

## **Framing Analysis of the *Kompas* Daily on the News Coverage of One Year of the Prabowo-Gibran Administration (Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki Model Analysis)**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*This research analyzes how the *Kompas* Daily frames the Prabowo-Gibran administration in its special edition marking their one year in office. Data was collected from six main news articles in the Politics & Law and Economy & Business sections of this special edition. Using Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's framing theory, the study examines how the news structure is constructed through four analytical devices: syntax, script, thematic, and rhetoric. The research results indicate that *Kompas* frames the Prabowo-Gibran administration in a critical-moderate manner, with the main focus on issues of elite consolidation, policy centralization, the paradox of economic etatism, and weak legal reform. Syntactically, the news highlights academic and bureaucratic official sources; thematically, it focuses on the dominance of central power; rhetorically, it uses specific metaphors and diction to strengthen the editorial position. In its presentation, the research findings show that *Kompas* serves as reflective journalism that seeks to maintain a balance between appreciating political stability and criticizing the symptoms of power centralization.*

**Keywords:** *Media Framing, Pan & Kosicki, Kompas, Prabowo-Gibran, Discourse Analysis*

### **INTRODUCTION**

One year of the administration of President Prabowo Subianto and Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka marks an important momentum for the media to evaluate the direction of national politics and policy. In the context of post-Reformasi democracy, the

media is not merely an information channel but an ideological actor that influences public perception of power.

This momentum is important in the dynamics of post-Reformasi Indonesian politics. The change in leadership from Joko Widodo to Prabowo Subianto brings both public expectation and doubt regarding the direction of policy and the consolidation of power in this new period.

Sociopolitically, various protests by students, activists, and laborers colored the journey of the first year of the administration. Issues such as the revision of laws, economic policies deemed not pro-people, and the alleged narrowing of the civil space became public highlights. Although the national security situation is relatively stable, the existence of these protest movements reflects a tension between the agenda of power consolidation and the community's aspirations for transparency and accountability (BBC, 2025).

The *Kompas Daily*, as an influential national newspaper with a long history of reflective journalism, published a special edition titled 'One Year of the Prabowo-Gibran Administration' on October 20, 2025. This edition featured six main reports covering political, legal, and economic aspects (Kompas, 2025)

The ideological stance of *Kompas* as a mainstream media outlet known for "reflective journalism" profoundly influences its framing of elite consolidation and centralization of power. Historically, *Kompas* has positioned itself as a reform-oriented yet institutionally cautious press, maintaining credibility through balanced critique rather than oppositional rhetoric (Eriyanto, 2022; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996).

This editorial ideology manifests in framing choices that acknowledge elite consolidation as both a stabilizing force and a democratic tension. Consequently, *Kompas*'s ideological stance guides its reflective framing—portraying centralization as a governance paradox between bureaucratic efficiency and participatory democracy.

In this context, mass media such as the *Kompas Daily* plays a central role because it functions as the main link between political reality and public perception. The journalistic

watchdog role is a crucial component of their function in curbing corruption. This role demands journalists to go beyond their normal duties of providing information, education, and entertainment by exposing various irregularities for the public interest. This watchdog role is embedded both in the role of journalists and in public expectations of the media as the fourth pillar in a democratic system (Aja, 2025).

Mass media hold a significant influence over the formation of public opinion. Regarding this influence, Noelle-Neumann explains that the media does not provide a broad and balanced interpretation of events, which results in the public having a limited view of reality (Morissan, 2021).

Most studies will focus on or be directed toward the main themes, opinions, and perspectives emerging in the news framing of the reforms highlighted in this special edition of Tempo Magazine. This framing includes the selection of viewpoints, words, and certain aspects of an event that are highlighted or ignored by the media (Loizides, 2015).

Given the wide variety of interpretations of the construct of news engagement and the number of studies using this conceptual lens, the researcher reviews literature on engagement from various fields to explore its essence. Based on this literature mapping, we argue that news engagement should be understood as a process model rather than a fixed construct, as it involves multiple actors of engagement—namely journalists and audiences—who interact with each other (Shin, 2025).

Evaluating news coverage patterns is crucial for understanding public discourse on pressing social, cultural, and political issues. News content provides a window for evaluating which issues are prominently mentioned and their potential impact on public attitudes, opinions, and behavior. News content influences the audience's perception of what is important, especially when the news highlights important public topics (McCluskey, 2017).

The emphasis of this study is on the news frame, which according to Pan & Kosicki's definition, framing analysis is a method for understanding how the media frames or constructs reality in its coverage. This model highlights that the media not only convey facts

but also emphasize certain aspects to make the message more appealing to the public and to shape the audience's perception of an event (Eriyanto, 2022).

The use of Pan and Kosicki's (1993) framing model offers a more systematic and text-oriented analytical strength compared to Entman's (1993) functional model. While Entman conceptualizes framing as a process of *selection* and *salience*—identifying how media define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies—his model remains largely conceptual and limited in guiding operational analysis at the textual level (Scheufele, 1999; Eriyanto, 2022).

In contrast, Pan and Kosicki provide a comprehensive methodological framework that decomposes the news text into four interrelated structural devices—syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical—which allows for fine-grained examination of how linguistic and narrative structures construct meaning. This multidimensional focus is particularly effective for analyzing *Kompas*'s “reflective journalism,” where meaning emerges not only from issue selection but from narrative organization, diction, and tone. Hence, Pan and Kosicki's approach captures the *discursive construction* of ideology and evaluative stance embedded in journalistic form, offering greater analytical depth than Entman's more abstract functional framework (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996).

This study integrates Pan and Kosicki's framing model with a phenomenological-constructivist paradigm to capture both the structural and interpretive dimensions of *Kompas*'s reflective journalism. The framing model provides a systematic framework for analysing news discourse through four structural dimensions—syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical—clarifying how journalistic texts organize and present reality (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Entman, 1993). However, because framing analysis primarily addresses textual structures, a phenomenological-constructivist orientation is incorporated to explore how journalists experience, interpret, and construct meaning within institutional and sociopolitical contexts (Schutz, 1967; Berger & Luckmann, 1966). This hybrid approach

treats frames not only as linguistic artefacts but also as reflections of journalists' lived sense-making processes and newsroom reflexivity (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

For several decades, we have known that news media can influence the public's understanding of an event in various ways, including by setting the public agenda (agenda setting), encouraging people to think about certain issues when evaluating political leaders (priming), and persuading the public to support specific candidates. In addition, the media can also frame the way people view an issue or event (Fridkin, 2025).

Understanding news media interpretation can be explained as a process where the level of applicability plays a crucial role. The psychological perspective in framing theory explains that for a consideration—such as a value or belief—to be used in processing information and forming attitudes, that consideration must be available in memory, easily accessible, and relevant to the specific judgment context (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2018). Thus, the way individuals interpret and evaluate news content is not only influenced by their pre-existing orientations or values but also by the extent to which they perceive those values as relevant in a particular situation.

Readers with high political literacy or reformist orientations may interpret *Kompas's* critical-moderate tone as an affirmation of journalistic integrity and democratic vigilance. Conversely, audiences aligned with pro-government or populist sentiments might perceive the same framing as elitist or overly cautious. This interpretive divergence reflects what Scheufele (1999) terms the *interaction effect* between media frames and individual predispositions, wherein framing effects depend not solely on message structure but on the accessibility and resonance of interpretive cues within the audience's belief system.

Moreover, variations in media literacy mediate how individuals decode the rhetorical and thematic subtleties in *Kompas's* "reflective journalism." Those with higher critical literacy are more likely to recognize evaluative nuance and ideological balance, while less literate readers may reduce complex frames to binary judgments of support or opposition. Thus, framing effectiveness is relational—arising from the congruence between *Kompas's*

editorial discourse and the cognitive, ideological, and cultural schemas that audiences employ to make sense of political reality (Entman, 1993; Lecheler & de Vreese, 2018).

This research contributes to the study on media evaluation of policymakers, and expands research in the field of political communication that examines the impact of news framing by considering the alignment between audience interpretation and the way the media packages its coverage. The focus of the study is directed at how this alignment is manifested in individuals' reasoning patterns regarding the news they consume. This is despite the fact that various previous studies have affirmed the importance of individuals' pre-existing ideological and cultural beliefs in influencing how they respond to information (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2018).

A number of previous studies have examined how the media, especially Tempo, frames public issues. Research conducted by Esa Fikroh Khoerunnisa highlighted Tempo.co's framing of the Minister of Law and Human Rights, Yasonna Laoly's policy regarding the release of prisoners amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. The results showed that Tempo.co framed the policy critically by highlighting the voices of the public and anti-corruption activists who rejected the policy.

Meanwhile, Dela Sulistiyawan analyzed Tempo Online's coverage of the Kanjuruhan tragedy in 2022. This study found that Tempo built a provocative narrative and placed security forces as the most responsible party, evident from the selection of titles, quotes, and visuals used.

Another study by Dinda Ayu Tri Pamungkas focused on the image of women in Tempo Magazine's 45th Edition of 2022. Her research results indicated that Tempo presented the representation of women as agents of change and fighters for rights, although it still showed how women are often victims of patriarchy in social construction.

Finally, research by Grace Aprilydia Sinaga and Dian Novita Kristiyani discussed Tempo's framing of Gibran Rakabuming's candidacy in the edition 'Ugal-Ugalan Paman Gibran' (Uncle Gibran's Recklessness). This study concluded that Tempo framed the issue

within the framework of nepotism and political dynasty, thereby building a critical narrative against Gibran's political legitimacy ahead of the 2024 Election.

This research offers novelty by utilizing an analytical approach that does not merely examine the discourse structure of the news text—which is common in Pan and Kosicki's framing model studies, covering the syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical levels—but also assesses how the news construction by the Kompas Daily reflects the media's ideological stance in the contemporary post-Reformasi political context.

In contrast to previous research that, for example, highlighted the objectivity and position of media like Tempo Magazine in balancing reform idealism and critical journalism practices, this study offers novelty by focusing on the dynamics of framing the news coverage of the one-year Prabowo–Gibran administration. This approach opens an analytical space to interpret how Kompas, as a mainstream media outlet, constructs the figures and policies of the new administration, whether through a critical, neutral, or adaptive frame toward the new configuration of power.

Thus, this research not only enriches the treasury of political media framing studies in Indonesia but also broadens the understanding of the relationship between editorial ideology, journalists' professional orientation, and the socio-political context in the process of constructing news reality.

Through this study, it is expected to reveal how the text structure and framing strategies used by Kompas represent power relations, media ideology, and a critical position toward the government. This study acknowledges that the reception of Kompas's critical-moderate framing is shaped by audience heterogeneity, particularly differences in political literacy, ideological orientation, and media trust. As Hall (1980) explains in the encoding/decoding model, audiences actively interpret media texts through dominant, negotiated, or oppositional readings based on their ideological and cognitive dispositions. In the Indonesian context, variations in political sophistication and institutional trust influence

how readers assess journalistic neutrality and credibility (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2019; Tapsell, 2017).

Those with higher media trust tend to align with Kompas's reflective and moderate stance, while partisan audiences may reinterpret it through oppositional frames (Tsfati & Cappella, 2003). Recognizing this, the study situates Kompas's framing within a constructivist view of audience meaning-making, emphasizing that interpretations are socially contingent and mediated by broader socio-political identities (Couldry & Hepp, 2017).

Furthermore, this research is also expected to contribute to the development of framing studies in Indonesia, particularly in the context of national media that play a major role in shaping public opinion about the direction of democracy and governance in the Prabowo-Gibran era. This research is expected to provide empirical and theoretical contributions to framing studies in Indonesia, especially in the context of political journalism that seeks to balance the idealism of reform with the pragmatic realities of contemporary power.

## RESEARCH METHOD

In this research, the type of study used is descriptive research with a qualitative approach. According to John Creswell, there are five important types of methods to consider in qualitative research, namely: Biography, Phenomenology, Grounded Theory, Ethnography, and Case Study. This research falls into the category of Phenomenology, a method centered on the experience of individual consciousness. The phenomenological tradition also strongly emphasizes the importance of perception and interpretation of subjective human experience (Morissan, 2021).

Although the data in this study are media texts rather than first-person narratives, the phenomenological approach remains epistemologically relevant to framing analysis because both share an interpretive-constructivist foundation. Phenomenology, as Creswell (2013) explains, does not only concern *lived experiences* in the empirical sense but seeks to uncover how meaning is constructed and perceived through consciousness. In the context of media

studies, news texts can be treated as manifestations of journalists' *intentional acts of meaning-making*—reflecting how reality is experienced, interpreted, and then objectified through discourse (Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Eriyanto, 2022).

The paradigm used by the researcher in this study is the constructivist paradigm. This paradigm views social reality not as a natural reality, but as a reality that emerges from human construction (Eriyanto, 2022). Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki's Framing Analysis is included in the concept of constructivism, which means that knowledge is not merely discovered, but constructed by individuals through active interaction with the social and cultural environment. In the context of media and communication, constructivism holds the view that social reality is not objective, but rather constructed through media discourse and representation.

As Shoemaker and Reese (1996) argue, media content embodies layered meanings that originate from the journalist's worldview, institutional routines, and cultural frames; a phenomenological stance is therefore useful for tracing how those subjective experiences are sedimented into textual structures. In this sense, phenomenology complements framing analysis by situating textual patterns within the horizon of meaning intended by communicative actors. Consequently, no methodological mismatch arises, since the goal of phenomenological framing is not to capture individual consciousness *per se* but to interpret *how meaning is constituted in mediated representations of experience*. This aligns with the constructivist paradigm underpinning both phenomenology and framing theory (Eriyanto, 2022; Pan & Kosicki, 1993).

In the constructivist approach, framing is an important process where the mass media selects, emphasizes, and arranges elements of information to shape the way the audience understands an issue. This means that media reality is a result of construction that can influence how individuals interpret the social world.

Pan and Kosicki's (1993) framing model is inherently constructivist, assuming that media texts are products of subjective interpretation shaped by socio-political

consciousness. Thus, employing a phenomenological lens allows the researcher to engage with the *subjectivity of the media actor*—how *Kompas*'s journalists experience, conceptualize, and re-present political reality—rather than merely describing textual form.

The unit of analysis in this research is the six news articles published by the *Kompas* Daily in the special edition of the one-year Prabowo-Gibran administration. The unit of analysis is a process stage where the collected data will be processed into useful information that can support the legitimacy of the research results themselves (Elviera, 2021).

This study deliberately focuses on *Kompas*'s print edition to preserve analytical depth and methodological coherence. While acknowledging the growing hybridization of media discourse across digital and social platforms (Chadwick, 2017), the print version remains the institutional core of *Kompas*'s editorial identity and the most stable site for examining reflective journalism. The print texts embody the newspaper's professional norms, editorial deliberation, and linguistic framing before algorithmic or participatory reshaping in online formats (Carlson, 2015). Concentrating on this corpus allows a precise application of Pan and Kosicki's (1993) framing model, emphasizing how structural dimensions—syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical—reflect *Kompas*'s institutional reflexivity and critical-moderate stance. Although this focus limits cross-platform generalization, it deepens interpretive understanding of how legacy print journalism in Indonesia continues to anchor normative standards of credibility and reflective practice (Lim, 2012; Steele, 2018).

We acknowledge that expanding the dataset to include digital or cross-media sources—such as *Tempo*, *CNN Indonesia*, or public commentary on social platforms—could generate alternative interpretations of media framing shaped by variations in editorial ideology, institutional routines, and audience engagement. As Shoemaker and Reese (1996) note, media content is a multilayered product influenced by individual, organizational, and ideological factors; therefore, comparative analyses across outlets could expose how differing newsroom cultures and ownership structures produce distinct frames of political legitimacy and accountability.

However, the present study deliberately confines its analysis to *Kompas*'s print discourse to preserve analytical coherence and interpretive depth. As McCluskey (2017) observes, focused corpus analysis allows researchers to uncover the deep structural patterns and ideological consistencies embedded in a single media institution. This approach aligns with the phenomenological-constructivist paradigm underpinning Pan and Kosicki's (1993) framing theory, which privileges close textual reading and meaning construction within specific socio-cultural contexts. Future studies may extend this research through cross-media or comparative framing analyses, enabling broader insights into the ideological diversity and discursive contestation characterizing Indonesian political journalism in the post-Reformasi era.

For the qualitative data material, the researcher collected data from the news written by the *Kompas* Daily in the special edition of the one-year Prabowo-Gibran administration. This was done to complete the necessary material and to avoid bias during the research process.

**TABLE 1.1 The *Kompas* Daily in the special edition of the one-year Prabowo-Gibran administration**

No	Edition	News Title	Pages Number
1	October 20, 2025	Konsolidasi Elite Masih Terus Berlangsung (Elite Consolidation Continues to Evolve)	1 & 15
2	October 20, 2025	Merawat Anak Kandung Kabinet Merah Putih (Nurturing the Offspring of the Red and White Cabinet)	1 & 15
3	October 20, 2025	Pemerintah Daerah Dibayangi Sentralisasi Pemerintah Daerah Dibayangi Sentralisasi (Regional Governments Shadowed by Centralization)	2
4	October 20, 2025	Menakar Realisasi Pemberantasan Korupsi (Measuring the Realization of Corruption Eradication)	3
5	October 20, 2025	Pekerjaan Rumah Reformasi Polri (Homework for Police Reform)	3
6	October 20, 2025	Gejala Elitisme dan Paradoks Ekonomi (Symptoms of Elitism and Economic Paradox)	4

In line with the framing analysis approach, the news written by the media plays a very large role in determining the research results later. The data is then analyzed using the framing analysis technique. The analysis model used by Pan and Kosicki divides framing analysis into four main structures (syntax, script, thematic, and rhetoric), which gives clear direction to researchers in exploring media texts. This division makes the analysis process focused, measurable, and less subjective, unlike a purely interpretative framing approach.

Framing analysis is used to find out how the media or Tempo journalists framed the news coverage of the Kompas Daily in the special edition of the one-year Prabowo-Gibran administration. This is scientifically legitimized through the framing analysis approach of the Zhongdang Pan and M. Kosicki model.

**TABLE 1.2 Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki Framing Analysis**

Structure	Framing Device	Observed Unit
Syntactic: The way journalists arrange words	News Schema	Headline, lead, background, information, quotes, sources, statements, closing
Script: The way journalists narrate facts	News Completeness	5W + 1 H
Thematic: The way journalists write facts	Detail, sentence meaning/intent	Paragraph, Proposition
Rhetorical: The way journalists determine facts	Lexicon, Graphics, Metaphor	Word, Idiom, Image/Photo, Graphic

The data is limited only to the coverage of the special edition on the one-year Prabowo-Gibran administration, featuring six news articles. Through this research, we can analyze the news using the framing analysis model by Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, so that readers can understand how the media or journalists frame the issue. Framing analysis helps information recipients see how certain messages are conveyed in the news and persuades the audience's way of responding to the information presented.

### ***The Spiral of Silence Theory***

The Spiral of Silence Theory by Noelle-Neumann examines the relationship between public opinion and the content of media messages (Morissan, 2025). In this theory, Noelle-Neumann explains that the media does not provide a broad and balanced interpretation of events, which results in the public having a limited and narrow view of reality. Mass media have three qualities or characteristics that play a role in shaping public opinion, namely: ubiquity, cumulativity, and consonance.

The quality of ubiquity refers to the fact that the media is a very broad source of information. The ubiquity of mass media has a significant influence on the dissemination of information, the construction of public opinion, and cultural and social transformation. This characteristic creates the effect of message simultaneity, where diverse and unidentified audiences obtain the same information at the same time. Because the media is everywhere, it becomes a highly reliable instrument and is always available when people need information. The media tries to gain public support for the views or opinions it conveys, and during that time, those views or opinions exist everywhere.

The quality of media cumulativeness refers to the process by where the media constantly repeats what it conveys. The cumulative nature of mass media refers to the media's tendency to continuously repeat the same message, both within one platform and across different media. The repetition occurs throughout the program, both on a specific medium or on other media, whether of the same type or not. Noelle-Neumann calls this a reciprocal influence in building a frame of reference.

The quality of consonance refers to the similarity of beliefs, attitudes, and values held by the mass media. Noelle-Neumann states that consonance is generated based on the media's tendency to affirm or confirm those thoughts and opinions as if they originated from the public.

These three media characteristics—ubiquity, cumulativity, and consonance—have a great influence on public opinion. Mass media contribute to the emergence of the spiral of silence because the media have the ability to determine and disseminate views that are considered more generally acceptable to the public. In other words, those who hold views contrary to the public's opinion will find it more difficult to gain a place in the mass media. Furthermore, according to Noelle-Neumann, in this theory, minority views tend to be scapegoated by the mass media.

## DISCUSSION

The discussion on the results of the framing analysis of the six news articles written by the Kompas Daily in the special edition of the one-year Prabowo–Gibran administration aims to observe how the Kompas media frames and constructs the events.

In the first year of the Prabowo–Gibran administration, the Kompas Daily, through its six reports in the special edition, appears to present a news construction oriented toward policy evaluation and power dynamics. By using the Pan and Kosicki framing approach, it is evident that the structure of the Kompas news text forms a discourse pattern that combines political, economic, and institutional narratives into one large theme: depicting a new administration that is consolidating power, yet simultaneously facing tests of legitimacy and challenges to reform in various sectors.

From a syntactic perspective, the overall news reports display a structured and argumentative composition. The narrative flow is arranged chronologically and causally, starting from the moment of inauguration, the process of elite consolidation, up to the evaluation of sectoral policies such as corruption eradication and Police reform. Kompas focuses on key actors such as the President, the cabinet, and state institutions, while simultaneously presenting the voice of civil society and academics as a counterweight. The relationship between actors is framed interactively—there is cause and effect between central policy and public response. This structural pattern demonstrates Kompas's

consistency in building text that is both informative and reflective, avoiding a confrontational impression, but still highlighting the analytical side of power practices.

At the script level, there are two major patterns framing the entire narrative: first, the story of consolidation and centralization of power marked by efforts to strengthen state control across various sectors; and second, the story of incomplete reforms, especially concerning corruption eradication and the restructuring of the police institution. The reports 'Elite Consolidation Continues to Evolve' and 'The Shadow of Centralization in the First Year' illustrate how Kompas views the process of strengthening power as a paradox: on one hand, it is considered necessary for political stability, but on the other hand, it raises concerns about the narrowing of regional and public participation space. Meanwhile, the reports on corruption eradication and Police reform present a scenario of tension between political promises and policy implementation. Both patterns indicate that Kompas does not merely record facts, but builds a plot that guides readers to the structural awareness that power always contains a dilemma between efficiency and democracy.

Thematically, the six news articles narrow down to four main issues: political elite consolidation, governmental centralization, the effectiveness of corruption eradication, and institutional reform. These four themes are interwoven, showing a common thread that the Prabowo-Gibran administration is still in an adaptation phase, with a number of major unfinished tasks. The economic theme, for instance, emerges through the essay 'Symptoms of Etatism and Economic Paradox,' which illustrates state dominance as a paradox between development ambitions and structural vulnerability. The institutional theme is raised through the report 'Struggling to Nurture the Offspring of the Red and White Cabinet,' which is more empathetic toward the unstable bureaucratic process, while the themes of corruption and Police reform appear with a more critical tone towards weak commitment and transparency. These overall themes reflect Kompas's effort to position itself as an evaluative media, highlighting the government's performance without being trapped in an opposition framing.

At the rhetorical level, the language style used by *Kompas* tends to be moderate, informative, and reflective. However, in several sections, especially in the reports on corruption, the Police, and the economy, evaluative diction emerges such as 'shadow of centralization,' 'policy paradox,' or 'homework for reform.' The selection of sources also reinforces *Kompas*'s rhetorical position as a watchdog media: featuring officials, academics, and independent institutions like BRIN or KPPOD, which provide credibility as well as an analytical distance from power. In some articles, *Kompas* also uses metaphors to bring criticism to life—such as the 'Mr. Bean' analogy in describing economic policy that appears active but inefficient. This rhetorical strategy demonstrates a balance between descriptive journalism and analytical opinion that is characteristic of *Kompas*.

In positioning the Prabowo–Gibran administration as both politically stable and increasingly centralized, *Kompas* constructs a narrative of cautious moderation rather than overt endorsement. The framing presents centralization as a pragmatic response to governance challenges, emphasizing order, coherence, and institutional control. This approach reflects *Kompas*'s tradition of reflective journalism, which seeks to maintain analytical distance while avoiding confrontational criticism. At the same time, by normalizing centralization within a rational and moderate discourse, *Kompas* subtly contributes to the perception that concentration of power can be an acceptable strategy for political stability. This tension illustrates how mainstream media may both critique and accommodate prevailing power structures—balancing reformist ideals with pragmatic acceptance of existing political realities.

When viewed through a more comprehensive framing lens, *Kompas* appears to construct the reality of the Prabowo–Gibran administration within a framework of measured criticism—not confrontational, but still maintaining its oversight function over the exercise of power. On one hand, *Kompas* provides space for appreciation of bureaucratic work and political stability; on the other hand, it highlights signs of democratic decline through issues of centralization, weak corruption eradication, and the Police's legitimacy crisis. In the

context of the Pan and Kosicki theory, Kompas uses its text structure not merely to report, but to guide the reader towards a specific interpretation about the direction and character of power in the administration's first year.

Through the entirety of these reports, Kompas's objectivity appears to be measured not by the quantitative balance between praise and criticism, but by its ability to maintain the rationality of the discourse. Kompas appears as a mainstream media outlet that still upholds the idealism of reform journalism: maintaining its watchdog function while preserving credibility and calmness of language.

Thus, the constructed framing not only represents political facts but also reflects the editorial board's ideological position that places journalism as a tool for public accountability. This result confirms that in the first year of the Prabowo-Gibran administration, the Kompas Daily carried out the role of careful and balanced critical journalism—a form of framing practice rooted in the ethics of reform, yet realistic toward the changing configuration of contemporary power.

## CONCLUSION

This research shows that the Kompas Daily frames the one-year Prabowo-Gibran administration with a critical-moderate approach, displaying a balance between appreciating political stability and criticizing the symptoms of power centralization. Through the Pan and Kosicki model analysis, Kompas's framing appears to be constructed through a systematic and reflective text structure.

Syntactically, Kompas highlights credible sources such as academics and public officials, with an argumentative and chronological narrative pattern. In terms of script, the news is structured as a story about the consolidation of power and unfinished reforms, displaying the paradox between bureaucratic efficiency and democracy. Thematically, Kompas focuses on four major issues—elite consolidation, governmental centralization, corruption eradication, and institutional reform—presented within an evaluative

framework. Meanwhile, from a rhetorical perspective, the choice of diction, such as 'shadow of centralization' and 'policy paradox' reinforces Kompas's position as a watchdog media that maintains a critical distance from power.

The research results indicate that the framing constructed by Kompas is not oppositional but functions as 'reflective journalism' that seeks to maintain public rationality in interpreting the direction of government policy. Kompas affirms its role as a mainstream media outlet that adheres to the ethics of reform, upholds the value of transparency, and positions itself as a counterweight in the contemporary political landscape.

Therefore, this research demonstrates that the Pan and Kosicki framing analysis is capable of uncovering not only the structure of the text discourse but also the ideological position of the media in the context of political change. Theoretically, this study enriches the literature on political media framing in Indonesia, while practically, it confirms the importance of critical journalism in maintaining a balance between the stability of power and public accountability in the Prabowo–Gibran administration era.

Theoretically, this research strengthens the relevance of the Pan and Kosicki framing model in analyzing contemporary political discourse in Indonesian media. This model is proven capable of uncovering the cognitive and ideological structures behind news texts, not only at the level of fact representation but also in the pattern of argumentation, narrative, and rhetorical symbols that form the construction of media reality.

In addition, this research expands the application of social constructivism theory in political communication by showing that governmental reality is not objectively presented by the media, but is constructed through the selection and highlighting of certain aspects that align with editorial values. In the context of media studies in Indonesia, this finding also affirms the importance of a multi-level analytical approach (text structure, ideology, and socio-political context) in understanding the relationship between media and power.

In conclusion, Kompas's framing of elite consolidation as both stabilizing and problematic encapsulates its role as a mediator of democratic discourse in post-Reformasi

Indonesia. By acknowledging the necessity of political order while maintaining a cautious critique of centralization, *Kompas* reinforces its identity as a medium of reflective journalism—one that values institutional stability without abandoning its normative responsibility for accountability. This framing sustains rational public discourse by encouraging readers to interpret political power through analytical rather than emotional lenses. Yet, its moderation also signifies a strategic restraint that may temper more radical democratic expression. Thus, *Kompas* emerges as both a guardian of deliberative reason and a custodian of political caution, illustrating the enduring tension between critique and consensus that defines Indonesia's evolving democratic communication landscape.

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Finally, the author hopes that the results of this research can provide academic and practical benefits for the development of media framing and political communication studies in Indonesia, and serve as a reference for subsequent research in the field of journalism and media discourse studies.

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