



# Framing Prabowo's 'Gemoy' Campaign: National and International Media Perspectives

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**Abstract.** The “Prabowo Gemoy” campaign has become a prominent political communication innovation in Indonesia, particularly in targeting younger voters through humorous, expressive, and highly visual content. This study analyzes how two media outlets, Kumparan (as national media) and BBC News (as international media), frame the campaign using Robert M. Entman’s framing analysis model. A qualitative media text analysis method was employed to examine four key elements of framing: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies. The results indicate that Kumparan frames the campaign as a modern and emotionally resonant strategy to connect with Gen Z and millennial voters, depicting it as a breakthrough in digital political marketing. Conversely, BBC News frames the campaign critically, highlighting the risks of image rebranding and the potential whitewashing of Prabowo's controversial human rights record. These divergent frames reflect the cultural and institutional differences between the media outlets. This study concludes that media not only report political events but actively shape public perception and political discourse through strategic framing, which plays a crucial role in constructing the image of political figures. This study offers novelty by contrasting national and international media framings of a viral political branding phenomenon in Indonesia, an area rarely explored in previous research. The findings contribute to digital political communication studies by showing how humor-based image construction can produce divergent political meanings across media contexts. Furthermore, this research provides a theoretical advancement by operationalizing Entman’s framing into visual-emotional indicators relevant to contemporary social-media-driven campaigns.

**Keywords:** framing, political campaign, prabowo gemoy, kumparan, bbc news.

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## INTRODUCTION

The rapid evolution of digital media has fundamentally reshaped the way political actors communicate with the public. In today's hybrid media environment, the boundaries between traditional and digital platforms have become deeply interconnected, creating a dynamic ecosystem in which political messages circulate across multiple channels simultaneously (Chadwick, 2017). As a result, contemporary political campaigns no longer rely solely on policy substance but must also adapt to the visual, fast-paced, and emotionally driven logic of digital culture. Innovation in political campaigns has become crucial for capturing voters' attention and support. Campaign strategies are no longer solely focused on presenting work programs or mission statements, but also on how candidates can attract the audience's attention through creative and timely approaches. Young voters, especially millennials and Gen Z, are more likely to connect with campaigns that offer visually appealing, humorous content and human interactions (Suhardi, 2025). In this context, the use of new strategies, such as humorous framing and emotional approaches, is vital for building closeness and engagement with the audience.

Political communication in the digital age is heavily shaped by viral dynamics, where humor, emotional resonance, and visual appeal play a central role in driving public engagement (Papathanassopoulos & Giannouli, 2025). Young voters, particularly millennials and Gen Z, are more likely to engage with campaigns offering content that is interesting, humorous, visual, and easy to share. Such content is more effective in capturing their attention compared to traditional methods (Suhardi, 2025). In this context, using new strategies like humorous framing and emotional approaches is extremely important to build connection and engagement with the audience. In Indonesia, the "Prabowo Gemoy" phenomenon illustrates how a political figure rebrands himself using playful, meme-like imagery designed to attract younger voters who are deeply immersed in internet culture. The "Prabowo Gemoy" campaign phenomenon has become one of the most intriguing examples of such innovation. The visuals used in this campaign are not only visually engaging but are designed to create an emotional connection with voters. The "Prabowo Gemoy" campaign employs various visual elements and creative actions to generate a strong appeal to young voters. At several campaign events, Prabowo showcased his dancing skills to energetic music and entertaining styles. This act went viral on social media and was perceived as a method to build an emotional connection with the young audience. One of the most striking elements of this campaign was the animated billboards, which featured cartoonish caricatures of Prabowo with humorous expressions. These visuals were designed to attract the attention of young voters both in public spaces and on social media. This visualization strategy reflects a major shift in how political candidates position themselves. Prabowo, who was previously known for his military persona, used this campaign to try to change public perception into a more positive, friendly, and relatable image to younger generations. This phenomenon has also acted as a "magnet," attracting media attention from various outlets, including mass media.

The mass media itself plays a key role in shaping public opinion and perception regarding political issues, especially in the context of elections. The media's role is not merely to transmit information, but to actively shape public opinion through how the message is presented, a process known as framing. Framing involves selecting, highlighting, and repackaging information in ways that create a particular meaning in the audience's mind (Ademosu et al., 2023). In political communication, framing has become a powerful tool for influencing how the public interprets issues, figures, and agendas (Salahuddin, 2024). This is also affirmed by (Roosinda & Suryandaru, 2020) who argues that media framing in Indonesia is often not neutral and carries certain interests that can steer public opinion. Thus, analyzing media framing is crucial, especially during political moments such as elections, where the media assumes a dual role as both informant and image-shaper for candidates.

Just like national and international media, which often take different approaches in presenting news, the framing process conducted by national and international media can also differ significantly, depending on their audience orientation, cultural context, and geopolitical perspectives (Ibrahim et al., 2025). National media tend to focus more on domestic issues and adopt approaches that align with

local values, while international media often highlight the global, historical, or controversial aspects of an event. These differences influence how media emphasize and report information. One example of this is the coverage of Prabowo's "Gemoy" campaign, where national media such as Kumparan and international media like BBC News have distinct differences and narrative emphases in framing Prabowo Subianto's image through the "Gemoy" campaign. This contrast may ultimately affect the public's view, judgment, and even political preferences regarding the candidate.

Each media's background plays a significant role in this. Kumparan is one of Indonesia's leading national digital media outlets, founded in 2017. With a collaborative journalism concept and maximized use of digital technology, Kumparan positions itself as an adaptive media platform responding to online communication trends, especially those targeting younger generations. Kumparan's reporting style tends to emphasize a light, visual, and personal approach with communicative language and attractive headlines. Its editorial focus is not only on political issues but also on popular content that can be easily accessed and consumed rapidly via digital platforms and social media. This makes Kumparan highly connected with the digital public, especially millennials and Gen Z, who are a large electoral group in political contests (Nugroho, 2023). On the other hand, BBC News is part of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the world's oldest and largest public broadcasting organization, based in the UK. BBC is renowned for its in-depth, analytical, and globally-oriented news. BBC's reports are aimed at an international audience and often frame issues within geopolitical, historical, and human rights contexts. BBC also maintains an editorial mission to uphold neutrality, but in practice, it often presents investigative tones and a critical perspective, especially in covering political figures with controversial or global implications. In the context of political coverage in developing countries like Indonesia, BBC tends to frame domestic issues by linking them to the international image of political figures, as is the case with the coverage of the "Prabowo Gemoy" campaign, which was reported alongside his controversial human rights record. These positional differences, audience orientation, and editorial values make Kumparan and BBC News an interesting comparison for framing research. Analyzing both outlets not only opens insights into how political narratives are constructed locally and globally but also how media can influence the construction of political images across cultures.

Framing analysis is an approach in communication studies used to understand how mass media constructs social reality through the selection, highlighting, and structuring of information elements in news texts. According to (Entman, 1993), framing is the process of selecting specific aspects of reality and making them more prominent in a communication message to build define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and treatment recommendation. To ensure theoretical rigor, these functions are operationalized into specific analytical indicators. Define problems captures how the "Gemoy" persona is articulated textually and visually; diagnose causes examines explanations for its emergence, including strategic mediatization and targeted appeal to youth constituencies; moral judgments identifies value-laden judgments embedded in narrative and lexical choices; and treatment recommendations refers to the normative cues offered to audiences, such as legitimizing entertainment-oriented political communication or insisting on historical accountability. This operationalization integrates framing theory directly into the analytical procedure, enabling a systematic assessment of how each media outlet constructs Prabowo's public image. In the book *Framing Analysis: Construction, Ideology, and Media Politics*, (Eriyanto, 2012a) emphasizes that framing is not merely about delivering information but is a way the media structures meaning, reinforces particular interpretations, and directs how audiences understand an issue. Framing is not just about what is reported, but how an issue is strategically packaged to shape audience perspectives (Hallahan, 2011). This process is strongly influenced by editorial interests, media organizational culture, and the ideological orientations of the media in question. In politics, framing becomes an essential tool for media to build candidate images, guide public opinion, and strengthen certain narratives in electoral competitions (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2019). In Indonesia, media framing often reflects the media's proximity to political actors, as explained by (Haryanto, 2025), who found that

political news construction is influenced by the economic affiliations and structural interests of the media. Therefore, framing analysis is highly relevant for studying how national media like *Kumparan* and international outlets like *BBC News* construct different narratives about the same issue.

In this study, problem addressed to how the framing of Prabowo Subianto's "Gemoy" campaign differs between the national media *Kumparan* and the international media *BBC News*, based on Robert M. Entman's framing analysis model. Based on this problem formulation, the study aims to analyze and understand how the two media, with their distinct characteristics. *Kumparan* as a national media and *BBC News* as an international media, frame the "Prabowo Gemoy" campaign in their reporting and compare the perspectives, narratives, and delivery styles of both outlets. The contribution of this research is to offer a deeper understanding of the differences in narrative construction between national and international media in framing political issues, especially the "Prabowo Gemoy" campaign. Academically, this research enriches studies on political communication and media, and provides insights into the impact of media framing on public figures' images. The findings can be used to develop more effective communication strategies that are sensitive to the media context and increase public awareness of the need for critical consumption of political information in the digital age.

The selection of *Kumparan* and *BBC News* for this study was based on strategic and academic considerations. *Kumparan*, as one of Indonesia's fast-growing national digital media outlets, has distinct characteristics that target young readers, especially millennials and Gen Z. *Kumparan*'s editorial focus, which adapts to social media trends and uses a light language style, makes it a representation of local media that resonates with the digital realities of Indonesian society. *Kumparan* also actively covers political narratives with a more personal and visual approach, making it a relevant media outlet to study how campaign issues are constructed in local contexts and popular culture. Meanwhile, *BBC News* was selected because it is one of the most influential international media outlets in the world, known for its analytical, critical, and independent global news coverage. *BBC* often places issues within a geopolitical and historical framework and provides in-depth context that transcends national boundaries. In the context of political coverage in Indonesia, *BBC* tends to link domestic issues with international political figures' images, as seen in the coverage of the "Prabowo Gemoy" campaign, reported alongside his human rights record. By choosing these two media outlets, the researcher can explore and compare the contrasting framing between national media with a domestic orientation and international media with a global focus, providing a richer and more contextual analysis of political communication dynamics and candidate image construction in the digital age.

Media texts are not neutral constructs but are loaded with values, ideologies, and specific interests. In the context of reporting, texts do not merely function as information channels; they also act as spaces where meanings are constructed, exchanged, and influenced by institutional interests and media audience orientations (Rubing & Sandaran, 2023). According to (Bogdanić, 2022), news texts are not simply factual reports but discursive products reflecting a particular worldview. Here, framing analysis becomes a crucial tool to dissect media texts because framing works through texts: from word choice (diction), narrative structure, the placement of sources' quotes, to the order in which information is presented. Through texts, media subtly but powerfully frame an issue by emphasizing certain aspects while diminishing or obscuring others. Framing in media texts not only explains what is being reported but also how an event is narrated and for whose benefit the narrative is constructed. Therefore, media text analysis within a framing framework allows researchers to understand how media construct meaning, shape public perceptions, and build social-political realities through the language and narratives they select. In other words, the relationship between framing and media texts is inherent: texts are the medium where framing operates, and framing is the ideological mechanism that governs how texts are structured and understood. This approach is highly relevant for analyzing political news, where media discourse plays a significant role in shaping candidate images and influencing public opinion.

In this context, Robert M. Entman (1993) explains that framing is the process of selecting and emphasizing particular elements of reality to shape public perceptions of an issue. The four core elements of Robert M. Entman framing consist of defining problems, diagnosing their causes, making moral evaluations, and proposing treatment recommendations, operate through media texts and become the structure that forms the audience's understanding of an event. Together, these indicators ensure a strong and consistent link between theoretical framing concepts and the empirical data analysis. Therefore, analyzing media texts within the framing framework allows researchers to understand how media construct meaning, shape public perceptions, and build social-political realities through the language and narratives they choose. In other words, the relationship between framing and media texts is inherent: texts are the medium in which framing operates, and framing is the ideological mechanism that structures and shapes how texts are constructed and understood. This approach is very relevant in the context of research into political reporting, where media discourse plays a crucial role in shaping candidate images and influencing public opinion.

Previous studies have cited relevant research to provide theoretical and methodological frameworks for analyzing media framing. The first study by (Reformansyah & Widiarti, 2022) uses Entman's framing model to analyze news about the "IDI Kacung WHO" case, showing how Detik.com focuses on Jerinx's legal violations, while Kompas.com offers space for his defense. This is relevant as it uses the same framing theory and compares local media, which is useful for analyzing Kumparan and BBC News in this study. The second study by (Oktaviant & Sufyanto, 2024) examines how Liputan6.com and Republika.co.id frame Anies Baswedan's Formula-E news, portraying him either as a cooperative figure under political pressure or as a victim of an unjust process, respectively. This study is relevant to analyzing the "Prabowo Gemoy" campaign, as it explores how media framing shapes political figures' public images. The third study by (Prastyanto, 2024) analyzes the framing of Ganjar Pranowo's appearance during the Azan broadcast on Okezone and Tribunnews, focusing on identity politics and contrasting narratives. The fourth study by (Putri & Hariyanto, 2024) compares the framing of student actions regarding the expulsion of Rohingya refugees on Tirto.id and BBC Indonesia, emphasizing the government's unresponsiveness versus the humanitarian side. Finally, (DARMAWAN, 2021) compares the framing of protests in Papua by Tempo.co and Reuters, showing different focuses based on media scale. All these studies are relevant as they illustrate various framing techniques and media comparisons, providing a solid foundation for analyzing Kumparan and BBC News.

The difference or uniqueness of this study compared to previous studies includes: First, the main focus of this research is on political campaigns through the political image built in the "Prabowo Gemoy" campaign, a unique political phenomenon that promotes a relaxed, humorous, and relatable image for the younger generation (millennials and Gen Z). Second, this research compares Kumparan (national media) with BBC News (international media), providing space for deeper analysis of framing differences based on media scale and audience orientation, as well as the international vs. domestic context in framing political issues. Third, in terms of media and approach, this research emphasizes the candidate's political image through visual strategies and social media, which are part of personal branding and modern political campaigns, each media outlet having its own interpretation of this approach. While many studies in Indonesia analyze framing of political issues, most focus on conventional policy debates or conflicts. Few examine how visual humor, personal branding, and viral aesthetics shape political identity construction. Moreover, comparative framing between Indonesian media and global media remains limited. Therefore, this study fills this gap by examining how Kumparan and BBC News construct different meanings of the "Gemoy" campaign through Entman's framing model operationalized into four analytical dimensions. This operationalization allows the study to move beyond theory description toward a systematic identification of how each media defines problems, attributes causes, evaluates morality, and proposes implicit remedies.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a qualitative descriptive design using media text analysis, with Entman's framing model serving as the central analytical framework. A qualitative approach is appropriate because it enables the researcher to capture meanings, discourses, and symbolic constructions that cannot be fully reduced to numerical categories or quantified indicators (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Qualitative research aims to understand the meaning and experiences of individuals or groups in their social contexts, focusing on phenomena that cannot be measured with quantitative methods. Media texts can be understood as any form of communication delivered through mass media, whether in written, image, video, or other forms intended to communicate messages to the audience. Media texts not only serve as a source of information but also as a tool for forming opinions, social construction, and even framing specific issues. (Fiske, 2010) in *Introduction to Communication Studies* added that media texts are objects of communication that function as tools for shaping understanding of the world, and their interpretation greatly depends on social and cultural context. In the context of media text analysis, qualitative research is used to explore how media messages, in the form of writing, images, or video, are produced, received, and interpreted by the audience. This approach allows researchers to examine the meaning contained in media texts, identify communication patterns, and understand how media shapes public perceptions of certain issues. Therefore, qualitative research is highly relevant for analyzing media texts to understand the social dynamics, ideologies, and framing present in the media.

This research operationalizes Entman's four framing functions into a set of clear analytical indicators that directly guide the coding process. First, define problems is identified through headlines, narrative openings, and the labels used to construct Prabowo's public image. Second, diagnose causes is examined through statements that explain why the "Gemoy" style emerged and what factors contribute to its prominence. Third, make moral judgments is assessed by analyzing evaluative adjectives, tonal choices, and the moral positioning embedded within the texts. Finally, treatment recommendations are observed through explicit or implicit solutions, warnings, or normative directions suggested by the coverage. Together, these indicators ensure a strong and consistent link between theoretical framing concepts and the empirical data analysis.

This research uses articles and news published during the election period, which covers several key stages in the election process, from October 19, 2023, the beginning of the presidential and vice-presidential candidacies, through the campaign period, and to the vote counting and recap on March 20, 2024 (KPU, 2023). The data corpus consists of eight purposively selected news items covering Prabowo Subianto's "Gemoy" campaign persona. Four of these are published by *Kumparan* as a national media outlet, while the other four are produced by *BBC News* as an international outlet. The selected articles include: "*Melihat Gaya Kampanye 'Gemoy' Prabowo*" published on November 23, 2023 (Kumparan, 2023a), "*TKD Ungkap Makna Kampanye Gemoy Prabowo-Gibran*" on November 25, 2023 (Kumparan, 2023b), "*Saat Prabowo Berpose Siap Goyang Gemoy di Hadapan Jokowi*" on January 24, 2024 (Kumparan, 2024b), and "*Joget Gemoy Pamungkas Prabowo saat Kampanye Akbar di GBK*" published on February 10, 2024 (Kumparan, 2024a) from *Kumparan*; as well as: "Prabowo Subianto: Indonesia's 'Cuddly Grandpa' with a Bloody Past," published on February 7, 2024 (BBC News, 2024a), "Watch: 'Cuddly Grandpa' Dances Away Dark Past in Indonesian Election," on February 7, 2024 (BBC News, 2024d), "Prabowo Subianto on Track to Win Indonesia Presidential Race - Early Results" (BBC News, 2024c) and "Prabowo Subianto: The Tainted Ex-Military Chief Who Will Be Indonesia's New Leader," (BBC News, 2024b) both published on February 15, 2024, from *BBC News*. These items were selected based on three criteria: (1) direct reference to the "Gemoy" or "cuddly grandpa" persona through textual or visual representation, (2) publication within the core electoral period from November 2023 to February 2024, and (3) continuity of framing cues within each respective outlet.

The unit of analysis includes textual elements such as headlines, leads, key paragraphs, quoted sources, and evaluative descriptions; visual components including photographs, thumbnails, captions, and video overlays; as well as contextual features related to human rights discourse, electoral

performance, youth voter engagement, and stylistic aspects of the campaign. The analytical procedure begins with a comprehensive initial reading of the entire corpus to identify dominant narratives and thematic patterns. Each article is then coded according to Entman's four framing functions—define problems, diagnose causes, moral judgments, and treatment recommendation—with coding sheets documenting both textual and visual indicators, including terms such as “gemoy,” “cuddly grandpa,” “tainted,” or references to past human rights abuses.

Following the coding stage, comparative analysis is conducted at two levels: intra-media consistency within Kumparan and within BBC, and inter-media comparisons between the two outlets across each of Entman's framing functions. To strengthen credibility, the study uses triangulation by cross-checking frames across multiple articles within each outlet and comparing them with theoretical perspectives from framing, hybrid media, and populism literature (Flick, 2022). Reflexive memoing is also applied throughout the analytic process to minimize researcher bias, particularly when interpreting normative cues embedded in the texts. This systematic and explicit procedure enhances transparency and rigor in the application of framing theory within the media analysis.

## RESULT

This study analyzes four articles from the national media Kumparan and four articles from the international media BBC News regarding the "Prabowo Gemoy" campaign. The four articles from Kumparan include the first titled “*Melihat Gaya Kampanye ‘Gemoy’ Prabowo*” published on November 23, 2023 (Kumparan, 2023a), followed by “*TKD Ungkap Makna Kampanye Gemoy Prabowo-Gibran*” on November 25, 2023 (Kumparan, 2023b), “*Saat Prabowo Berpose Siap Goyang Gemoy di Hadapan Jokowi*” on January 24, 2024 (Kumparan, 2024b), and “*Joget Gemoy Pamungkas Prabowo saat Kampanye Akbar di GBK*” published on February 10, 2024 (Kumparan, 2024a). The four articles from BBC News include the first titled “Prabowo Subianto: Indonesia's ‘Cuddly Grandpa’ with a Bloody Past” published on February 7, 2024 (BBC News, 2024a), the video article “Watch: ‘Cuddly Grandpa’ Dances Away Dark Past in Indonesian Election” on February 7, 2024 (BBC News, 2024d), as well as the articles “Prabowo Subianto on Track to Win Indonesia Presidential Race – Early Results” (BBC News, 2024c) and “Prabowo Subianto: The Tainted Ex-Military Chief Who Will Be Indonesia's New Leader,” (BBC News, 2024b) both published on February 15, 2024 (BBC News, 2024c, 2024b). Using Robert M. Entman's framing analysis, the researcher explores how the four key dimensions of framing, defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and recommending treatment, are applied by each media outlet to shape Prabowo Subianto's image.

### A. Framing Analysis of Kumparan Media

#### 1. Article 1: “*Melihat Gaya Kampanye ‘Gemoy’ Prabowo*” (November 23, 2023)

In this article, Kumparan's **define problems**, is defined as the shift in Prabowo Subianto's image from a stern and authoritative figure to a more playful and approachable one. The term "gemoy" is introduced, which is commonly used by millennials and Gen Z to describe someone or something that is cute and endearing. The article emphasizes how this shift is a deliberate strategy by Prabowo's campaign to appeal to younger voters who may relate more to a fun, light-hearted image rather than the serious, commanding persona Prabowo was previously known for. The article states, “*Capres Koalisi Indonesia Maju (KIM) Prabowo Subianto tampak berbeda di Pilpres keempat yang dia ikuti ini. Setelah dikenal sebagai sosok yang sangat tegas, kini Prabowo justru lekat dengan sebutan gemoy.*” This framing highlights how Prabowo's new campaign style has transformed his image to resonate with a broader, younger audience. The article also explains, “*Gemoy merupakan istilah yang kerap dipakai oleh anak milenial dan Gen Z untuk menunjukkan sosok yang menggemaskan.*” The media frames the event to highlight that traditional politics is no longer effective, and the emergence of the “Gemoy” style is a response to public shifts (Eriyanto, 2012b; Puspita et al., 2024).

For **diagnose causes**, Kumparan identifies the reason for Prabowo's new campaign style as a conscious effort to appeal to young voters, particularly Generation Z, who are highly

connected to digital trends and popular culture (Tinambunan et al., 2024). Recognizing that the younger generation, particularly millennials and Gen Z, responds more positively to humor, light-heartedness, and internet culture, the team sought to redefine Prabowo's public persona. By embracing the "gemoy" image, they aimed to make Prabowo seem more relatable to this demographic. The article states, "*Aksi gemoy ini berlanjut ke alat kampanye. Kini, baliho di berbagai lokasi menampilkan Prabowo-Gibran yang gemoy.*" This shows that Prabowo's campaign team adapted their approach by using campaign materials that featured a more playful version of the candidate. The article mentions that this change in style is a deliberate attempt to grab the attention of this demographic. The change in campaign style is directly linked to the need to reach young voters and the influence of social media, which has forced politicians to adapt their styles to match the media logic: visual, fast-paced, and entertaining (Raynauld & Lalancette, 2023).

In **make moral judgments**, Kumparan frames the "Gemoy" campaign style positively, portraying it as a strategy that makes politics feel closer, more fun, and lighter. Statements like "*Selama perjalanan Pilpres 2024, Prabowo seperti bertransformasi menjadi sosok yang jenaka. Hampir di setiap kesempatan berjoget atau sekadar menampilkan gerakan pencak silat.*" indicate that the media is making a normative evaluation of the campaign. Kumparan presents Prabowo as an adaptable figure capable of creating emotional closeness, implicitly giving a positive moral judgment. In modern political campaigns, candidates who are perceived as friendly, funny, or relatable are more likely to gain support because they meet public moral expectations in a democratic context (Turkenburg, 2022).

For **treatment recommendation**, although the article does not provide a direct recommendation, it implicitly encourages the continuation of the "gemoy" strategy in Prabowo's campaign. The positive portrayal of Prabowo's transformed image, along with the use of modern technologies like AI, suggests that this approach has been effective in appealing to a younger, tech-savvy audience. The article implies that politicians need to adjust their campaign approaches to align with digital culture, social media, and visual communication styles. While not explicitly suggesting this, the article's narrative and the visuals selected (Prabowo smiling on stage, dancing among the crowd) imply that a fluid, enjoyable, and visual campaign approach is highly effective in the digital age (Hidayati, 2024).

## 2. Article 2: "*TKD Ungkap Makna Kampanye Gemoy Prabowo-Gibran*" (November 25, 2023)

**Define problems** defined as the need to reframe the 2024 presidential election as a joyful and peaceful democratic process. The term "gemoy," popular among millennials and Gen Z to describe something cute or endearing, is used as part of the rebranding strategy for the Prabowo-Gibran campaign. This approach aims to shift public perception, portraying the election not as a tense or divisive event but as a celebration of democracy. Ahmed Zaki Iskandar, the Chairman of the Prabowo-Gibran Team for Jakarta, explains, "*Ini menggambarkan bahwa mari kita hadapan Pilpres 2024 dengan rasa riang gembira, kebersamaan, tidak dalam tekanan maupun hal-hal sensitif rawan konflik.*" This framing emphasizes the goal of creating a light-hearted and inclusive atmosphere during the election.

**Diagnose causes** in this article, the cause of this campaign strategy is identified as the desire to counteract potential conflict and tension often associated with the election process. By adopting the "gemoy" branding, the campaign seeks to present a more approachable and friendly image, moving away from the usual serious and contentious nature of political campaigns. Zaki Iskandar states, "*Pasangan presiden dan wakil presiden kita menginginkan mulai dari kampanye pilpres sampai hari pencoblosan adalah bagian dari pesta demokrasi rakyat Indonesia.*" This suggests that the campaign team wants to transform the election into a festive and harmonious event, reducing the likelihood of conflict and tension during the process.

In **make moral judgments**, the article positively evaluates the “Gemoy” style, stating that the fun and friendly impression is an added value for a candidate. The use of Disney-style animated billboards and a light-hearted tone are presented as innovative and effective strategies to engage the public. The article mentions, *“Zaki mengeklaim, masyarakat memberikan respons positif terkait branding yang dibawa oleh Prabowo-Gibran. Hal ini dilihat dari respons masyarakat di media sosial. Kata Prabowo Gemoy sempat menjadi trending topik di aplikasi X.”* TKD explains that this approach makes Prabowo appear closer to the public, especially young people who are more responsive to friendly and informal characters. This evaluation is presented either explicitly through words or implicitly through visualizations and symbols (Allen, 2023).

For **treatment recommendation**, the article implicitly recommends that politics should be packaged in a lighter, more enjoyable, and less intimidating style to be more accepted by the younger generation. Recommend a course of action, it suggests that the “gemoy” campaign strategy should continue and be expanded. The positive public response, including trending topics on social media, signals that this approach is effective and could be further developed to maintain voter engagement. The article highlights, *“Trend yang terjadi di socmed yang belakangan ini menjadi trending topik Prabowo gemoy.”* This recommendation is not always explicit but can be inferred from the way the media presents the solution as something effective, enjoyable, and worth emulating (Elahi et al., 2022).

### 3. Article 3: *“Saat Prabowo Berpose Siap Goyang Gemoy di Hadapan Jokowi” (January 24, 2024)*

**Define problems**, the article defines the problem as Prabowo Subianto's attempt to present himself as more approachable and relaxed in front of the public, including President Jokowi. During the ceremony for the transfer of the Hercules aircraft from the Ministry of Defense to the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI), Prabowo was seen posing in a “gemoy” style, which is a term popular among young people to describe something cute or endearing. This moment reflects Prabowo's effort to soften his traditionally stern image and become more relatable to the public, especially the younger generation. As the article mentions, *“Prabowo menunjukkan pose gemoy di hadapan Jokowi dengan melipat tangan di dada dan sedikit mengangguk, gerakan yang memang selama ini dikenal menjadi gaya khas anak muda kekinian.”* The defining of the problem can be seen in how the media positions an event as a social phenomenon that needs attention (Boydston, 2022).

**Diagnose causes**, this image shift is attributed to a campaign strategy aimed at appealing to younger voters. By adopting the “gemoy” style, Prabowo hopes to counterbalance the image of being tough and serious that has long been associated with him. Although this action took place in a formal setting like the aircraft transfer ceremony, it can be seen as an attempt to show a different, more relaxed and friendly side of himself. This move also reflects an adaptation to the social and cultural trends emerging among the youth. The article states, *“Prabowo pun sadar bahwa citra yang selama ini lekat pada dirinya sebagai sosok yang tegas dan serius perlu dilunakkan agar lebih dapat diterima oleh pemilih muda.”* In this context, the media associates Prabowo's actions with a conscious strategy aimed at image-building.

**Make moral judgments**, Kumparan gives a positive moral framing to Prabowo's actions. While the article does not explicitly make a moral judgment, it implies that Prabowo's actions are seen as a positive step in his campaign. By presenting a more light-hearted and humorous side, Prabowo is trying to connect with the public, especially the younger generation, who might prefer a more informal and approachable style. This action can be seen as an effort to create a more personal connection and reduce the distance between politicians and voters. The article mentions, *“Tindakan ini membuat publik merasa lebih dekat dengan Prabowo, apalagi jika melihat gaya santai yang ditunjukkan di hadapan Jokowi.”* This also demonstrates that

campaigns highlighting the personal and human side of a candidate are usually more effective in shaping positive images (De Munter, 2023).

For **Treatment recommendation**, Kumparan implicitly recommends that politics can be packaged casually without losing its formal values. The article does not suggest eliminating political ethics but shows that a relaxed and humorous style can complement formal politics effectively. The moment when Prabowo danced in front of Jokowi is framed not as a political joke but as a smart and engaging visual communication strategy. The article shows a photo of Prabowo raising his right hand while leaning to the left, preparing to dance. Next to him, President Jokowi is smiling, creating a symbolic visual moment that subtly conveys a political message. In this case, the media recommends through visual narrative that flexible and visual political strategies can enhance candidates' closeness with the public, without diminishing the formality of the event (De Munter, 2023).

4. **Article 4: "Joget Gemoy Pamungkas Prabowo saat Kampanye Akbar di GBK" (February 10, 2024)**

**Define Problems**, in this Kumparan article, defines that political campaigns have now shifted into spectacular mass mobilization and entertainment platforms. This is reflected in the statement that the grand campaign event at GBK Stadium is positioned as the peak of political celebration with an entertainment package. As the article states, "*Mau lihat saya joget?" tanya Prabowo kepada massa pendukungnya yang memenuhi SUGBK pada Sabtu (10/2)*". The "Gemoy" dance by Prabowo is seen not only as entertainment but also as a mass communication tool that is visually structured. In this case, the article frames the campaign event as a tool for emotional collective mobilization, portraying that the success of a campaign is not just measured by political messages but also by its ability to create emotional and visual engagement with the public (Wahyuningtyas et al., 2025).

**Diagnose Causes**, in this article, explains that the emergence of this entertainment-based campaign style is described as an expression of joy and Prabowo's closeness to the people. Kumparan writes, "*Kampanye akbar di GBK menutup kegiatan kampanye Prabowo dan Gibran, sebelum hari pencoblosan pada 14 Februari 2024. Hampir di setiap kesempatan Prabowo menyempatkan untuk joget gemoy.*" implying that this style is not just an image but an emotional representation of his engagement with the public. In this context, the article describes Prabowo's initiative to dance and perform expressively as a response to the need to build emotional connections with his supporters. Political campaigns are now directed at building a collective experience that is easily consumed and viral (Robin et al., 2020)

In **make moral judgments**, Kumparan gives a positive moral judgment to this campaign style by depicting Prabowo's actions as openness and humility. The visual of his wide smile amidst the cheers of the crowd, coupled with his simple attire (blue shirt and black cap), reinforces the narrative that Prabowo is a leader who wants to connect with the people without symbolic or bureaucratic barriers. In this case, the media framing emphasizes that Prabowo's actions are positive because they show the human and inclusive side of a political figure. In modern political communication, characteristics such as humility and emotional approachability are key to building a strong personal appeal (De Munter, 2023).

For **Treatment recommendation**, Kumparan implicitly recommends that political campaigns should not only be substantive in terms of policies but also emotionally and visually attractive. The framing in this article leads to the understanding that the public should not only be given speeches or political promises but also experience a sense of togetherness and emotional involvement directly. In this case, Prabowo's dance is seen as an ideal example of modern politics: communicative, visual, and able to quickly and massively build emotional connections (Tambawang et al., 2024).

## B. Framing Analysis of BBC News

### 1. Article 4: “Prabowo Subianto: Indonesia’s ‘Cuddly Grandpa’ with a Bloody Past” (February 7, 2024)

**Define Problems**, in this article, BBC highlights and frames the central issue as the paradox between Prabowo’s new image as a lovable grandpa and his past as a general with human rights abuse allegations. The BBC writes: "There was a time when Prabowo Subianto's name would have spooked most Indonesians. But now young voters appear to be charmed by the defence minister's slick makeover. The fiery ex-special forces commander dogged by allegations of human rights abuses and disappearances has become a cute grandfather made for memes." By emphasizing this paradox, BBC illustrates how Prabowo's public image shift creates a narrative unease between his controversial past and his present persona as a “cuddly grandpa.” This is the framing that invites readers to see the inconsistency in public perceptions of political figures. Here, the problem highlighted by BBC is the attempt to whitewash the past of a political figure with a problematic history. The definition of the problem in media framing is not always explicit but can be inferred from how the media builds the issue background and the diction used to shape perceptions of a political figure or event (Eriyanto, 2012a; Ogundare, 2025).

**Diagnose Causes**, in this article, BBC diagnoses the image change as part of a political rebranding strategy aimed at obscuring the violent past and human rights abuses associated with Prabowo. In its article, BBC states: “Watch cuddly grandpa’ dances away dark past in Indonesian presidential race” Here, BBC links the image transformation to a campaign strategy designed to bypass the previous narrative of human rights violations. This suggests that politicians with military or authoritarian backgrounds tend to use populist media strategies to create a new image (Dressel & Bonoan, 2024).

In **make moral judgments**, BBC offers a sharp and critical moral judgment of Prabowo’s image transformation. In the line, “There was a time when Prabowo Subianto's name would have spooked most Indonesians. But now young voters appear to be charmed by the defence minister's slick makeover. The fiery ex-special forces commander dogged by allegations of human rights abuses and disappearances has become a cute grandfather made for memes” there is a tone of cynicism and skepticism about this transformation, implying that the “cuddly grandpa” image is a disguise for a dark past. Here, BBC highlights that Prabowo's campaign strategy carries the risk of misleading the public and thus contains morally manipulative elements. This falls under the category of social populism in modern politics, where pleasant visual impressions are used to cover up a troubled history or substance (Moffitt, 2022).

For **treatment recommendation**, BBC does not explicitly provide a solution, but implicitly recommends that the public should remain critical and not be deceived by the media image, even if the candidate’s campaign is visually or emotionally appealing. Through the contrast of visuals, comparing a smiling Prabowo during the campaign with archival footage of him in military uniform, BBC implies that the past remains relevant and should not be overlooked when assessing the candidate’s quality. Here, BBC does not offer policy solutions but delivers a normative message: voters need to be aware of the historical complexity and should not get caught up in mere image-making. This indicates that, in an era of media-driven politics, campaign narratives often cut out historical context and focus solely on visual impressions (Septiyani et al., 2024).

### 2. Article 2: "Watch: 'Cuddly Grandpa' Dances Away Dark Past in Indonesian Election" (February 7, 2024)

**Define Problems**, in this short article, which includes a video, BBC News presents the issue of Prabowo’s attempt to rebrand himself as a charismatic figure with mass appeal, using the catchy phrase "Cuddly Grandpa," which is framed as a tactic to win younger voters. The media defines the problem as a stark contrast between his past, filled with allegations of human rights

abuses, and his current attempts at a cute dance moves and visual relatable campaign style. BBC explicitly critiques this rebranding effort, stating, "The country's young voters appear to be charmed by his slick makeover, from an ex-special forces commander who has been dogged by allegations of human rights abuses and disappearances, to a "cute grandfather" made for memes." This framing suggests that the media defines the problem as the dissonance between his controversial history and his newfound campaign persona, questioning the authenticity of the shift (Gbadamosi, 2024).

**Diagnose Causes**, BBC's analysis links this effort to political survival, diagnosing that Prabowo's campaign is using entertainment, humor, and visual appeal to deflect attention from his violent past. The video showcases how a cute dance moves are used as tools to build a "friendly" and "fun" image, while diverting attention from past human rights issues and political violence. Here, the digitally and visually structured political campaign is identified as the main actor in shaping a new narrative, covering up the past with humor and social media sensationalism. Political campaign videos no longer aim to deliver policies but instead offer a visual performance that shapes the image (Farkas & Bene, 2021). The BBC said: "Once dogged by kidnapping and torture allegations, Prabowo Subianto is now tipped to be Indonesia's next president." This diagnosis underscores the deliberate campaign strategy to engage voters through visual storytelling that avoids confronting the darker elements of his political history. BBC attributes this shift in political communication to the growing importance of emotional connection and visual presence in winning over voter.

In **make moral judgments**, BBC frames Prabowo's rebranding with a tone of skepticism. By labeling him "Cuddly Grandpa" and highlighting the stark contrast with his military history, the media questions the sincerity and ethical integrity of his campaign image. The article emphasizes that this shift in appearance is not necessarily a good thing, as it distracts from important issues such as his human rights record. The headline itself, "Dances Away Dark Past," carries a critical moral judgment by insinuating that Prabowo is using entertainment and humor as a superficial tool to distract from more serious matters (Youvan, 2024).

For **treatment recommendation**, BBC does not suggest any explicit solutions but provides an implicit recommendation: voters must critically evaluate the political candidates and not simply be swayed by their media-crafted image. This recommendation is embedded in the article's critical tone, which urges the audience to look beyond the "charming" persona and scrutinize the candidate's track record. BBC suggests that the public should not let superficial political tactics cloud their judgment of the candidate's true character, particularly when his past includes serious allegations (Sopian, 2024).

### 3. Article 3: "Prabowo Subianto on Track to Win Indonesia Presidential Race – Early Results" (February 15, 2024)

**Define Problems**, in this article, BBC defines the problem surrounding Prabowo's candidacy as his ability to appeal to younger voters and reshape his public image while maintaining support among more conservative and older voters. This article positions the early election results within the larger context of Prabowo's campaign strategy. BBC said "It proved very effective, in particular with younger Indonesians who have little knowledge of Mr Prabowo's controversial past." The problem framed here is how Prabowo's rebranding as a relatable figure can influence the election's outcome, especially as the younger generation, traditionally more skeptical of military figures, seems to have become more receptive to his campaign style. BBC uses the data on early results to illustrate the growing support Prabowo has gained, specifically through his appeal to younger voters (Harrison, 2018).

**Diagnose Causes**, BBC diagnoses that Prabowo's success in the election race is largely due to his successful adaptation of the "Gemoy" campaign style. The article suggests that his shift from a militaristic to a more populist, emotionally engaging figure has made him more acceptable to the younger generation who previously may have viewed him with distrust due

to his military past. The coverage points to Prabowo's media strategy as a key factor in his increasing popularity, as his style resonates with voters seeking a more humanized and approachable candidate. The diagnosis here reflects the understanding that media framing and voter engagement through social media and visual campaigns are increasingly influential in shaping electoral outcomes (FATHIR et al., 2022).

In **make moral judgments**, BBC takes a neutral-to-skeptical stance. The article refrains from providing an overtly negative moral judgment but raises questions about the depth and authenticity of Prabowo's new persona. The article states: "For many Indonesians, Mr. Prabowo's almost certain victory sets a new and troubling direction for their young democracy." This sentence reflects a moral judgment, portraying Prabowo's almost certain win as a "troubling new direction," raising concerns about its impact on the future of Indonesia's democracy. The framing suggests that while Prabowo's appeal may be effective in the short term, it remains questionable whether his image can withstand scrutiny from voters who are aware of his controversial history. BBC avoids framing Prabowo as a "good" or "bad" figure, instead focusing on the implications of his media-crafted image on public perception (Mubarok et al., 2025).

For **treatment recommendation**, the article does not provide specific political solutions but implicitly suggests that voters should evaluate candidates based on a combination of their media images and their past records. The article indicates that while Prabowo's media presence is strong, the electorate should balance this with an understanding of his political history and actions. In this case, BBC's framing subtly advises that voters maintain a cautious approach when assessing candidates, considering both the polished public persona and the historical context (Gbadamosi, 2024).

#### 4. Article 4: "Prabowo Subianto: The Tainted Ex-Military Chief Who Will Be Indonesia's New Leader" (February 15, 2024)

**Define Problems**, in this article, BBC frames the problem of Prabowo's candidacy as the potential dangers of electing a leader with a controversial military background, especially in the context of Indonesia's history of human rights abuses. The BBC frames Prabowo's victory as not only an electoral success but also a sign of a regression in the public's collective awareness of human rights issues. In the article, "Prabowo Subianto: The tainted ex-military chief who will be Indonesia's new leader," the BBC directly emphasizes that this victory is more than just an ordinary electoral event; it carries a historical paradox. In this context, the "forgetting of past human rights violations" is positioned as a core issue, symbolizing a collective amnesia of democracy. This demonstrates how the media can define issues not just through explicit data or information, but through contrasts and symbolism, such as juxtaposing victory photos with highlights of human rights violations in infographic form (Adiba, 2025).

**Diagnose Causes**, BBC attributes Prabowo's rise to his ability to strategically manipulate his media image and align it with popular demands for a more accessible, relatable political figure. The article highlights how the shift in political discourse, from military professionalism to emotional appeal has allowed Prabowo to reconnect with voters, especially younger ones. This transformation is portrayed as both a political necessity and a calculated strategy to erase or downplay past controversies. The article diagnoses that Prabowo's public appeal is rooted in this successful adaptation to contemporary media politics, where emotional and visual messaging often take precedence over historical record (Gbadamosi, 2024).

In **make moral judgments**, BBC critiques the morality of Prabowo's campaign strategy. The article uses terms like "tainted past" and BBC makes a sharp moral judgment by stating that Prabowo's victory could set a dangerous precedent for impunity in Indonesia. The sentence, "Mr Prabowo's campaign has denied the allegations, although he was dismissed from the military for his alleged role in the activists' disappearance." positions the idea that a democracy allowing a figure with a history of human rights violations to hold power without accountability

will erode the values of justice and democratic transition. Media framing in the context of elections should present not only the image aspect but also the historical background and ethical consequences of political choices (Hariyanto et al., 2024).

For **treatment recommendation**, in this article, the BBC does not provide an explicit recommendation, but by presenting an infographic timeline that highlights Prabowo's career with red markings on the years of human rights violations, and pairing it with a photo of his victory celebration, the BBC conveys an implicit message: human rights issues must remain consistently raised in democratic life, even after the election is over. In this context, the BBC is recommending that the public, activists, and the media continue to demand accountability for human rights violations, even if the political figure has won electorally. This article shows that substance should always take precedence over spectacle in politics (Benkler et al., 2015)

## DISCUSSION

The comparison results of framing from four Kumparan articles as a national media and four BBC News articles as an international media, based on the four elements of Robert M. Entman's (1993) framing theory: Define Problems, Diagnose Causes, Make Moral Judgments, and Treatment Recommendation, have been elaborated in the following comparative table:

**Table 1**  
**Framing Comparison Results**

Number	Framing Element	Kumparan (4 Articles)	BBC News (4 Articles)
1	<b>Define Problems</b>	“Gemoy” as refreshing, playful, youth-friendly innovation in campaign communication	“Gemoy/cuddly grandpa” as paradox to, and distraction from, a controversial past
2	<b>Diagnose Causes</b>	Strategic adaptation to digital culture and youth voters	Strategic image management exploiting low historical awareness and viral media logics
3	<b>Make Moral Judgments</b>	Positive; humanizes Prabowo and promotes joyful democracy	Critical; risks whitewashing and normalizing impunity
4	<b>Treatment Recommendation</b>	Implicitly endorses entertaining, visual, affective campaign styles	Urges critical evaluation and preservation of human rights discourse

Source: *Processed by researchers, 2025*

**Table 2**  
**Aspects Comparison Results**

Number	Aspect	Kumparan (4 Articles)	BBC News (4 Articles)
1	<b>Narrative Focus</b>	Fun, closeness, youth engagement	Paradox, history, human rights, democratic implications
2	<b>Framing Visualization</b>	Joyful crowds, dance, bright graphics	Split-screen: cheerful present vs military/HR past
3	<b>Language &amp; Diction</b>	“Gemoy”, “riang”, “dekat”, “pesta demokrasi”	“Bloody past”, “tainted”, “impunity”, “dark past”
4	<b>Moral Tone</b>	Positive: Frames the campaign as innovative and engaging for young voters, promoting more inclusive politics.	Critical: Argues that Prabowo’s new image might obscure his dark past, warning about the potential for impunity.

5	<b>Implied Solution</b>	Embrace creative digital campaigning	Re-anchor evaluation in historical record & accountability
6	<b>Target Audiences</b>	Domestic youth & online publics	Global audience, observers of democracy & human rights, young voters

Source: *Processed by researchers, 2025*

The comparative analysis demonstrates that the “Gemoy” campaign functions not as a neutral stylistic choice but as a contested symbolic project shaped by differing media logics. Kumparan tends to normalize and valorize the campaign through a hybrid media lens, emphasizing humorous personalization, visual virality, and emotional proximity as effective strategies for engaging networked youth publics, consistent with account of contemporary media hybridity. This domestically rooted framing positions “Gemoy” as an adaptive and culturally resonant mode of political communication. In contrast, BBC adopts a more critical, watchdog-oriented perspective in which entertaining populist aesthetics are interrogated for their potential to weaken democratic memory, obscure human-rights histories, and facilitate post-authoritarian normalization. These divergent orientations illustrate how Entman’s four framing functions operate differently across media scales: identical visual elements, such as dancing, memes, and cartoons, are interpreted either as democratic intimacy or as symbolic erasure of past violence. Consequently, the problem definitions steer each outlet into distinct moral universes, where Kumparan foregrounds innovation and affective connection while BBC highlights risks of amnesia and diluted accountability. The resulting treatment recommendations reflect competing normative projects, ranging from aestheticized inclusion to principled vigilance. Empirically, the findings show that viral humor and meme-based political branding can simultaneously broaden youth participation and obscure structural issues, depending on whether media narratives anchor the spectacle within its historical and political context (Alafnan, 2025). These results underscore the importance of critical media literacy among young voters and greater reflexivity among journalists when amplifying digitally mediated populist imagery.

Overall, the framing analysis of the “Gemoy” Prabowo Subianto campaign coverage reveals a sharp contrast between local media (Kumparan) and international media (BBC News) in framing the phenomenon. Kumparan consistently frames Prabowo's campaign style as a positive form of innovation in digital political communication, viewed as effectively reaching the younger generation, with a moral narrative emphasizing emotional closeness, flexibility, and the humanization of political figures. As (Mutiarra & Nastain, 2025) points out, political campaigns in the digital era often rely heavily on branding and personalization to connect with younger, more digitally-savvy audiences. In contrast, BBC adopts a critical approach, highlighting the dangers of this image transformation as a rebranding strategy that could potentially obscure a history of human rights violations and create a precedent for impunity, particularly in light of the low historical awareness among young voters. This strategic shift is an example of how rebranding, often framed through social media, aims to alter public perceptions. That such strategies, while seemingly playful and relatable, may also serve to distract from more serious historical issues like Prabowo's involvement in human rights violations. The “gemoy” label, associated with humor and approachability, acts as a political gimmick, attempting to reframe Prabowo’s image as one of light-heartedness and relatability, thus distancing him from past allegations (Puspita et al., 2024).

While Kumparan emphasizes the effectiveness of visual campaigns in building public engagement, as highlighted in Kumparan's article, the platform also focuses on developing content that resonates with younger audiences, particularly Gen Z and Millennials, through the use of social media features like Instagram, which enables them to engage with news and political campaigns in a more personal and direct way (NADHIF, 2024). In the context of Prabowo Subianto's “Gemoy” campaign, this approach is evident in how Kumparan frames Prabowo's campaign style as an innovation in digital

political communication that effectively reaches the younger generation through emotional closeness and humanization. BBC underscores the importance of historical awareness and ethical accountability in democracy. BBC News, known for its critical approach to political campaigns, highlights the importance of historical accountability and ethical responsibility, emphasizing that rebranding efforts, even when framed as positive and relatable, can risk overlooking significant human rights issues and past transgressions (Kanakaner et al., 2020). This difference reflects contrasting value orientations: Kumparan focuses on the success of political communication within the context of local digital culture, while BBC stresses the role of the media as a reminder of collective memory and a guardian of democratic integrity.

## CONCLUSION

This study highlights the stark contrast between how the national media Kumparan and the international media BBC News frame the "Gemoy" Prabowo Subianto campaign. Kumparan portrays the campaign as an innovative form of political communication that effectively engages young voters through visual, humorous, and emotional appeal, emphasizing Prabowo's ability to adapt to digital culture and foster emotional closeness with the public. In contrast, BBC News presents a critical perspective, focusing on the paradox between Prabowo's friendly new persona and his controversial past, particularly regarding human rights violations. BBC raises concerns that the campaign's visual transformation may serve as an attempt to whitewash history, potentially setting a dangerous precedent for political impunity. This difference in framing is influenced by the distinct characteristics and target audiences of the two outlets: Kumparan caters to young Indonesian voters with a light, relatable approach, while BBC takes a more investigative, globally contextual perspective. Ultimately, the findings highlight the significant role of media framing in shaping public perception and constructing political figures' images, demonstrating how media not only report but actively influence political communication in modern campaigns.

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