

The Image of Prabowo Gibran on Television

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze how the framing of news coverage by Kompas TV, iNews, and Metro TV shapes the political image of the Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka pair during the 2024 presidential election campaign, as well as how this framing influences the voting preferences of millennials and Gen Z. Millennials and Gen Z are the dominant voter groups in the 2024 presidential election, with distinct political characteristics and preferences, making them a strategic target in media construction. This study employs a qualitative approach using the framing analysis model by Pan and Kosicki, which includes syntactic structure, script, thematic, and rhetorical elements. The selection of these three media outlets is based on their differing framing in shaping the political image of the Prabowo–Gibran pair. Kompas TV tends to present news in a neutral and informative manner, while Metro TV emphasizes symbolic representation and patriotic narratives. iNews TV is more dominant in presenting an emotional approach and closeness to the public through visualization and repetition of messages. These framing elements can significantly influence public perception of the image and electability of the Prabowo–Gibran presidential and vice-presidential candidate pair. This study is expected to produce an integrative conceptual model from the combination of theories used as a theoretical contribution, where these theories are able to explain the relationship between media framing patterns, political image construction, and electability reduction in the context of modern electoral contests. These findings are expected to emphasize that the mass media not only convey information but also play an active role in shaping political reality in the digital age.

Keywords: media framing, political image, electability, Pan & Kosicki. Integrative Model

Introduction

In recent years, the growing concern for sustainability and environmental responsibility has reshaped business practices across industries. Organizations are increasingly required to integrate environmentally friendly approaches into their operations, management systems, and supply chains. In Indonesia, this shift has been accelerated by both global environmental policies and local regulatory frameworks that promote sustainable development. However, the implementation of green management practices remains inconsistent, particularly among small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) that often face limited resources and knowledge gaps in environmental management.

Green management refers to the strategic alignment of organizational practices with environmental sustainability objectives, including waste reduction, energy efficiency, and resource conservation. Numerous studies have highlighted the importance of green management in enhancing corporate performance, brand reputation, and long-term competitiveness (Chen et al., 2020; Zhang & Liu, 2021). Despite these benefits, many organizations in developing countries have not fully adopted sustainable practices due to barriers such as lack of awareness, insufficient training, and limited government incentives.

Previous research has predominantly focused on large-scale industries in developed economies, leaving a gap in understanding how green management is implemented in developing contexts like Indonesia. Moreover, studies have mainly examined the technical aspects of sustainability—such as waste management and energy conservation—without adequately addressing the behavioral and organizational factors that drive successful implementation. This gap suggests the need for a more

comprehensive framework that links managerial attitudes, environmental knowledge, and organizational support with green performance outcomes.

In the Indonesian context, the government has introduced several initiatives to promote sustainable business practices, including the PROPER (Program Penilaian Peringkat Kinerja Perusahaan) system and national policies aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). However, the effectiveness of these programs largely depends on the internal commitment of organizations and the leadership capacity of managers to foster environmental responsibility. Empirical evidence indicates that while awareness of environmental issues has improved, actual implementation often remains superficial and compliance-based rather than transformational (Siregar & Widodo, 2022).

Given this situation, understanding the determinants of green management behavior among organizational leaders becomes critical. Leadership commitment, environmental knowledge, and organizational culture have been identified as key predictors of sustainable practices (Lee et al., 2019). Yet, little is known about how these factors interact to influence the effectiveness of green initiatives in Indonesian enterprises. Furthermore, the mediating role of employee engagement and organizational learning in strengthening green management outcomes has received limited attention in the existing literature.

This study seeks to fill this research gap by analyzing the factors that influence green management implementation within Indonesian organizations. Specifically, it investigates how managerial awareness, leadership commitment, and organizational culture contribute to environmental performance, and how these relationships are mediated by employee participation and innovation orientation. The findings are expected to provide empirical insights that can guide policymakers and practitioners in designing strategies to promote effective and sustainable environmental management in developing economies.

The novelty of this research lies in its integrated model that combines managerial, organizational, and behavioral dimensions of green management. Unlike previous studies that treated these factors separately, this study proposes a holistic framework that explains how internal organizational dynamics can drive external environmental outcomes. Additionally, by focusing on Indonesian enterprises, it offers context-specific evidence from a developing country perspective, thereby enriching the global discourse on sustainable management practices.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. The next section presents a review of relevant literature on green management and sustainability practices, followed by a discussion of the research framework and hypotheses. The subsequent sections describe the research methodology, empirical results, and discussion. Finally, the paper concludes with implications for theory, practice, and policy.

Literature Review

This study explores how television news framing and candidates' political statements construct the political image of presidential and vice-presidential candidates during the 2024 Indonesian presidential election, and how such framing influences millennials' and zillennials' voting intentions. The theoretical framework integrates media framing theory, political image theory, political interest theory, and generational characteristics.

The framing model adopted is that of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki (1993), which identifies four structural dimensions of framing: syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical. These dimensions explain how media outlets actively construct social reality through selective emphasis on certain aspects of events while downplaying others. Such selective focus guides public perception and emotional responses, thereby shaping political narratives and influencing electoral decisions (Rochmawati et al., 2024; Alfani et al., 2023).

Political image theory, as formulated by Philippe J. Maarek (2021), conceptualizes political image as a socially constructed entity, deliberately and strategically shaped through planned political communication. Media play a central role in reinforcing and disseminating these images, combining rhetorical, visual, and symbolic elements that connect candidates to certain values and ideologies (Honcharenko, 2022; Durántez-Stolle & Martínez-Sanz, 2019). Symbolism through colors, logos, and other visuals strengthens candidates' appeal, framing them as populist, nationalist, or charismatic figures (Balqis et al., 2024).

Norris (2022) defines *electability* as a candidate's perceived likelihood of being chosen by voters, influenced by media exposure, emotional connection, and value alignment with the public (Luebke & Engelmann, 2022). The stronger the emotional bond and shared values between a candidate and the electorate, the higher their electability potential (Franks, 2017).

Political interest shapes democratic participation and voting behavior. Millennials (born 1981–1996) and zillennials (born 1997–2012) represent over 60% of Indonesian voters in the 2024 election, making them key targets in political communication strategies. Millennials are rational and issue-oriented, valuing transparency and data-driven debates (Purnomo & Pudjiarti, 2024). In contrast, zillennials are digital natives, more influenced by visual, symbolic, and emotional narratives (Putra et al., 2024; Andersen et al., 2020). Consequently, television news framing must adapt to each generation's media habits and cognitive-emotional preferences.

Previous studies mainly examined online media framing (Kompas.com, CNN Indonesia, Tempo.co), while few explored digital television. For instance, Munif (2023) and Vanti et al. (2024) focused on online framing of Prabowo's campaign, while Savitri & Sufyanto (2024) analyzed hate speech framing in Metro TV coverage. Other studies, such as Hasanah et al. (2024) and Handayani (2024), analyzed media bias but not generational reception. Internationally, Lambert (2016) and Cooper & Kuypers (2002) examined U.S. presidential campaigns, showing that framing shapes candidate perception and public trust.

This research introduces several novelties. First, it integrates two analytical focuses candidate statements as news triggers and television media framing allowing a holistic understanding of message construction and its reception. Second, it investigates television news (KompasTV, iNews, and Metro TV) within the regional context of West Java, a highly influential voting base often overlooked in prior studies. Third, it applies the Pan & Kosicki model not only textually but also audiovisually, analyzing visual cues, tone, and symbolic representation in news segments. Finally, it emphasizes the dual image of the Prabowo–Gibran pair as a collective political construct, examining how television framing contributes to their perceived electability among young voters. By combining framing analysis, political image construction, and generational political psychology, this study enriches political communication scholarship and offers an updated perspective on how media narratives shape electoral behavior in Indonesia's digital television era.

Methods

This study employs a qualitative research paradigm using framing analysis to examine how Indonesian television media construct the political image and electability of the Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka presidential ticket during the 2024 election campaign. The analysis is based on the framing model proposed by Pan and Kosicki (1993), which examines news discourse through four structural dimensions: syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical. A qualitative descriptive design was adopted to enable in-depth interpretation of media narratives rather than statistical generalization. This approach allows for a comprehensive examination of how linguistic choices, narrative structures, and audiovisual elements are used to shape political meaning and public perception.

The research population consists of televised news coverage aired by three national news channels—Kompas TV, iNews TV, and Metro TV—during the official campaign period from 23 November 2023 to 10 February 2024. Using purposive sampling, the study selected news reports that prominently framed the candidates' image and campaign narratives, focusing on three salient issues: the “sulfuric acid” statement, the “free nutritious meals” program, and the “Gemoy” image phenomenon. These cases were chosen due to their high visibility and diverse framing across media outlets. Data were collected through multiple techniques, including literature review, direct observation of television broadcasts and their digital platforms, documentation of news transcripts and audiovisual materials, and semi-structured interviews with media practitioners. This multi-source strategy was applied to strengthen data triangulation.

Data analysis followed Pan and Kosicki's framing framework by examining syntactic elements (headlines and sources), script structures (narrative flow), thematic emphasis (issue focus), and rhetorical features (visuals, tone, and graphics). The analysis involved identifying and transcribing relevant news content, categorizing tone and frequency, applying framing structures, and interpreting

patterns of media construction. Research rigor was ensured through triangulation across media outlets, peer debriefing, systematic documentation of analytical procedures, and preservation of raw data to maintain credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability.

Results and Discussion

Results

This study examines television media framing of the Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka ticket during the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election campaign by analyzing political news broadcasts from Kompas TV, Metro TV, and iNews TV throughout the official campaign period. Employing Pan and Kosicki's framing model, the analysis systematically investigates syntactic structures (headline selection and lead construction), script structures (event sequencing), thematic structures (issue emphasis and narrative coherence), and rhetorical structures (lexical choices, metaphors, and visual elements) embedded in televised political news.

The findings demonstrate that each television station constructed political reality through distinct framing patterns, reflecting differences in editorial orientation, journalistic priorities, and institutional positioning within Indonesia's media landscape. These variations indicate that television media do not function as neutral conveyors of political information but actively participate in shaping public interpretations of electoral competition.

Kompas TV predominantly adopted an explanatory and issue-based framing approach. News reports were structured to provide contextual background, policy explanations, and balanced viewpoints from multiple political actors. Campaign events were framed as part of an ongoing democratic process rather than isolated spectacles, emphasizing substantive political discourse over personalization. This approach positioned Kompas TV as an informational mediator, prioritizing clarity, policy relevance, and audience understanding. The emphasis on informational depth over sensational appeal suggests an editorial commitment to public education and deliberative democracy.

Metro TV, by contrast, demonstrated a critical-analytical framing orientation. Campaign activities were frequently situated within evaluative narratives that highlighted inconsistencies, political implications, and strategic motivations behind candidate behavior. Through comparative policy framing and critical questioning, Metro TV encouraged audiences to scrutinize campaign symbols, statements, and promises. Political communication was framed as an arena of contestation rather than consensus, reinforcing a watchdog role in democratic politics. This framing strategy positioned voters as critical evaluators rather than passive recipients of campaign messages.

In contrast to both outlets, iNews TV exhibited a predominantly affirmative and image-supportive framing pattern. News narratives consistently emphasized positive attributes of the Prabowo–Gibran ticket, including leadership decisiveness, generational representation, and proximity to ordinary citizens. Visual rhetoric played a central role in reinforcing this framing, with repeated exposure to favorable imagery such as enthusiastic crowds, symbolic gestures, and emotionally resonant moments. This framing contributed to a coherent and consistent construction of political image, foregrounding personal qualities and emotional appeal over policy complexity.

Across the three television stations, three dominant campaign issues emerged as key framing objects. First, the "Sulfuric Acid" controversy involving Gibran revealed divergent framing strategies. Kompas TV and Metro TV highlighted the factual inaccuracy as a moment of political learning, emphasizing accountability, clarification, and communicative responsibility. The issue was framed as part of the candidate's political maturation process. Conversely, iNews TV minimized the controversy by framing it as a minor communication lapse, quickly followed by responsible clarification, thereby mitigating potential reputational damage.

Second, the "Gemoy Dance" phenomenon was framed as a symbolic political strategy aimed at engaging young voters. Kompas TV and iNews TV emphasized its populist and affective appeal, framing it as a form of political closeness and accessibility. Metro TV, however, questioned the implications of such symbolism for political seriousness and leadership legitimacy, framing it as a potential trivialization of political discourse. This divergence illustrates how identical political symbols can be interpreted differently depending on editorial framing.

Third, the Free Nutritious Meal Program was predominantly framed as a pro-people and welfare-

oriented policy initiative. Kompas TV and iNews TV emphasized its social impact and practical relevance, reinforcing a people-centered leadership image. In contrast, Metro TV juxtaposed the program with competing policy proposals from rival candidates, framing it within a broader context of policy competition and fiscal feasibility. This comparative framing highlighted electoral contestation rather than policy consensus.

Collectively, these framing strategies contributed to the construction of a coherent political image in which Prabowo was portrayed as a pragmatic, experienced, and people-oriented leader, while Gibran was framed as a youthful, adaptive, and responsive political actor. The interaction between textual framing, visual rhetoric, and issue emphasis demonstrates that television framing operates not merely as issue presentation but as a strategic process of political image construction that shapes public perception and electoral meaning.

Discussion

The findings of this study reinforce the central role of media framing in shaping political meaning and public interpretation, in line with Pan and Kosicki's framing theory. Television media did not merely report campaign events as objective realities but actively constructed political narratives through selective emphasis, narrative sequencing, and the strategic use of visual symbolism. By foregrounding particular aspects of political events while marginalizing others, media framing functioned as a cognitive organizing device that guided audience interpretation of complex and often ambiguous political information.

This study extends existing framing scholarship by demonstrating that framing operates simultaneously at textual, visual, and symbolic levels within televised political communication. Headlines, narrative structures, and visual cues collectively shaped interpretive frameworks through which audiences understood leadership qualities, policy credibility, and candidate legitimacy. These findings confirm that framing serves as a powerful interpretive shortcut, reducing informational complexity while amplifying specific political meanings.

From the perspective of political communication theory, the results contribute to and extend Norris's electability framework by showing that media exposure alone does not directly translate into electoral outcomes. Instead, electability emerges as a mediated process in which political image and public perception function as intervening variables. Repeated exposure to consistent framing patterns contributed to the stabilization of candidate images, which in turn influenced public evaluations of leadership competence, credibility, and relatability.

Importantly, the findings challenge deterministic assumptions regarding negative media coverage. The sulfuric acid controversy demonstrates that negative framing does not automatically erode political support. When accompanied by corrective framing, transparency, and visible candidate accountability, such incidents may enhance perceptions of responsibility, maturity, and communicative competence. This suggests that the impact of negative framing is conditional, depending on subsequent narrative reconstruction and audience interpretation rather than the presence of criticism alone.

The prominence of symbolic framing, particularly through the "Gemoy Dance" phenomenon, reflects a broader transformation in contemporary political communication. Political messages are increasingly embedded within affective symbols, performative gestures, and entertainment-oriented narratives that blur the boundaries between political discourse and popular culture. This trend underscores a shift from purely rational-issue-based communication toward emotionally resonant and visually engaging strategies designed to capture audience attention.

This finding aligns with recent scholarship emphasizing the growing significance of emotional appeal and visual symbolism in mobilizing millennial and Generation Z voters. Younger audiences, characterized by fragmented media consumption and high exposure to digital content, appear more responsive to political messaging that combines affective engagement with symbolic accessibility. Consequently, symbolic political performance functions not as a trivialization of politics but as a strategic adaptation to evolving media ecologies.

The study also highlights the structural influence of media ownership and institutional context on framing orientation. Although journalists across television stations emphasized professional autonomy and adherence to ethical standards, systematic variations in narrative tone, issue emphasis,

and visual rhetoric suggest that organizational routines and ownership structures subtly shape framing practices. This supports structural media theory, which posits that media bias often operates implicitly through institutional norms and editorial priorities rather than through direct political intervention.

Furthermore, the interaction between television framing and digital public response underscores the hybrid nature of contemporary political communication. Television narratives frequently triggered online discussions, memes, and user-generated reinterpretations that amplified, modified, or even contested dominant frames. This reciprocal dynamic illustrates that television framing retains agenda-setting power while simultaneously being reshaped by digital publics operating across social media platforms.

The findings suggest that political meaning is co-produced through an ongoing interaction between traditional broadcast media and participatory digital environments. As a result, television framing must be understood not as a unidirectional influence but as part of a broader communicative ecosystem in which audiences actively negotiate, reinterpret, and circulate political narratives. This hybrid media logic has significant implications for understanding political persuasion, image construction, and electability in contemporary electoral contexts.

Integrated Conceptual Model: Media Framing, Political Image, and Electability

Building on the empirical findings, this study proposes an Integrated Conceptual Model (ICM) that conceptualizes electability as a dynamic and multidimensional outcome of media framing, political image construction, and public perception. Departing from linear communication models that assume a direct causal relationship between media exposure and voting behavior, the ICM emphasizes mediation, interaction, and contextual contingency among variables.

At the core of the model, media framing operates as the primary input variable that structures political reality. Through syntactic organization, thematic emphasis, and visual rhetoric, television news constructs interpretive narratives that define which political issues are salient, how candidates are evaluated, and which symbolic meanings dominate public discourse. Media framing, therefore, does not merely transmit information but actively shapes the symbolic environment in which political actors are perceived.

These framing practices directly contribute to the construction of political image, which functions as a symbolic representation of candidate identity. Political image encompasses perceived leadership qualities, moral character, policy competence, emotional appeal, and relational proximity to the public. Rather than being an intrinsic attribute of political actors, image is produced and reproduced through repeated media narratives and visual representations. In this sense, political image serves as an intermediary mechanism translating media framing into evaluative judgments.

Political image subsequently influences public perception, which operates as a key mediating variable within the ICM. Public perception reflects how audiences cognitively and affectively interpret political images based on individual experiences, ideological orientations, social identities, and levels of media literacy. This study demonstrates that public perception is not a passive reflection of media narratives but an active interpretive process shaped by audience agency and contextual factors.

Importantly, the model incorporates digital interaction and social media discourse as moderating variables that intensify, reshape, or contest television framing. Online engagement enables audiences to reproduce dominant frames, introduce counter-frames, or transform political symbols into viral content through memes, commentary, and participatory reinterpretation. As a result, political meanings circulate across hybrid media systems in which traditional broadcast narratives and user-generated content mutually influence one another.

Within this framework, electability emerges as an aggregate and cumulative outcome rather than a deterministic effect of media exposure. Electability is shaped through the continuous interaction between media framing, political image stabilization, and evolving public perception within both television and digital environments. This dynamic process explains why similar levels of media exposure can produce divergent electoral outcomes depending on framing consistency, symbolic resonance, and audience engagement.

The ICM offers a significant theoretical contribution by integrating classical framing theory with contemporary perspectives on political image construction and hybrid media systems. While framing theory explains how media structures political meaning, the model extends this framework by

positioning political image and public perception as central mediating mechanisms. This integration bridges traditional mass communication theory with newer scholarship on participatory media and digital politics.

Empirically, the ICM provides a comprehensive explanation of political communication dynamics during the 2024 Indonesian presidential election. It demonstrates how television news framing and digital public participation jointly influenced the construction of leadership narratives, policy credibility, and candidate legitimacy. By situating Indonesia's electoral context within a broader theoretical framework, the model contributes to comparative political communication studies, particularly in emerging democracies characterized by hybrid media ecosystems.

Conclusion

This study concludes that television media played a decisive role in constructing the political image and electoral perception of the Prabowo Subianto–Gibran Rakabuming Raka ticket during the 2024 Indonesian presidential campaign. Through framing strategies analyzed using Pan and Kosicki's model, television news did not merely report campaign events but actively shaped political meaning by organizing narratives, selecting themes, and employing visual rhetoric.

The findings demonstrate that Kompas TV, iNews TV, and Metro TV applied distinct yet systematic framing patterns across syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures. Kompas TV consistently adopted an informative–analytical framing orientation, emphasizing factual accuracy, balanced sourcing, and contextual explanation. This approach constructed a rational and credible political image of Prabowo–Gibran, positioning them as competent leaders open to public evaluation within democratic norms.

In contrast, iNews TV employed an emotional–populist framing strategy that foregrounded symbolic representation and affective engagement. Through repeated visual emphasis on populist campaign activities such as the “Gemoy Dance” and the Free Nutritious Meal Program, iNews TV framed Prabowo–Gibran as approachable, people-oriented, and socially responsive figures. This framing was particularly effective in appealing to younger voters who are more responsive to visual and emotional political communication.

Meanwhile, Metro TV applied a critical–reflective framing orientation by situating campaign coverage within broader ethical, legal, and democratic debates. By highlighting issues such as political dynasty discourse and leadership legitimacy, Metro TV constructed a more contested political image that encouraged audience reflection and critical engagement. Although more skeptical in tone, this framing enriched public discourse by promoting analytical evaluation rather than emotional persuasion.

Taken together, these framing strategies produced a multidimensional construction of political image. Kompas TV reinforced rational credibility, iNews TV strengthened emotional proximity and populist appeal, and Metro TV fostered political reflexivity. Rather than operating in isolation, these framings collectively shaped public understanding of the Prabowo–Gibran ticket and contributed to the broader dynamics of political communication during the campaign period.

The study further reveals that television framing significantly influenced the electoral perceptions of millennial and Generation Z voters. Informative and analytical framing resonated with rational and critical audiences, while symbolic and emotional framing proved effective among visually oriented and affect-driven voters. Critical framing, although less affirmative, enhanced political awareness among educated youth. This indicates that electoral perception among young voters is not homogeneous but shaped by differentiated framing strategies aligned with generational media consumption patterns.

From a theoretical perspective, this research confirms that media framing constructs political image, which in turn mediates public perception and contributes to candidate electability. These relationships are synthesized into an **Integrative Conceptual Model (ICM)**, representing the primary theoretical contribution of this study. The model extends Pan and Kosicki's framing theory by incorporating audience perception and digital interaction, and refines Norris's electability framework by demonstrating that media exposure alone does not automatically translate into electoral support. Instead, electability emerges through the interaction between framing consistency, image construction, and public interpretation within hybrid media environments.

Practically, the findings underscore the responsibility of media institutions to apply balanced and accurate framing, as news narratives significantly influence public opinion and electoral dynamics. For political actors, the results highlight the importance of aligning communication strategies with media framing tendencies to ensure coherence between intended political image and public perception. For political analysts and survey institutions, the ICM offers a comprehensive framework for understanding the non-linear relationship between media framing, political image, and electability.

In conclusion, this study affirms that television media framing remains a powerful instrument in shaping political image and electoral perception in contemporary Indonesian politics. By integrating framing theory, political image, and electability into a unified conceptual framework, this research contributes to the advancement of political communication studies, particularly within the context of emerging democracies characterized by hybrid media systems.

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