

## **The Role of National Media Reporting in Supporting Defense Diplomacy Activities to Improve National Defense**



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**ABSTRACT:** One of the problems of the Republic of Indonesia's National Defense is that the minimum defense force has not been fulfilled, so policy and budgetary support are needed to increase this force, including defense equipment. This support is required from the legislature (DPR-RI), the executive (especially Bappenas and the Ministry of Finance), as well as positive public aspirations, one of the indicators of which is the direction of national mass media coverage. Regarding this effort, Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto carried out defense diplomacy activities by making a series of visits abroad, which raised pros and cons at home. Pointed starting from this background, this research aims to analyze how national online news media reports framing news regarding a series of visits to Indonesian defense diplomacy activities conducted by Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto for the October 2019-November 2021 period; and what is the impact of online news media coverage in helping support from stakeholders in supporting defense diplomacy activities to improve national defense. This research approach is qualitative. Research period October 2019-November 2021. Primary data collection techniques are through in-depth interviews with eight sources and analyzing the framing of 15 news related to 15 news in three online news media (Kompas.com, Detik.com, and Tribunnews.com). Secondary data collection techniques through library research. The results of the study show that the framing of national online news media is positive, which can be interpreted as playing a role in supporting the defense diplomacy activities carried out by Defense Minister Prabowo in the form of a series of overseas visits for the period October 2019-November 2021; and positive framing by the national online news media as the aspirations of the community (public) has had a positive impact on the attitude of stakeholders (DPR-RI, Bappenas, Ministry of Finance) by responding positively to the Ministry of Defense's policies to meet the needs of the TNI's leading weaponry equipment to improve national defense.

**KEYWORDS:** Defense diplomacy activities, foreign visits, the role of online news media, the impact of framing, national defense.

### **I. INTRODUCTION**

The Minimum Essential Force (MEF) of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) has become a mandate for national development in defense and security. The MEF has been established for a long time in the 2020-2014 RPJMN following Presidential Regulation 5 of 2010 concerning the 2010-2014 National Medium Term Development Plan. Then in 2009, a Strategic Defense Review (SDR) was formulated, the main ideas were determined, and strategic steps were recommended in realizing a minimum essential force stipulated in the Minister of Defense Regulation No. 2 of 2010 as part of the ideal national defense posture. The MEF elements include human resources, materials, the primary weapon system (Alutsista) of the TNI, base facilities and training areas, the defense industry, organization, and budget. One of the problems in building MEF is the budget problem. An adequate and gradually increasing defense budget is essential in improving the TNI's posture. First, carry out the renewal of defense equipment by repairing or procuring new defense equipment. Second, to enhance the capabilities of the TNI's human resources, both in quality (revitalization and professionalization) and quantity (rematerialization). This function also includes improving the quality of TNI training and education, bearing in mind that to create a deterrent effect, the TNI does rely on not only defense equipment (hardware) but also human resources, strategies, and capabilities in mastering defense technology (Basundoro, 2020).

Historically, it appears that the bottom-up and top-down budgeting planning processes occurred when there was an interaction between needs, fulfillment, and reliability of the availability of the national defense budget in the national defense strategic plan. For example, the 2005-2009 period was not always implemented. The Hanneg Strategic Plan for 2005-2009 amounted to Rp. 404,123.60 billion, and in reality, only Rp. 150,586.04 billion was supported or only reached 37.26 percent with an average percentage increase of 40.77 percent every year and tended to decrease in terms of the state budget and GDP. As a result, the national defense development target cannot be achieved following the set target plan. The problem of the Republic of Indonesia's defense budget continues yearly. The following line chart shows fluctuations in the Ministry of Defense's budget from year to year until there has been an increase since 2017. The struggle to increase the defense budget continues from one Minister of Defense to another, including Minister of Defense Lieutenant General TNI (Purn) Prabowo Subianto. One thing that is interesting and

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prominent from the diplomatic activities of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, is making a series of visits abroad to meet with defense ministers from many countries. Judging from the 12 forms of defense diplomacy activities according to Drab (2018), the context of the visit of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo included at least three of the 12 defense diplomacy activities, namely: (1) Promoting bilateral or multilateral cooperation in the fields of military, security and defense relations; (2) Cooperate regarding the supply of military equipment and materials; (3) Support efforts to build the military infrastructure necessary for the implementation of cooperation and joint defense.

Regarding the phenomenon of the defense diplomacy activities of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo, especially regarding his series of foreign visits, it is interesting to know the extent of national mass media support for the activities of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo. Opinion from the national mass media is assumed to be an indicator of public aspirations, whether the public supports or rejects a defense diplomacy activity. Therefore, the direction of public aspirations/opinion will nevertheless become input for stakeholders who are also decision-makers, especially the legislature (DPR) and the executive (Bappenas and the Ministry of Finance) in making decisions related to the defense budget (Ministry of Defence). Stakeholders in determining the defense budget (Ministry of Defense) will consider the direction/attitude of public opinion contained in the mass media because the mass media is closely related to defense diplomacy. The expansion of state actors in international relations positions the mass media as a diplomatic instrument influencing policy and decision-making processes. Referring to the second track, according to Diamond and McDonald (1996), in the theory of multi-track diplomacy, the mass media is a nine-track diplomacy that can support broader diplomacy for the sake of national interests, including national defense. As is well known, Diamond and McDonald (1996) describe that there are nine tracks in diplomacy, starting from the first track (diplomacy that the government officially carries out) to eight other channels, including the ninth track, mass media, and communication.

This research examines how the framing of the national mass media, especially the national online news media, is related to the diplomatic activities of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo. It is to be known whether the mass media framing supports or rejects the actions of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo. The pros and cons regarding defense diplomacy policies and measures are why it is exciting and significant to examine content analysis, in this case, framing analysis, and how public opinion tends to be in the national mass media. This is because the pros and cons are only political actors' views, ranging from state officials, human rights activists, and political party leaders to observers of defense diplomacy. So far, it has not been investigated how the national online news media framed news about the defense diplomacy carried out by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo. Therefore, there is a research gap in analyzing the opinion of the national online news media regarding the policies and steps of the defense diplomacy of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo, especially regarding his series of visits abroad related to defense diplomacy policies.

The opinion of the national online news media is essential to know and analyze, bearing in mind that Prabowo's defense diplomacy steps are assumed to be written by several national online news portals with different framing. This is because the social construction of mass media, as stated by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman (1966), is determined by humans as newsmakers. According to Berger and Luckman (1966), social reality is a social construction created by individuals based on their will. Individuals are not victims of social facts but are creative media of production and reproduction in constructing their social world.

However, what is more, important is that the framing of the national online news media to reject or support the diplomatic activities of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo is related to the impact on stakeholders related to decisions regarding the state defense budget or the budget of the Ministry of Defense. Based on this background, this research focuses on the role of the national online news media in supporting the defense diplomacy of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo, for the period October 2019-November 2021. Then how does the support of the online news media impact the support of stakeholders (DPR, Bappenas, Ministry of Finance) in efforts to increase the defense budget (Ministry of Defense budget).

Research problems can be formulated in research questions as follows:

1. How did the national online news media frame the Indonesian defense diplomacy activities by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, for the October 2019-November 2021 period?
2. What is the impact of the reporting framing by the national online news media regarding the Indonesian defense diplomacy activities by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, on the support of stakeholders related to decision-making regarding the state defense budget (Minister of Defense)?

## **II. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **A. Previous Research**

Several studies discuss the relationship or support of the mass media in defense diplomacy. In other words, by using the concept of "multi-track diplomacy" (Diamond & McDonald, 1996), it means that previous research has the theme of supporting the ninth track of diplomacy (information and mass media) against the first track of diplomacy (defense diplomacy carried out by the government). Andersson's research (2019) aims to analyze how the media in the United States frames the war in Syria. Analysis of the framing

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method is the main attraction of this article. Andersson (2019) describes several variations of the framing method used by the media in the US in framing news of the war in Syria, namely: (i) war journalism and propaganda and (ii) peace journalism. (iii) Constructive journalism and (iv) Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model. Andersson (2019) himself, to evaluate how US media framed the war in Syria, used a qualitative content analysis method with the research subjects of three US online newspapers, Truthout, The Progressive, and Common Dreams. Those are three independent non-profit newspapers.

Andersson's research (2019) concludes that concerning the Syrian war, the US mass media generally uses conflict framing, a general dramaturgical approach in journalism, characterized by conflict between several, usually two, conflicting actors. Instead of discussing how politics affects society in war, journalists focus more on competition and build dramaturgy around the spectacle of dualistic conflict (pros and cons of US involvement in Korea). Meanwhile, the tendency of US alternative media, namely Truthout, The Progressive, and Common Dreams, has framed the war in line with peaceful and constructive journalism characteristics. This trend stems from how the conflict is regularly prepared in mainstream US media. The three media studies, for example, promote a diplomatic and peaceful solution to the war in Syria and tend to give voice to people who are not part of the US political elite. Freeman's research (2017) wants to answer three research questions: (RQ-1) What geographical terms are preferred in print media in ASEAN countries regarding reporting on marginal sea areas surrounded by many of its member countries? (RQ2): What is the pattern of newspaper coverage in ASEAN countries about the South?

Simply put, how important is this issue for these six countries? (RQ3): What are the dominant thematic frames found in The Jakarta Post? Coverage when it comes to maritime disputes? (RQ4): How does The Jakarta Post's coverage describe the three main actors China, ASEAN, and the United States?

Freeman (2017) chose this study based on an analysis of the contents of newspaper press coverage in six out of ten ASEAN member countries, namely the Philippines – The Manila Bulletin, Vietnam – Vietnam News Agency Bulletin, Malaysia – New Straits Times, Indonesia – The Jakarta Post, Singapore – The Straits Times, and Thailand – Bangkok Post. These newspapers are well known in the media market in each country. The research analysis is mainly descriptive, identifying what the report says and how this might reflect the media's position on the conflict in the South China Sea. This research involves two distinct phases. In the first stage, the six newspapers were tested (2011-2016) to answer research questions 1 and 2. In the second phase, relevant articles were reviewed in The Jakarta Post (2015-2016) to discuss research questions number 3 and number 4. Approach manual content analysis was used to test the scope of the study based on several key variables. Searches using the Factiva database were conducted using the different keywords "South China Sea," "East Sea," and "West Philippine Sea." To investigate the involvement of 'ASEAN and 'The United States of America,' relevant terms were added and searched in the entire corpus of articles during the second phase. Again the authors selected articles from The Jakarta Post only. In this phase, 135 articles were initially collected, but after the screening, the 52 most relevant articles were selected and thus underwent a reading and coding process. The results show that the term 'South China Sea' applies in all countries except Vietnam. Newspapers in ASEAN have devoted consistent and substantial space to covering the topic. The Jakarta Post uses neutral or positive language when mentioning ASEAN and the US, while the Chinese mass media see more negative associations in their coverage. Further research is suggested, taking into account communication theories and perspectives.

Landriault, M., and Macdonald, A. (2019) research aim to analyze Arctic security's media portrayals through empirical analysis of media coverage of NATO's Trident Juncture (TJ) military exercises. This study uses a qualitative approach with a content analysis method. The results show that the research suggests that the presence of NATO in the region is presented positively, undercutting the risk of accident, miscalculation, or escalation. Right-wing publications are usually more inclined to offer Russia as an existential threat, while niche news outlets provide more detailed coverage and in-depth reporting and analysis.

Rinaldi, Sumerian, and Thamrin's research (2017) aim to analyze the concept of state defense diplomacy as the ultimate goal of using media framing and photojournalism. As a case study, photojournalism was taken of the sinking of illegal fishing boats in Batam in 2017. This research uses qualitative methods, such as content analysis and semiotic analysis of photojournalistic content contained in unfair fishing boat sinking policies. The data collection technique is through in-depth interviews with informants, namely expert staff in the security sector at the Ministry of Defense, Task Force 115, and ANTARA State News (LKBN) photographers, with data from October to November 2018. The results show that the application of media framing and photojournalism can support defense diplomacy as long as the concepts of diplomacy and defense are the basic concepts of framing and photojournalism. The relationship between media framing and photojournalism with defense diplomacy can be illustrated through the reduction in the number of illegal fishing as a deterrent effect of the application of media framing and photojournalism.

Another research was conducted by Wibowo (2022) entitled "Mass Media as a Second-track Diplomacy in Supporting Indonesia's National Interests in the South China Sea." The theory used in this research is the multi-track diplomacy theory" according to Diamond and MacDonald (1996). The results of the study show that increasing news exposure on the management of Indonesia's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) maritime potential in the South China Sea is essential to do as a form of existence of international community support regarding the implementation of freedom of navigation in the South China Sea. Another research with the theme of mass media support in diplomacy is a study by Kusumajati and Kamaluddin (2021) entitled "The Role of Mass Media in

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Supporting Indonesia's Diplomatic Efforts on Border Issues." A semiotic approach is used to answer the problems of this research. The study results show that framing by media=media Indonesia online can be an effort to strengthen border diplomacy by local and central governments.

The similarities between these previous studies and this research are that they both regard mass media support (the ninth track of diplomacy) for defense diplomacy carried out by the government (the first track of diplomacy). The similarities between the six previous studies and this research are that they both used content analysis, including framing analysis. The six researchers (Andersson, 2019; Rinaldi, Sumerian, and Thamrin, 2017; Andriault, 2019; Freeman, 2017; Wibowo, 2021; and Kusumajati and Kamaluddin, 2021) have similarities in terms of defense diplomacy topics but have differences in the use of framing methods. None of the six studies used the Gamson and Modigliani (1989) framing method, which means there is an essential difference with this research. As for the other differences between this study and previous research, none of the six studies chose the object of research on defense diplomacy. Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto. Therefore, the use of the Gamson and Modigliani (1989) framing method and the selection of research objects can fill the research void so that this research fills the research gap of the previous study and, at the same time, has research novelty.

## B. Theoretical study

### 1. Defense Diplomacy

Blain's defense diplomacy (2017) is an arms alliance by national defense agencies and military training to build trust, conflict prevention, or conflict resolution. Drab (2018) defines defense diplomacy as the peaceful use of military personnel, including their attaches, to prevent conflict. Gonschor (2021) also has the same opinion regarding defense diplomacy, namely the calm or non-confrontational use of armed forces and related infrastructure, especially defense as a foreign and security policy tool. Details of the duties of defense diplomacy as an instrument of state foreign and security policy can include (Drab, 2017) among others:

- a. Promote bilateral or multilateral cooperation in military, security, and defense relations. This is accomplished through the appointment and acceptance of defense officers in the nation's capital, army and civilian representation in the armed forces, navy, and defense, "private diplomacy" of commanders, managers of the defense department, as well as various ad hoc missions.
- b. Supplying military equipment and materials
- c. Planning, organizing, and conducting bilateral and multilateral military exercises
- d. Support efforts to build the military infrastructure necessary for implementing cooperation and joint defense.

### 2. Multi-Track Diplomacy

Diamond and McDonald (1996) initiated the theory of multi-track diplomacy in their book "Multi-track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace." Louise Diamond and John McDonald said that "multi-track diplomacy" is a concept of diplomacy that explains the process of creating world peace in the international system through a combination of government line diplomacy, group line diplomacy, and personal line diplomacy. The main goal of multi-track diplomacy is to create world peace and peacebuilding that are integrated using soft power. Multi-track diplomacy related to peace is taking a systems approach to understanding the structural nature of international peacebuilding. Peacebuilding structure activities create a middle-level structure to create a design for behavior systems and institutional actions to support the realization or implementation of peace. This is to build an economical, military, and community infrastructure that provides strength and is realistic through a peace system. The concept of multi-track diplomacy consists of nine diplomacy tracks which are a combination of various diplomatic actors, namely Track One: Government, Track Two: Nongovernment/Professional, Track Three: Business, Track Four: Private Citizen, Track Five: Research, Training, and Education, Track Six: Activism, Track Seven: Religion, Track Eight: Funding, Track Nine: Communications and Media making it easy to understand the complex system of peace activities.

### 3. Soft Power

Hard power is more widely known than soft power. Through pressure or the influence of military force and (sanctions), the economy may often make other parties (states) change their positions. Hard power can rely on persuasion, "carrots, " threats, or "sticks." But sometimes, your (country) can get the results (you) want without tangible threats or payoffs. This indirect way of getting what you want is sometimes called "the second face of power." A country can achieve the results it wants in world politics because it is admired by other countries for its values, imitates its example, and aspires to its level of prosperity. Other countries want to emulate it, which means power in this sense. It is also essential to set the agenda and engage other people in world politics, not just force them to change by threatening military force or economic sanctions. This soft power makes others want the results you wish rather than co-opting and coercing them (Nye, 2004: 5).

### 4. Hierarchy of Influence

The theory of the hierarchy of influence is a theory that explains the factors that influence mass media content. In their book, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*, this theory was put forward by Pamela J. Shoemaker and



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Stephen D. Reese (1996). This seeks to answer why each mass media has different coverage and publications. Shoemaker & Reese views a hierarchy of influence on mass media content, starting from (i) the most personal or individual level, (ii) the expected level of the media, (iii) the organizational level, (iv) the extra media level, and (v) the ideological level.

### **5. Mass Media Construction**

The theory of mass media construction is included in the constructivist paradigm. The constructivist paradigm is a paradigm that is almost the antithesis of the notion that places observation and objectivity in discovering a reality or science. The constructivist paradigm has several criteria that distinguish it from other paradigms. At the ontology level, the constructivist paradigm views reality as something that exists but the truth is multiple, and the meaning is different for everyone. In the epistemological aspect, the researcher uses a subjective approach because that way can describe the construction of meaning by individuals. In the methodological part, this paradigm combines various types of building into a consensus (Umanailo, 2020).

### **6. Gamson and Modigliani Framing Analysis**

The second framing model is the model of William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani (1989), which uses a constructionist approach. In an article entitled "Media discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach," Gamson and Modigliani argue that media discourse (media discourse) and public opinion (public opinion) are two parallel systems of constructing meaning. Gamson and Modigliani's framing model is described as a media package accompanied by a media appearance to present the desired news, reinforced by several rational reasons as a moral claim made on the media's agenda. Gamson and Modigliani's framing model is known as the media package, which consists of two structures. The first structure is the core frame (central idea), and the second is the condensing symbols. The first structure, the core frame, is the center of the organization of the elements of ideas that help the communicator show the substance of the issue being discussed. The core frame contains the core elements to provide a relevant understanding of events and directs the meaning of issues constructed as condensed symbols. The second structure, concentrating characters, has two sub-structures: framing devices (how to see an issue) and reasoning devices (justification reasons). Framing devices include five elements, metaphors, examples, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images, emphasizing the aspect of "how to see" an issue. While reasoning devices (justification reasons) include roots (cause and effect analysis), appeal to principle (moral claims), and consequences (impact, effects, or consequences) (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Figure 2.1 is a Gamson and Modigliani framing model.

## **III. RESEARCH METHODS**

In terms of the research approach, this research approach is qualitative (Creswell & Creswell, 2018: 4). Among the five types of qualitative research methods, the writer chose the case study method because it allows the writer to explore in depth and detail the events, processes and activities studied (Creswell & Poth, 2018: 37). Based on its purpose, the research design is descriptive, namely research that describes a subject, person, or event through data collection, studies reveal who, what, when, where, or how much, which concerns a variable univariately (Cooper & Schindler, 2014:656). This research was conducted in Jakarta by monitoring the national online news media. The research period started from the first month that the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo served as Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, namely from October 2019, until the implementation of this research (November 2021). The subject of this research is the national online news media (Indonesia), which has inventoried 23 national news media. Of the 23 national online news media, the authors chose the top three national online news ratings to serve as samples in this study. The top three national online news media ratings are as follows: First place, kompas.com. Second place, tribunnews.com. Third place, detik.com. Only three online news media were chosen because each is expected to publish relatively many news titles related to the diplomacy policies implemented by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo from October 2019- November 2021. From various news regarding the diplomacy policies carried out by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo in In the October 2019-November 2021 period, five stories will be selected that raise pros and cons, somewhat clarifying the attitude of the news media. The object of this research is news or articles that report or write about the Indonesian defense diplomacy activities by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto, such as the visits of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia to various countries with various defense diplomacy activities in them, which are published by online news media, in this case, kompas.com, tribunnews.com, and detik.com. The data collection technique was through content analysis using the Gamson and Modigliani (1989) framing method and in-depth interviews with selected informants. Meanwhile, technical data analysis used the framing analysis method to answer the first research question and descriptive comment to answer the second question.

## **IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **A. Research Results**

The central tendency of news articles in online news media about visits abroad by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto is positively framed for the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto. Only

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a few news articles negatively stated the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto. National online news media were preparing the Indonesian defense diplomacy by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto for October 2019-November 2021. Based on a sample of 15 news titles sourced from the three online news media with the highest rating in Indonesia (Kompas.com, Detik.com, Tribunnews.com) after being analyzed by Gamson and Modigliani's (1989) framing analysis, it can be concluded that 12 news titles are positively framed for the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo. Three news headlines are negatively prepared for the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo. The details are Kompas.com positively framing four news headlines and one news headline negatively stating. Then Detik.com positively framed three news headlines and negatively framed two news headlines. Meanwhile, Tribunnews.com positively crafted the five news titles. If it is ranked, the national online news media that is pro towards the defense diplomacy of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia regarding overseas visits is Tribunnews.com (the five news titles are positively framed), then Kompas.com (the four news titles are positively framed) and Detik.com (positive framing of three news titles).

The impact of national online news media reporting on stakeholders (DPR-RI, Bappenas, Ministry of Finance) is positive. It is evident from the Ministry of Defense budget indicators during the leadership of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo that every year has always been the ministry with the largest budget. One of the factors causing the Ministry of Defense's budget to continue to be at the top compared to other ministries/agencies is that public opinion is positive towards the activities of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabwo, including the actions of a series of visits abroad. The public sees that in the context of preparing and purchasing defense equipment, Prabowo's visit can be interpreted as an attempt to cut off the intermediary route in purchasing defense equipment so that the public supports the activities of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo. Stakeholders are also aware that framing by online news media can influence public opinion in a more impactful manner than the impact of the structure by print news media.

### **B. Discussion**

*This discussion is focused on studying the answers to two research questions.*

#### **1. Discussion on Framing by Online News Media**

In general, the results of framing by the national online news media on 15 news articles regarding the foreign visits of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto show a combination of positive and negative framing for the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto. Most of the news articles, in this case, 12 article titles; news, framed by the three online news media (Kompas.com, Tribunnews.com, and Detik.com) positively for the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto. A small number of news article titles, in this case, three news article titles, were negatively framed for the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto. When viewed from the character of each news article, it appears that each news media's framing direction is more dominant in the selection of news titles. News headlines seem to be the mainstay of each editor of the three online news media for news framing. In other words, when the editorial team wanted to negatively frame the visit of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto since the news headline had a negative nuance. And vice versa, when the editorial team wanted to positively frame the visit of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, since the news headline had a cheerful nuance.

Referring to the elements of the analytical method from Gamson and Modigliani (1989), the features that are often used by editors in the three online news media (Kompas.com, Tribunnews.com, Detik.com) are (1) Metaphors, namely the way of transferring meaning by relating two facts through an analogy, or figure of speech, by using words like, like, as, like, for example; (2) Exemplars, how to package specific facts in depth so that they have a better meaning when used as a reference/lesson. Exemplars complement the core framing in the news unit to justify perspectives. (3) Catchphrases are word formations, terms, or phrases that reflect facts that refer to specific thoughts or spirits. (4) Depictions, describing facts by using connotative terms, words, or sentences so that the audience is directed/herded to a particular image. (5) Visual images, the use of photos, graphics, diagrams, cartoons, tables, and the like to express impressions, (6) Roots (causal analysis), is the justification of issues by connecting an object or more that is considered to be the cause of something happening or happening another. (7) Appeal to principle, in the form of thought as a moral justification claim for new development, in the form of proverbs, folklore, myths, teachings, doctrines, and others. (8) Consequences are impacts, specific effects, or consequences obtained from the frame (framing).

That the online news media uses the eight framing elements from Gamson and Modigliani (1989) is, what is used in total for all the news articles analyzed in this study. Meanwhile, the framing elements used in each news article title are, on average, only 4-5. There are several records regarding the framing carried out by the three national online news media. The first note is the use of visual images. The average news article uses incorrectly illustrated photos. On average, the 15 news articles used photos, not in the context of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia's foreign visit, Prabowo Subianto. Most of the illustrative images used in these news articles are photos of the activities of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto in the country, such as the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto holding a hearing at the DPR-RI Building. Also shown is a photo of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, walking with President

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Joko Widodo at an event in the country. Also presented is a picture of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, conducting an interview with the press at the State Palace complex in Jakarta. The second note is that the average news articles analyzed in this study do not implement the cover both sides rule in reporting, which means they do not represent the pros and cons of the Indonesian Minister of Defense Prabowo Subianto's foreign visit. When a news article is negatively framed by the editor in the online news media, only sources against Prabowo Subianto's foreign visit are interviewed and given a place in the news article. And vice versa, when a news article is positively framed by the editor in the online news media, only sources who are pro-Prabowo Subianto's foreign visits are interviewed and given a place in the news article.

Against these two notes, there could be two possibilities. The first possibility is that one or both of these things were indeed done intentionally (by intention) by the editor of the online news media to frame the news. The second possibility is the limited editorial capacity, both individually and institutionally, which is also a logical consequence of the characteristics of online news media. One of the characteristics of online news media is the speed of broadcasting news immediately, so the completeness of the news is often not fulfilled. If the results of the framing analysis of the 15 news stories regarding the visit of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto to foreign countries are connected with the theory of the hierarchy of influence from Shoemaker and Reese (1996), then it appears that the framing of the news is influenced by some or all of the five orders of power. The influence of framing from the most personal or individual level of journalists may come from reporters, editors, managing editors, and chief editors. This factor views media personnel and managers as influencing the news to be published (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). The presence of influence from the personal or individual level of journalists can be seen from different tendencies, even though they are from the same online news media. If the results of the framing analysis of the 15 news stories regarding the visit of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto to foreign countries are connected with the theory of the hierarchy of influence from Shoemaker and Reese (1996), then it appears that the framing of the news is influenced by some or all of the five orders of power. Then the impact of media routines, related to the mechanism and process of determining the appropriateness of news (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) also appears to have an effect on news framing regarding the visit of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto. This influence can be seen, among other things, from the problem of completeness of the news, especially photos. According to the country visited, most 15 stories are not equipped with the news. News headlines about these foreign visits, photo illustrations, and many photos when the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto was at home with activities that had absolutely nothing to do with the activities of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto abroad. Routines as an online news media with very tight deadlines, coupled with the relatively disorganized management of photo documentation, have resulted in many news stories from online media being unable to complete. They prefer to broadcast early rather than late just because they defend the completeness of the news.

The influence of media routines can also be seen from the sources they get who are less able to present the source's pros and cons. On average, their news shows more one-sided sources, both those who are pro or against the defense diplomacy policies of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, through a series of visits abroad. Therefore, the average news on the 15 stories is not cover both sides, which means that they do not present sources in a balanced way from both parties (pros and cons). The influence of media routines can also be seen in the news lacking background or other secondary data. For example, when the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto, visited Russia for the second or third time, it was less clear what the differences between his first and second visits were. As a result, the news is incomplete because there are still questions as to why the visit to Russia was repeated three times while the aircraft purchase took place with France and not with Russia. The influence of the organizational level (organizational level), related to the administrative management structure of a media, the policies of the media, and the goals of the press (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) also appear to affect the news framing regarding the visit of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto. It is proven that there are different tendencies among the three online news media (Kompas.com, Detik.com, Tribun.news.com). In sequence, from the most positive to the somewhat negative, are (1) Tribunnews.com, all of the five news stories the author used as samples were positively framed for the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto. (2) Kompas.com, only one of the five stories the author sampled, was negatively framed for the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto. (3) Detik.com, two of the five news stories the author sampled, were negatively framed for the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo Subianto.

Then the influence from outside the organization (outside media level), which is also often called the extra media level which is the influence from outside the media organization on the news content (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), also appears to have an effect on news framing regarding the visit of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto. Politically most of the online news media tend to support the policies of President Joko Widodo's administration. Then if the results of the framing of the 15 news are seen from a constructivist paradigm, the influence of this paradigm can be seen from the three dimensions of the paradigm. At the ontology level, the constructivist paradigm views reality as something that exists but the truth is multiple, and the meaning is different for everyone. The other purposes, in the context of the 15 news stories, are evident from the pros and cons of each news content concerning the defense diplomacy policies of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, Prabowo

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Subianto, through a series of visits abroad. In the epistemological aspect, the researcher uses a subjective approach because that way can describe the construction of meaning by individuals. The 15 stories were made subjectively by journalists in the online news media. This is implemented using the framing analysis method at the level of methodology or axiology (Umanailo, 2020).

### **2. Discussion of the Impact of Framing by the National Online News Media on Stakeholders to Support National Defense Policy**

The framing analysis in this study is on 15 news broadcasted by online news media. When viewed from the perspective of the impact of news, to what extent is the impact of framing by the national online news media regarding the Republic of Indonesia's defense diplomacy activities by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto on the following Indonesian defense diplomacy policies. How significant is the impact or implication of an online media news framing. The answer to this question depends on the context and perspective used to view the impact. The impact of framing news on online news media can be seen from the impact in the philosophy and context of the Indonesian Ministry of Defense policies in defense diplomacy. The impact of framing news on online news media can be seen from the impact on the perspective and context of public opinion.

Theoretically, public policy is what the government does, why it does it, and how it differs from what was done by the previous government or other governments. Public policy is what the government does and doesn't do. Thus, public policy can regulate behavior, regulate the bureaucracy, distribute benefits, and collect taxes (Dye, 2017: 1). In the preparation of public policy, there are various models, one of which is the process model. The process model sees policy as a political activity. The grouping of multiple activities in the policy-making process includes: (1). Identification of problems (problem identification), namely defining issues in society that need public attention; (2). Agenda setting, namely capturing the attention of policymakers by focusing the attention of the mass media and public officials on specific general issues to decide what to decide; (3). Formulating proposals, namely planning and selecting policy options, by interest groups, legislatures, to think tanks; (3). Legitimizing policies (policy legitimacy), namely developing political support, winning elections, court approval, and especially ratifying policies by the legislature; (4). Implementing policies (implementing policies), namely implementing policies through the bureaucracy, public spending, regulations, law enforcement, and other executive agency activities; and (5). It evaluated policies carried out by government agencies, outside consultants, the media, and the general public. Evaluation determines whether the policy can work well or whether the policymakers are popular with the policies that have been decided (Dye, 2017).

When viewed from the defense diplomacy policy of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, as previously described, sources from the Ministry of Defense said that the framing of the news had no impact on the Ministry of Defense's policies because there were no defense diplomacy policies of the Indonesian Ministry of Defense that were changed only as a result of news framing by online news media. Whether a policy changes or not, the public opinion factor is not the dominant factor influencing whether or not a defense diplomacy policy at the Ministry of Defense changes. However, if we look at the impact of the 15 news frames on public opinion, the effect of online media news is more significant than print mass media news. This is because online news media reach audiences faster, have a wider reach, are easy to share, and are interactive. At the same time, the 15 news published by online news media has a broad impact on society, justified by Abraham (2020), who states that online media is contrary to the characteristics of traditional media or other analog media and has a broad impact on society. Freedman (2010) has a similar opinion. In the online context, news can be updated quickly and immediately. The online news format is user-friendly, as a variety of news can be easily browsed, from top stories to less essential stories and even related news if the user so desires. The possibility of interactivity is very high if the user wants to provide an opinion in the form of feedback. Interactivity has been successful to some extent in "herding" younger audiences from traditional mass media to new digital media.

The budget trend of the Ministry of Defense tends to increase. From 2018 to 2022, the Ministry of Defense's budget grew by an average of 3.1 percent. The most significant increase occurred in 2020. At that time, the Ministry of Defense received a shift from the State General Treasurer's Budget Section (BA BUN). The increase in the budget starting this year for the fulfillment of medical material equipment (Almatkes) for 110 Hospitals of the Ministry of Defense and the TNI and Almatkes for the TNI field, as well as the preparation of members of the supporting component in the health sector, amounted to IDR 8 trillion. The factor that led to the increase in the Ministry of Defense's budget was the figure of Prabowo Subianto, who led the ministry. Personal quality determines the effectiveness of power (Surbakti, 2019). The image of a charismatic leader that Prabowo has used so far to fight in the presidential election has made his personal qualities more established. This makes the effectiveness of his power as minister of defense even better (Hadi, 2022). Another factor is the Gerindra Party which has relatively many seats in the DPR-RI, further strengthening the government coalition. The DPR-RI, as the legislature, has the task of approving the RUU APBN proposed by the government (after being reviewed by the Ministry of Finance and Bappenas) as the executive. From the various trials on the RAPBN in the DPR-RI, there was almost no objection to the Ministry of Defense's budget. All of this is evidence that the legislative and executive institutions both support national defense policies, especially evident from the size of the Ministry of Defense's budget in the APBN from 2020 to 2023, which means that the budget decision took place during Prabowo Subianto's leadership of the Ministry of Defense. With the visits of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo abroad, one of the objectives of which is to meet defense



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equipment manufacturers directly (without intermediaries), however, it can increase the level of public and stakeholder trust in the Ministry of Defense programs run by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo.

## V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### A. Discussion

1. The central tendency of news articles in online news media about visits abroad by the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto is positively framed for the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo Subianto. Only a few news articles are negatively prepared for the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo.
2. The impact of reporting by the national online news media on stakeholders (DPR-RI, Bappenas, Ministry of Finance) is positive. It is evident from the Ministry of Defense budget indicators during the leadership of the Minister of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia Prabowo that every year has always been the ministry with the largest budget.

### B. Recommendations

#### 1. Academic Recommendation

- (a) The study of the framing concept of the Republic of Indonesia's defense diplomacy is still rare research. Therefore, it is suggested that future researchers develop research with framing analysis on the theme of defense diplomacy to add to the treasures and compare the study results with framing analysis related to defense diplomacy.
- (b) The results of this study, which was conducted qualitatively, found that the effect of news framing by online news media tends to be stronger than framing by print news media. This conclusion still requires further research, especially quantitative methods, to obtain more accurate results when measuring the effect of news framing on public opinion.

#### 2. Practical Recommendation

- (a) Practical advice to the Ministry of Defense Public Relations to establish coordination and communication with mass media leaders, print not only mass media but also online news media. Coordination and communication not only require relatively high costs, such as press conferences but can also be done using low-cost methods, such as creating WhatsApp groups. This WA group can be a means of communication, and coordination, including when online news media journalists need confirmation about an issue, name, etc., in a short time.
- (b) The Ministry of Defense should prepare a list of internal sources with sufficient numbers in their respective sub-fields, which journalists can quickly contact at any time. This is important to expand opportunities for journalists to write news about the Ministry of Defense covering both sides.
- (c) Practical advice for the Public Relations of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia to intensively prepare press-release materials worthy of being quoted by the mass media. For example, the press release includes accurate data or a quote from one of the leaders of the Ministry of Defense that is relevant to the theme/issue of the news so that the press release deserves to be made the news. Preparing and delivering press-release materials are essential because journalists from online news media only have a short deadline to upload news, so they do not have the opportunity to interview the Ministry of Defense. This resulted in the news about defense not including sources or data from the Ministry of Defense. This will affect news framing about the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia.

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