanwhile, *Republika.co.id*'s news presented two pieces of news related to the views of experts on the choice of PDI-P as a presidential candidate. Not

only that but *Republika.co.id* also displays statements from the Democratic Party, which has so far been in opposition to or in opposition to the PDI-P (Akbar, 2023). The views of these experts also support the partiality of *Republika.co.id*, which is different from the main focus of reporting with *Kompas.com*, which is more inclined to be on the reporting side of Ganjar Pranowo (Fermana & Zetra, 2022).

After the two online media components have been presented, they enter the Treatment Recommendation section or emphasize completion. The news presented by *Kompas.com* displays news of Ganjar Pranowo's readiness for the task of becoming a presidential candidate given to him. The story is reinforced by two additional stories that convey a similar tone—meanwhile, *Republika.co.id* with almost the same tone in reporting that was done. In the initial reports, Ganjar Pranowo was shown as a candidate who is close to Jokowi, both physically and emotionally. This can be seen when Jokowi endorsed Ganjar Pranowo as a “leader who is close to the people.” The second report also reinforced this, which featured Jokowi and Ganjar Pranowo in one car when leaving the Batu Tulis Palace.

In electoral politics, Jokowi's strategy is to maintain a mass base of supporters such as the one that was defended in the regional head elections in Brebes in 2017 (Betsiana, 2017). Apart from that, it is necessary to look at several defense strategies that collapsed in the next general election due to the failure of organization and causing voters to distrust their candidates (Putriwani, 2021) as well as several hidden factors carried out by political opponents (Dewanti dkk., 2022).

In addition, the following two stories strengthen the following two stories. *Republika.co.id* presents Ganjar Pranowo's ability to become a PDI-P presidential candidate in these two reports. In the first news, the task was felt to be heavier than the tasks that the party had ordered, such as being a member of the Indonesian Parliament for two terms and being the Governor of Central Java for two terms. The second news reinforced this statement, which stated that Ganjar was a cadre born and raised in PDI-P. As a former GMNI activist during college, Ganjar has an ideological closeness to the PDI-P. This ideological similarity made him active as a party member, and Megawati trusted him to become a legislature member in 2004. Apart from that, the party's ideological relationship and cadre formation were, at the same time, an effort by political parties to build their image in the public eye (Danuwidjaja & Manan, 2023).

Conclusion

From the 22 news from the online media *Kompas.com* and *Republika.co.id*, it can be concluded that the two online media have quite different tendencies when covering news about the appointment of Ganjar Pranowo as a presidential candidate. Regarding quantity, *Kompas.com* is superior, with 79 straight news stories, while *Republika.co.id* only produces 39 straight news stories. Regarding quantity, *Kompas.com* reported more than the news produced by *Republika.co.id* during the event.

Kompas.com's reporting focused on establishing Ganjar Pranowo as the PDI-P's elected presidential candidate. This determination stopped the previously developed speculation, which also gave rise to Puan Maharani. In addition, *Kompas.com* displays the symbolism of Ganjar Pranowo with Soekarno's distinctive black cap. This was reinforced by the two news reports, which appeared as statements and which presented the moments when Megawati put the black cap on Ganjar Pranowo's head. In addition to the black cap identical to Soekarno, establishing the Batu Tulis Palace strengthens the play on political symbols that PDI-P wants to display in *Kompas.com* news.

Meanwhile, *Republika.co.id* emphasizes aspects of Megawati's belief that she has meditated and asked Allah SWT for guidance. Not only that, in the framing carried out by *Republika.co.id*, this determination is also seen as part of Megawati's stance as a statesman. In addition, *Republika.co.id* displays the opinions of experts from political consultants and academics. In fact, in one of its news stories, *Republika.co.id* presented a statement from a political opponent of the PDI-P responding to the appointment of Ganjar Pranowo as a presidential candidate. This differs from the framing carried out by *Kompas.com*, which uses many sources from the PDI-P directly.

From various reviews of the reporting carried out, *Kompas.com* is more inclined and even accommodates Ganjar Pranowo's and PDI-P's interests as the party that carries him. This is seen from the consistency of the news presented and the relatively large quantity. Meanwhile, *Republika.co.id* displays symbols related to Megawati's belief in saying the word "Allah" in her decision. Apart from that, *Republika.co.id* is also more careful in displaying the opinions of political experts and academics or giving space to PDI-P's political opponents.

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