

REFERENCES

- Adi, I. R. (2023). *Teori-teori dan Metode Pengkajian Amerika* (D. Surani, Ed.; First edition). Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Agustyn, A. (2025, March 5). *The New York Times*. Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-New-York-Times>
- Akbar, Y. M., Windyaningrum, R., Rosadi, R. R., Fiani, I. D., & Fajrini, N. (2024). The 2024 Presidential Election's Political Dynamics: The Changing of Governments and Dynasties. *Ilomata International Journal of Social Science*, 5(2), 460–475. <https://doi.org/10.61194/ijss.v5i2.1158>
- Alieva, I. (2023). How American Media Framed 2016 Presidential Election Using Data Visualization: The Case Study of the New York Times and the Washington Post. *Journalism Practice*, 17(4), 814–840. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1930573>
- Alifianita, A., Ridwan, L. A., Ayu, R. K., & Lian, S. (2020). Black Lives Matter in the United States. *Sociae Polites*, 21(3), 156–170. <https://doi.org/10.33541/sp.v21i3.2416>
- AllSides Team. (2024). *AllSides Media Bias Chart*. Allsides.Com. <https://www.allsides.com/media-bias/media-bias-chart>
- AllSides team. (2024a, January 17). *Lean Left*. AllSides. <https://www.allsides.com/media-bias/left-center>
- AllSides team. (2024b, January 17). *Left*. AllSides. <https://www.allsides.com/media-bias/left>
- Althen, G., & Barnett, J. (2011). *American Ways: A Cultural Guide to the United States*. Nicholas Brealey Publishing.
- Anugerah, B., & Purba, J. (2021). Kondisi Politik dan Keamanan Afghanistan di Bawah Rezim Taliban dan Signifikansinya terhadap Geopolitik Global. *Jurnal Lemhannas RI*, 9(3), 13–34. <https://doi.org/10.55960/jlri.v9i3.399>
- Arifianto, M. L. (2017). Menyoal Konsep Demokrasi Amerika Serikat: Promosi dan Trajektorinya. *Jurnal Keamanan Nasional*, 3(2), 189–231.

- Arowolo, S. O. (2017). Understanding framing theory. *Mass Communication Theory*, 3(6), 1–4. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.25800.52482>
- Arrizal, F., & Wenerdha, I. (2024). The role of TikTok in influencing generation Z's decision in the 2024 election. *Proceeding Jogjakarta Communication Conference*, 2(1), 276–280. <https://jcc-indonesia.id/>
- Aulia, L., & Nababan, H. F. (2024, February 14). Media Asing Soroti Rekam Jejak Prabowo dan Jokowi. *Kompas.Com*. <https://www.kompas.id/baca/internasional/2024/02/14/media-asing-soroti-rekam-jejak-prabowo-dan-jokowi>
- Badu, M. N. (2015). Demokrasi dan Amerika Serikat. *The POLITICS: Jurnal Magister Ilmu Politik Universitas Hasanuddin*, 1(1), 9–22.
- Bodenhamer, D. J., & Ely, Jr. J. W. (2008). *The Bill of Rights in Modern America*. Indiana University Press.
- Carol, B. (2015). *The Fight to Secure America's Liberties*. Simon and Schuster.
- Casey, L. S., Reisner, S. L., Findling, M. G., Blendon, R. J., Benson, J. M., Sayde, J. M., & Miller, C. (2019). Discrimination in the United States: Experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer Americans. *Health Services Research*, 54(S2), 1454–1466. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6773.13229>
- Chaerunnisa, E. R. (2022). *Critical Discourse Analysis on The Media Framing of Mauree Turner* [Universitas Gadjah Mada]. <https://simaster.ugm.ac.id/apps/fib83d0ccd2f3bb5ab8878aef44d75e6d5af6093915/perpustakaan-digital/koleksi-pustaka/db88cbf0-cc3c-493a-a032-67523df613d8>
- Chen, H. (2024, February 19). Once banned from the US, this fiery ex-army general is poised to lead Indonesia. What to expect. *CNN*.
- Chen, H., Watson, A., Jeong, S., & Magramo, K. (2024, February 14). Ex-army strongman leader claims victory in Indonesian presidential election. *CNN*. <https://www.cnn.com/2024/02/14/asia/indonesia-election-prabowo-subianto-intl-hnk>

CNN Staff. (2020, May 31). *Defining Moments from 40 Years CNN*. CNN. <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/05/30/world/gallery/cnn-history/index.html>

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Third Edition). SAGE Publications.

Croteau, D. (1999). Examining the “Liberal Media” Claim: Journalists’ Views on Politics, Economic and Social Policy (Including Health Care), and Media Coverage. *International Journal of Health Services*, 29(3), 627–655. <https://doi.org/10.2190/31TN-1U82-67UD-CXBF>

Croucher, S. M., Nguyen, T., & Rahmani, D. (2020). Prejudice Toward Asian Americans in the Covid-19 Pandemic: The Effects of Social Media Use in the United States. *Frontiers in Communication*, 5(39), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fcomm.2020.00039>

Davis, R. G. (2013). Introduction: Perspectives on Transnational American Cultures. In *The Transnationalism of American Culture: Literature, Film, and Music* (pp. 1–2). London and New York: Routledge.

De Toqueville, A. (2006). *Democracy In America* (Vol. 1). www.gutenberg.org

Duan, R., & Takahashi, B. (2017). The two-way flow of news: A comparative study of American and Chinese newspaper coverage of Beijing’s air pollution. *International Communication Gazette*, 79(1), 83–107. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048516656303>

Durham, F. D. (1998). News Frames as Social Narratives: TWA Flight 800. *Journal of Communication*, 48(4), 100–107.

Edensor, T. (2020). National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life. In *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003086178>

Entman, R. M. (1991). Framing US Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Incidents. *Symposium*, 41(4), 6–27.

- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
- Entman, R. M. (2009). *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. University of Chicago Press.
- Entman, R. M. (2010). Media framing biases and political power: Explaining slant in news of Campaign 2008. *Journalism*, 11(4), 389–408. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884910367587>
- Eriyanto. (2002). *Analisis Framing (Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media)* (N. Huda SA, Ed.; 3rd ed.). LKIS Group.
- Fallahnda, B. (2024, February 16). Media Asing Sorot Negatif Kemenangan Prabowo. *Tirto.Id*. https://tirto.id/media-asing-sorot-negatif-kemenangan-prabowo-gV1m#google_vignette
- Fatmawati, D. E. (2019). Racial Passing Practiced by Mulattoes: A New Historicist Reading of Nella Larsen's Passing and Jessie Fauset's Plum Bun". *Rubikon : Journal of Transnational American Studies*, 4(2), 95–114. <https://doi.org/10.22146/rubikon.v4i2.47881>
- Fatunnisa, H. (2024, January 23). Sorot Potensi Kemenangan Prabowo, Media AS: Bisa jadi Ancaman Demokrasi. *RepublikMerdeka*. <https://rmol.id/politik/read/2024/01/23/606471/sorot-potensi-kemenangan-prabowo-media-as-bisa-jadi-ancaman-demokrasi>
- Featherston, S. (2004). Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 24(1), 201–203. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sais.2004.0002>
- Feit, M. (2016). For the Living: Thomas Paine's Generational Democracy. *Polity*, 48(1), 55–81. <https://doi.org/10.1057/pol.2015.32>
- Fishkin, S. F. (2005). Crossroads of cultures: The transnational turn in American studies - Presidential Address to the American Studies Association, November 12, 2004. *American Quarterly*, 57(1), 17–57. <https://doi.org/10.1353/aq.2005.0004>

- Fitri, H., Ichsan, M., & Yunita, R. (2024). Analisis Semiotika Charles Sanders Pierce pada Konten Tiktok dalam Political Branding Prabowo-Gibran Di Pemilihan Umum 2024. *INNOVATIVE: Journal Of Social Science Research*, 4(5), 4825–4844.
- Franklin, J. C. (2008). Shame on You: The Impact of Human Rights Criticism on Political Repression in Latin America. *International Studies Quarterly*, 52(1), 187–211. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2007.00496.x>
- Fukuyama, F. (2006). Identity, Immigration, and Liberal Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 17(2), 5–20. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2006.0028>
- Goffman, E. (1981). A Reply to Denzin and Keller. *American Sociological Association*, 10(1), 60–68. <https://about.jstor.org/terms>
- Goffman, E., & Berger, B. (1986). *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Northeastern University Press.
- Greenberg, D. (2008). The idea of “the liberal media” and its roots in the civil rights movement. *The Sixties*, 1(2), 167–186. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17541320802457111>
- Groseclose, T., & Milyo, J. (2005). A Measure of Media Bias. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(4), 1191–1237. <https://doi.org/10.1162/003355305775097542>
- Hakim, I. A. (2024, February 23). Media Asing Sorot Prabowo, Sebut AS Rela Lupakan Sejarah Kontroversial Demi Kepentingan Strategis. *Kompas.Tv*. <https://www.kompas.tv/internasional/487506/media-asing-sorot-prabowo-sebut-as-rela-lupakan-sejarah-kontroversial-demi-kepentingan-strategis>
- Hänggeli, R. (2012). Key factors in frame building: How strategic political actors shape news media coverage. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(3), 300–317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211426327>
- Hapsari, N. (2016). *Framing Woman Politician in Democratic Environment: A Study of Megawati Soekarnoputri and Hillary Clinton*. Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Harper, G. W., & Schneider, M. (2003). Oppression and Discrimination among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered People and Communities: A

- Challenge for Community Psychology. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 31(3–4), 243–252. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1023906620085>
- Henkin, L. (1968). The Constitution, Treaties, and International Human Rights. *Law Review*, 116(6), 1012–1032. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3311118>
- Hess, S. (1966). *America's Political Dynasties: From Adams to Clinton*. Doubleday.
- Hidayanto, A. (2023). Peran Media Massa dalam Mengakomodir Kepentingan Publik (Kebijakan PLN). *Sintesa*, 1(1), 18–32. <https://doi.org/10.30996/sintesa.v1i1.8177>
- Ignatieff, M. (2005). *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*. Princeton University Press.
- Jatmika, S. (2000). *AS penghambat demokrasi: membingkar politik ganda Amerika Serikat*. Bigraf.
- Jaya, B. P. C. (2023). Tindakan Amerika Serikat dalam Memerangi Terorisme di Afghanistan dan Hubungannya dengan Prinsip Non Intervensi. *Tirtayasa Journal of International Law*, 2(1), 31. <https://doi.org/10.51825/tjil.v2i1.19438>
- Kammen, D. (1999). Notes on the Transformation of the East Timor Military Command and Its Implications for Indonesia. *JSTOR*, 67, 61–76. <https://about.jstor.org/terms>
- Kaplan, M. A. (2006). Human Rights in US Policy Toward Israel. *International Journal on World Peace*, 23(3), 93–100. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20752745>
- Khaq, I. S., & Wulandari, L. (2024). Framing and sentiment analysis of Gerindra party political communication on Twitter (X) towards the 2024 elections. *Jurnal Wacana Politik*, 8(1), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jwp.v8i1.51967>
- Kimura, E., & Anugrah, I. (2024). Indonesia in 2023: Between Democracy and Dynasty. *Asian Survey*, 64(2), 267–277. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2024.64.2.267>
- kumparanNEWS. (2024, January 24). Media AS Soroti Pencalonan Capres Prabowo, Pengamat Sebut Gemoy Hanya Citra. *KumparanNEWS*. <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/media-as-soroti-pencalonan-capres-prabowo-pengamat-sebut-gemoy-hanya-citra-221o8aDjkXL/full>

- Labaree, B. W. (1970). The Idea of American Independence: The British View, 1774-1776. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 82, 3–20.
- LaForge, G. (2024, February 12). The Sun Is Setting on Indonesia's Democratic Era. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/12/opinion/indonesia-election-democracy.html?smid=url-share>
- Lee, C.-C., Pan, Z., Chan, J. M., & So, C. Y. K. (2001). Through the Eyes of U.S. Media: Banging the Democracy Drum in Hong Kong. *Journal of Communication*, 51(2), 345–365.
- Linström, M., & Marais, W. (2012). Qualitative news frame analysis: A methodology. *Communitas*, 17, 21–38.
- Littlejohn, S., & Foss, K. (2012). Framing Theory. In *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*. SAGE Publications, Inc. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412959384.n151>
- Magramo, K., & Chen, H. (2024, February 13). The world's largest single day election is underway. Young voters will be decisive. *CNN*. <https://edition.cnn.com/2024/02/13/asia/indonesia-general-election-explainer-intl-hnk/index.html>
- Makmun, M. T. Al, Kusciati, K. P., & Kusumastuti, F. (2022a). Indonesian Online Media Construction of American Elected President, Donald Trump. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 38(1), 59–73. <https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2022-3801-04>
- Makmun, M. T. Al, Kusciati, K. P., & Kusumastuti, F. (2022b). Indonesian Online Media Construction of American Elected President, Donald Trump. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 38(1), 59–73. <https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2022-3801-04>
- Maryam, S. M., Saragih, H. M., & Redaksi, D. (2023). Kebijakan Hak Asasi Manusia di Amerika Serikat dan Australia pada Resonansi Gerakan Black Lives Matter. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Administrasi Negara*, 07(02), 200–212.
- Maurer, P., & Arendt, F. (2016). A blessing or a double-edged sword? Politicians' perceptions of newspapers' impact on the functioning of democracy. *Communications*, 41(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2015-0027>

- Mawarni, S. D., Ribawati, E., & Sumantri, T. N. A. (2023). The Importance of the Human Rights Movement in the United States: From Abolition to The Civil Rights Movement (1865-1968). *Interdisciplinary Journal of Advanced Research and Inovation*, 1(1), 21–29. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.58860/ijari.v1i1.10>
- McGarity-Palmer, R., Saw, A., Tsoh, J. Y., & Yellow Horse, A. J. (2024). Trends in Racial Discrimination Experiences for Asian Americans During the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities*, 11(1), 168–183. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40615-022-01508-y>
- McKay, J. (2012). *Conservative Media and Political Socialization: Immigration, Gay Marriage, and Abortion as Presented by Fox News, the Wall Street Journal, and CNN*. Marshall University.
- Media Bias Fact Check team. (2024a, December 2). *New York Times – Bias and Credibility*. Media Bias Fact Check. <https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/new-york-times/>
- Media Bias Fact Check team. (2024b, December 6). *Washington Post – Bias and Credibility*. Media Bias Fact Check. <https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/washington-post/>
- Media Bias Fact Check team. (2025). *CNN – Bias and Credibility*. Media Bias Fact Check. <https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/left/cnn-bias/>
- Melek, G., & Raza, Z. (2023). Three stories of one truth? Visual framing of AP, CNN & FOX news Instagram coverage of the 2020 US presidential candidates. *Visual Studies*, 38(5), 880–893. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1472586X.2023.2209050>
- Mirza, A., & Gul, A. (2022). Role of News Media in Enhancing Voters' Engagement: A Literature Review based Study. *Trends in Contemporary Scientific Research (TCSR)*, 1(1), 15–26. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.6309844>
- Mokhtar, F. (2023, October 25). These Are the Three Contenders Vying to Be Indonesia's Next President. *TIME*. <https://time.com/6328273/indonesia-presidential-election-2024-contenders/>
- Moore, S. (2001). The Indonesian Military's Last Years in East Timor: An Analysis of Its Secret Documents. *Indonesia*, 72, 9–44. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3351480>

- Moyo, L. (2010). The Global Citizen and the International Media. *International Communication Gazette*, 72(2), 191–207.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048509353869>
- Murphy, A. M. (2024). Prospects for U.S.-Indonesian Relations under President Prabowo Subianto. *Asia Policy*, 19(4), 141–152.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/asp.2024.a942840>
- Nabila, & Naedak, F. S. H. (2024). Analysis of the Prabowo-Gibran campaign model in the 2024 presidential and vice presidential elections. *Sociae Polites*, 25(1), 33–47. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.33541/sp.v25i1.5862>
- National Archives. (2022, January 22). *The Emancipation Proclamation*. National Archives and Records Administration.
https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured-documents/emancipation-proclamation?_ga=2.226882971.769046459.1738628202-398832018.1735916876
- National Archives. (2023, April 27). *The Bill of Rights: What Does it Say?*. National Archives. <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/bill-of-rights/what-does-it-say#page-header>
- National Archives. (2024, December 30). *Declaration of independence: A transcription*. U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.
<https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript>
- Niksch, L. (1998). *Indonesia: U.S. Relations With the Indonesian Military*. Congressional Research Service, the Library of Congress.
- Nugroho, A. C. (2024, January 24). Media AS Soroti Prabowo dan Ancaman terhadap Demokrasi di RI, Kenapa? *Bisnis.Com*.
<https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20240124/15/1735143/media-as-soroti-prabowo-dan-ancaman-terhadap-demokrasi-di-ri-kenapa>
- Nuraniyah, N. (Nava). (2024). Indonesia's 2024 Presidential Election: Sectarianism Out, Dynasty In, Democracy Tethered. *Asia Policy*, 19(4), 96–107.
<https://doi.org/10.1353/asp.2024.a942836>

- Oparaugo, B. (2021). Media and politics: Political communication in the digital age. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Explorer*, 1. <http://dois.org/doi/10.2021-85426151/IJMREWebsite:www.ijmre.com>
- Paddock, R. C., & Suhartono, M. (2024, January 6). A President's Son Is in Indonesia's Election Picture. Is It Democracy or Dynasty? *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/06/world/asia/indonesia-presidential-election-dynasty.html>
- Pasha, N. A. (2024). Tracing American Spirit in Indonesia's Independence: A Historical-comparative Study. *Rubikon: Journal of Transnational American Studies*, 11(2), 214–228. <https://doi.org/10.22146/rubikon.v11i2.93800>
- Pease, D. (2009). Re-thinking “American studies after US exceptionalism.” In *American Literary History* (Vol. 21, Issue 1, pp. 19–27). <https://doi.org/10.1093/alh/ajn055>
- Poláčková, D. (2018). *Media, Terrorism, and Political Ideologies: Framing of Right-Wing and Islamic Terrorism by Conservative and Liberal U.S. Media*. Leiden University.
- Ramadani, Mutiara. S., Khaerudin Kurniawan, & Ahmad Fuadin. (2024). Menguak Bias Media dalam Pemberitaan Konflik Israel-Palestina: Sebuah Analisis Konten Kritis. *Jurnal Onoma: Pendidikan, Bahasa, Dan Sastra*, 10(1), 887–905. <https://doi.org/10.30605/onoma.v10i1.3392>
- Ratcliffe, R. (2024, February 5). Indonesia election: everything you need to know. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/feb/05/2024-indonesia-general-election-everything-you-need-to-know>
- Ravita, R. (2024, January 23). Jika Prabowo Terpilih, Demokrasi Indonesia Akan Mati. Artikel. *TvOnenews.Com*. <https://www.tvonenews.com/berita/nasional/182960-media-as-soroti-pencalonan-capres-prabowo-jika-prabowo-terpilih-demokrasi-indonesia-akan-mati>
- Reta, M. C. (2000). US Media Coverage of the 1994 Elections in South Africa. *Gazette*, 62(6), 523–536.

- Richburg, K. B. (2024, March 4). Should we pardon corrupt politicians? It backfired in Southeast Asia. . *The Washington Post*.
- Riebling, J. R., & Von Der Wense, I. (2019). Framing the mass media: Exploring “fake news” as a frame embedded in political discourse. *Journal of Alternative and Community Media*, 4(1), 57–76.
- Rizki, K., Khairunnisa, A. P., & Mahmududdin. (2022). Gerakan Stop Asian Hate: Sebuah Respons Rasmus terhadap Keturunan Asia di Amerika Serikat. *Indonesian Journal of International Relations*, 6(2), 347–367. <https://doi.org/10.32787/ijir.v6i2.404>
- Robinson, G. (2001). People’s War: Militias in East Timor and Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 9(3), 271–318. <https://doi.org/10.5367/000000001101297414>
- Rusadi, U. (2015). *Kajian Media: Isu Ideologis dalam Perspektif, Teori dan Metode*.
- Sahide, A., Misran, M., & Maksum, A. (2024). Indonesian media framing against Trump in the 2020 presidential election. *Multidisciplinary Reviews*, 7(5), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.31893/multirev.2024097>
- Saleem, N. (2007). US Media Framing of Foreign Countries Image. *Canadian Journal of Media Studies*, 2(1), 130–133.
- Saleem, N. (2021). US Media Framing of Foreign Countries Image. *Canadian Journal of Media Studies*, 2(1), 130–162.
- Samsudin, D. (2020). *Understanding the Models of Framing Analyses Approaches in Media Framing Studies*. 385–389. <https://doi.org/10.5220/0009159503850389>
- Samudra, D. R. (2018). Pengaruh Demokrasi Terhadap Perkembangan Terorisme Irak. *Analisis Hubungan Internasional*, 7(2), 283–291.
- Schedler, A. (2006). *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition* (Andreas Schedler). Lynne Rienner Publisher Inc.
- Schenk, S., & Ahmed, M. (2011a). Does Al Jazeera make a difference? The framing of the Iranian election 2009 by Al Jazeera Arabic and CNN International. *Global Media Journal German Edition*, 1(2), 1–23. www.globalmediajournal.de

- Schenk, S., & Ahmed, M. (2011b). Does Al Jazeera make a difference? The framing of the Iranian election 2009 by Al Jazeera Arabic and CNN International. In *Global Media Journal German Edition* (Vol. 1, Issue 2). www.globalmediajournal.de
- Schudson, M. (2010). News in Crisis in the United States: Panic – and Beyond. In *The Changing Business of Journalism and Its Implications for Democracy* (p. 96). University of Oxford, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Shah, D. V., McLeod, D. M., Gotlieb, M. R., & Lee, N.-J. (2009). Framing and agenda setting. In *The Sage Handbook of Media Process and Effects* (pp. 83–98). SAGE Publications.
- Shen, L., Sun, Y., Jürgens, P., Zhou, B., & Bachl, M. (2024). Taking communication science and research methodology seriously. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 18(1), 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19312458.2024.2308369>
- Simpson, B. R. (2009). Denying the ‘First Right’: The United States, Indonesia, and the Ranking of Human Rights by the Carter Administration, 1976–1980. *The International History Review*, 31(4), 798–826. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2009.9641173>
- Sims, G. M., Kia-Keating, M., Sanchez, A., Beylin, N., Evans, M., & Tran, M. (2022). Anti-Asian American Discrimination and COVID-19. *International Perspectives in Psychology*, 11(3), 206–213. <https://doi.org/10.1027/2157-3891/a000048>
- Soehandoko, J. G. (2024, February 15). Media Asing Soroti Prabowo Soal Kemenangan yang Kontroversial. *Bisnis.Com*. <https://kabar24.bisnis.com/read/20240215/15/1741054/media-asing-soroti-prabowo-soal-kemenangan-yang-kontroversial>
- Subekti, G. (2024, November 6). Bagaimanakah Media Barat Memberitakan Prabowo Sebagai Presiden Terpilih Indonesia? *ArahNusa*. <https://arahnusa.id/bagaimanakah-media-barat-memberitakan-prabowo-sebagai-presiden-terpilih-indonesia/>
- Suhartono, M., Wee, S.-L., & Nindita, H. (2024). A ‘Democracy Party’ Like No Other: One of the World’s Biggest Elections. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2024/02/13/world/asia/indonesia-election-democracy-party.html>

Sykes, R. E. (1963). American Studies and the Concept of Culture: A Theory and Method. *American Quarterly*, 15(2), 253–254. <https://about.jstor.org/terms>

Tahir, A. (2008). Upaya Penegakan Hukum terhadap Pelanggaran Berat Hak Asasi Manusia (Studi terhadap Agresi Militer Amerika Serikat Tahun 2003 di Irak). *Asy- Syir'ah: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah Dan Hukum*, 42(2), 430–453. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14421/ajish.v42i2.117>

Tan, R., & Charmila, W. (2024, February 14). Prabowo, accused of rights abuses, claims victory in Indonesia election. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2024/02/13/indonesia-election-jokowi-prabowo-results/>

Tankard Jr., J. W. (2001). The Empirical Approach to the Study of Media Framing. In *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*.

Tanto, T., & Tanusy, J. (2024). The representation of Indonesian presidential candidate in media: A critical discourse analysis. *Lire Journal (Journal of Linguistics and Literature)*, 8. <https://doi.org/10.33019/lire.v6i2.218>

Tarigan, E. (2024, February 14). A defense minister and 2 former governors are vying for Indonesia's presidency. *Associated Press*. <https://apnews.com/article/indonesia-election-candidates-profiles-1a2c6094423687e672314c904314b11d>

Taufik, Nadzri, M. M. N., & Hamil, J. Hj. (2024). From Autocracy to Oligarchy: Elite Adjustment and Authoritarian Legacies in the Jokowi's Administration. *Akademika*, 94(1), 118–130. <https://doi.org/10.17576/akad-2024-9401-10>

Tomsa, D. (2008). *Party Politics and Democratization in Indonesia Party Politics and Democratization in Indonesia: Golkar in the post-Suharto era*. Routledge.

Usher, N. (2020). The NYT in Trump's America: A Failure for Liberals, A Champion for Liberalism. *Political Communication*, 37(4), 573–581. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2020.1777686>

- Van Gorp, B. (2007). The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In. *Journal of Communication*, 56(4), 869–870. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00329.x>
- Vidiani, Y. R. (2024, January 24). Pencapresan Prabowo Diulas Media AS: Soeharto hingga Jejak Masa Lalu. *Riauonline*. <https://www.riauonline.co.id/nasional/read/2024/01/24/pencapresan-prabowo-diulas-media-as-soeharto-hingga-jejak-masa-lalu>
- Wardaya, B. T. (2021). The Long Shadow of the Cold War: The Cold War Policies of the United States towards Asia and their Impact on Indonesia. *International Quarterly for Asian Studies*, 52(3–4), 331–347. <https://doi.org/10.11588/iqas.2021.3-4.13931>
- Washington Post Staff. (2021, January 1). *Washington Post Company History*. Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/discussions/2021/01/01/washington-post-company-history/>
- Watson, A. (2024, February 22). *Leading global English-language news websites in the United States in December 2023, by monthly visits*. Statista. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/381569/leading-news-and-media-sites-usa-by-share-of-visits/>
- Wee, S.-L. (2024, January 21). Why This Presidential Front-Runner Is Stirring Fears of the ‘Death of Democracy’. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/01/21/world/asia/prabowo-human-rights-indonesia-election.html?smid=url-share>
- Wieringa, S. E. (2020). The Impact of Indonesia’s 2019 Presidential Campaign on the Human Rights Movement: Narrow Solidarity versus Affinity. *Open Journal of Political Science*, 10(04), 705–731. <https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2020.104041>
- Williams, C. B. (2017). Introduction: Social media, political marketing and the 2016 U.S. election. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 16(3–4), 207–211. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2017.1345828>



Yang, J. (2023). How Mass Media Influences U.S. Political Polarization— A Comparison Study of CNN and Fox News. *SHS Web of Conferences*, 178(02005), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/202317802005>