

INDONESIAN MEDIA COVERAGE OF G20 SUMMIT: IMPLICATIONS FOR STUDENTS KNOWLEDGE

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Abstract

The role of mass media political communication very important in the life of the nation, including in developing international relations. One of the important events in building international relations between Indonesia with other countries which requires important role of the mass media is the Implementation of the G20 Summit in Bali, 15-16 November 2022. What about framing, political communication, and access to national mass media on public knowledge in reporting on the G20 Summit. This was revealed using the mix method and presented descriptively based on framing analysis of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki and the results of questionnaire measure a level of public knowledge, thus resulting in conclusion: National mass media framing the news of the G20 Summit tends to be positive framing, namely participating in encouraging the success of Implementation the G20 Summit; There are trends in three forms of political communication in national mass media in news content of the G20 Summit, are political agitation, political propaganda, and political public relations; Public level of knowledge about G20 increased to 76.2% after national mass media reported on the G20 Summit in Bali.

Keywords: Mass Media, Political Communication, G20 Summit, International Relations.

INTRODUCTION

Although not directly adopting the thought of Trias Politica from Montesquieu, but in principle Indonesian democracy formally divided the powers of the State Government in three institutions: President and vice president as executive rulers, People's Consultative Assembly (People's Representative Council and Regional Representative Council) as legislature, as well as Constitutional Court, Supreme Court, and Judicial Commission as judicial authorities.

However, apart from these three formal state institutions, in management of the state other "powers" appear who has a major contribution to the Government, among them mass media. Although the fourth pillar of democracy (Asshiddiqie, 2005) are often categorized as owners of pseudo-power because they are not institutionalized directly in government, but that contribution very important and publicly recognized.

Even though it is 2022, Indonesian people's level of trust in mass media tends to decrease. Reuters Institute (Pahlevi, 2022) releases Digital News Report 2022 and wrote that there were only 39% of Indonesian respondents who believe most of mass media news, lower than global average of 42%. Indonesia is a country of trust in fifth lowest mass media news in Asia Pacific after Taiwan, (27%), South Korea (30%) and Malaysia (36%).

But also, the data does not mean to reduce the role of mass media as fourth pillar of Indonesian democracy. Mass media still plays an important role in various national political arenas, as in succession of Government leadership through of democratic general elections.

Mass media or press (Setiawan, 2021) played a very important role in conveying information about General Election. Most of public received information on general election campaign through of mass media coverages. The role of mass media was very large in success of 2009 General Election; encourage quality and democratic General Elections.

Apart from reporting, mass media also plays a role in political socialization and political education to broad public, both in rural and in urban areas and all social groups with different social levels. Mass media can shape public opinion, thereby contributing to attitude pattern and political beliefs of public. In fact, it can have effect of changing voter behaviour (Huang et al., 2021).

The roles of mass media on public political understanding becomes a source of political information through news, bring up socialization and attention to family politics, as well as encouraging voter political participation to provide political choices (Jognson in Hikmat, 2019). Therefore, mass media also means as political education, political socialization, political campaigns, political rhetoric, political public relations, even propaganda and political marketing. In this context, mass media also engages in political communication.

Political communication is a process of conveying political messages, simply citing Aristotle's classical model of communication, these messages are conveyed by political communicators to political communicants. However, in a circular approach that is reciprocal in form of two-way traffic communication, term of communicator and communicant (communicate) almost lost because between two there is no separator, so that it calls as a communication participant (Mulyana, 2013).

Therefore, to limit political communication, Russel (2020) focuses more on its use, are to connect political thoughts that live in society, both intra-group thoughts, institutions, associations, or sectors of political life of society with political sector of government life. Meanwhile, to provide identity to participants in political communication, which in linear approach are divided into political communicators and political communicants, political communication scientists seem to agree called as political actor.

Because of that contribution to development of various forms of political communication in democratic life in Indonesia, then mass media can be categorized as a political actor. In the power of structure, Political actors are divided into political superstructure and political infrastructure sectors (Nimmo, 2011) which can be interpreted that political superstructure actors are in formal institutions of government, such as the President and the House of Representatives, while political infrastructure actors outside state institutions, some are even categorized as quasi-institutions.

As a matter of fact, political infrastructure actors in view of Almond and Coleman (Harun & Sumarno, 2006) consists of political parties, interest groups, pressure groups, political figures, and political communication tools, Mass media can become political actors in many groups. Apart from mass media, being a political communication tool, but mass media can also act as interest groups and pressure groups. In fact, in some countries, including in Indonesia at the beginning of the reform order, mass media can also be part of a political party.

Several owners and managers of mass media often also acts as a political figure. Therefore, the role of mass media in political communication of a democratic country, including Indonesia are often very dominant.

This is what causes the study of mass media political communication in Indonesia to grow quite rapidly. On the site.go.id political communication pages, there are 4,600,000 political communication research titles, mass media political communications 3,980,000 titles. At the Indonesian Institute of Sciences on its website, site:<http://lipi.go.id> recorded 4,150 political communication studies, but regarding political communication, mass media decreased to 547 titles. At Sunan Gunung Djati State of Islamic University of Bandung, on the political communication page site: uinsgd.ac.id there are 7,810 studies of political communication in mass media, more than 21,900.

Nevertheless, research specifically related to mass media political communication on the G20 Summit which will be held in Bali from 15 to 16 November 2022, is still under studied. In fact, research on mass media political communication in communication or international relations quite a lot, among them: Murray Goot (2009) by title *Political Communication and the Media*, Andriani (2015) entitled *The Role of National Mass Media in International Politics*; Paul Nulty (2016) by title *Social media and political communication in the 2014 elections to the European Parliament*, Yoedtadi (2018) entitled *Mass Media in International Diplomacy*; Setiawan (2021) entitled *The Role of Mass Media in Foreign Politics*.

The studies aforementioned above, as well as this research, explore the major influence of mass media content, either in form of news or opinion studies on international relations. However, Andriani (2015) more focus on international communication in bilateral relations between Indonesia and Singapore, whereas Yoedtadi (2018) and Setiawan (2021) do not take a special object in international relations between Indonesia or any country in form of bilateral or multilateral, but rather describes the role of media in international relations in general.

Meanwhile, this research focuses on mass media political communication in international relations at the G20 Summit special event, which was held in Bali from 15 to 16 November 2022. The G20 is a relations forum of multilateral international between 19 countries in the world and European Union (EU), thus representing 60% of the earth's population, 75% of global trade, and 80% of the world's Gross Domestic Product. The three main issues discussed at the G20 Summit, are post-covid-19 connectivity and recovery, digital capabilities and digital literacy, as well as cross-border data flows.

What is meant by mass media political communication in the G20 Summit is how mass media frame the content in form of news related to various issues and events surrounding the G20 Summit. Therefore, media text analyze, both discourse analysis, semiotic analysis, and framing analysis (Sobur, 2001) and Pareschy (2023) be approach used of mass media content. Then, the results of mass media text analysis are used to reveal forms of political communication, so that the dominant form of political communication is found.

How dominant political communication used mass media has a level of effectiveness to changes cognitive level public by taking a random sample of students in West Java Province be the third research question in this study.

Fact of G20 Summit

G20 or Group of Twenty is a forum for multilateral cooperation, which consists of countries with largest economies in the world, consists of 19 countries and the European Union (EU). Since establishment, the G20 has been negotiating important issues such as handling of global crisis in 2008, Covid-19 of pandemic, till to climate.

The establishment of the G20 in 1999 inseparable from disappointment of international community against failure of the G7 or group of developed countries consisting of United States, United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, Germany, Canada, and France in finding solutions to global economic problems faced at that time.

The G20 was originally a meeting of Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors. But since 2008, the G20 presents Heads of State at the Summit and in 2010, a discussion was also formed in development sector. Since then, the G20 has consisted of a Finance Track and Sherpa Track. In facing global problems, the G20 held three meeting agendas, Working Group Level, Ministerial and Deputy Meetings, and ending with a Summit.

In 2022, Indonesia has the opportunity to lead the G20 by holding a summit in Bali on 15-16 November 2022 with the theme Recover Together, Recover Stronger. Indonesia invites the whole world to work together to recover together and growing stronger and more sustainable after Pandemic of Covid-19.

Benefits of the G20 for Indonesia, including:

1. Holding the G20 Presidency in midst of a pandemic can prove resilience of Indonesian economy against crises;
2. A form of status recognition of Indonesia as one of the largest economies in the world as well as representing other developing countries;
3. Added value for Indonesia's recovery, both in terms of economic activity and trust of domestic and international community;
4. Indonesia can orchestrate discussion agenda at the G20 to support and have a positive impact on recovery of Indonesia's economic activity.

RESULTS

Frame in Mass Media

Tribune Bali.Com, 15 October 2020 (Supartika, 2022) lowered news with the title Online School When the G20 Summit in Denpasar Was Held November 12-19, Kadisdikpora: We Are Ready. From syntax aspect, news that was published by Tribun Bali.Com really presents the facts that happened ahead of the G20 Summit, even the presentation of these facts complete

with fulfilment aspects of the script, are 5W + 1H equipment. From thematic aspect sides, all exposure presented in that news, with various speakers, but all gave positive statements or support of successful implementation of the G20 Summit, so from a rhetorical aspect, all lexicon meanings are denotative. There are no opinion inserts that give a negative view, both from Tribun Bali.Com and through other sources.

Merdeka.Com, 26 October 2022 (Kadafi, 2022) reported with the title Activities in Bali Limited at the G20 Summit. Titles in Mendeka.Com news coverage syntactically tend to be negative, although it is not clearly limited to invited guests of the G20 Summit, citizens or tourists. The word restricted can be interpreted rhetorically lexical meaning there are things that are not allowed. In Indonesian rules, the words are not negative words. Even in a complete 5W + 1H lead, in script it means protection, both protection for invited guests of the G20 Summit and for people of Bali, even protection against hope of a successful the G20 summit. Especially from a thematic perspective, limited meaning described in detail; described in detail, so that it does not only mean protection, but also driving meaning of conduciveness of holding the G20 Summit, so that it is as successful as expected.

Kompas.Com, 27 October 2022 (Simangunsong, 2022) gave the title Bali PPKM November 12-17 2022, Launch G20. In terms of title presents positive syntactic facts, even worth support for holding the G20 Summit. Although from a thematic point of view it is not detailed, study of this news actually dominant in rhetoric presenting facts as they are. Presentation of script does not look very clear either, especially for fulfilling why and how elements, so that news presentation is flat. However, photo illustration shows that Bali's conditions are conducive because of guests with "Caucasian faces: have arrived, but they still wear masks.

Viva.co.id, 12 November 2022 (Ansyari, 2022) presents news with the title Coverage of the G20 Summit in Bali, 2,105 Foreign Journalists Given Special Facilities. From syntax, aspect presented indeed a fact that occurred around the G20 Summit. The script aspect also supports presentation of news leads and body complete answer 5W + 1H contains Government policy regarding provision of facilities to foreign journalists.

However, meaning of rhetorical aspect, highlight news and headline makes an impression that government's policy, prioritize foreign journalists rather than national journalists. Moreover, the title appears a special word, which lexically same as giving privileges instead of ignoring national journalists.

Bisnis.Com, 14 November 2022 (Lestari, 2019) presents news with the title Minus Vladimir Putin, These are 17 Heads of State who attended the G20 Summit in Bali. Based on syntactical aspect of the title presented by Bisnis.Com, it only conveys information. In fact, fulfilment of script with 5W + 1H presented neutral only to fulfil completeness of information contents, so that Putin's absence presented at length as an answer to why and how.

Although information presented more detailed as a thematic aspect by presenting a list of names of heads of state who will be present at the G20 Summit. Therefore, rhetorical aspect is weak because Bisnis.Com does not provide an "any" assessment on its news presentation.

Antara.Com, 16 November 2022 (Pramudyani, 2022) presenting the news title G20 Summit in Bali ratifies "Bali Leaders' Declaration". Title syntactically gives a positive assessment of facts with the words "Bali Leaders; declarations", even though it is enclosed in quotation marks (""). Quotations ("") thematically often mean the opposite. However, positive meaning rhetorically emphasized by central photo to President Joko Widodo among other heads of state which is on the left and right. This confirms that the leader declaration belongs to President Joko Widodo as housefather in Bali. In fact, from a script perspective, it does not only show that there are 5W+1H news elements, but explanation of why and how answers strengthen Bali Leader Declaration by describing situation that other heads of state responded and support statement of President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo.

PikiranRakyat.com, 16 November 2022 (Putri, 2022) presents the headline G20 Bali Summit Closed, Indonesia Hands Over the Leadership Stick to India. Syntactically, PikiranRakyat.com's news is flat, both in the title, lead, and body. The elements of the news script are fulfilled by answering 5W + 1H, but it is not detailed and comprehensive, so the thematic structure is weak. This includes almost no rhetorical structure because this news is really news that only states facts as they are.

Republika.co.id, 17 November 2022 (Saputri, 2022) published a news article entitled Jokowi Presents Concrete Results of the Bali G20 Summit. The syntactic structure of Republika.co.id news shows the impression of partisanship because the title, lead, and body of the news focus on President Jokowi's statement as Head of Government of the Republic of Indonesia. Even though the script is incomplete because the 5W+1H elements are not complete, especially the why and how. However, the rhetorical structure is very thick because President Joko Widodo's statement is full of values for the benefit of the G20.

Based on framing analysis of Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki framing model to coverage of eight online mass media portals randomly selected, in general, all mass media are framing positively towards holding of the G20 Summit. All mass media provide support in form of "partial" news to drive a success of the G20 Summit. In reality, the G20 Summit in Bali 15-16 November 2022 are success.

The success of the G20 Summit inseparable from contribution of national mass media. Mass media very effective as a mediator between countries in responding to certain issues (Thune, 2009), includes in the G20 Summit, indirectly in positive framing of national mass media in reporting on the G20 Summit also became a mediator between Indonesia and other countries present, minimal in participating in creating a conducive climate during implementation of the G20 Summit.

Even in some moments of international communication, in establishing bilateral and multilateral relations, mass media can be used as a tool of diplomacy between countries when discussing or negotiating an international issue (Stangel & Rainer, 2017).

Therefore, several countries often use mass media to contribute strengthening of international political policies through dissemination power of public opinion, so as to influence public support on international relations decisions (Coban, 2016).

This awareness is also one of things that encourages Government of the Republic of Indonesia issued a policy by providing special facilities to 2,105 journalists from abroad.

This fact became news material for national mass media, with neutral framing, without providing an assessment of the policy.

In fact, it is possible that national mass media will present a comparative opinion with facilities provided to national journalists, so that it can frame discrimination, injustice or vice versa equality, but the fact is not. The national mass media reported it objectively.

The contribution of the mass media in building and strengthening international relations between other countries, in the view of Andriani, N. (2015) is that in international politics, the mass media is not only a source of political information, but also often a driving force for political change. In general, the mass media has certain tendencies in covering international political events.

Efforts to build and strengthen such international relations called public diplomacy because utilizes many informal channels (multi-track diplomacy). These international relations are usually carried out by non-governmental professionals, businessmen, civilians, educators and researchers, international activists, as well as mass media through strengthening dissemination of information.

Measuring national media framing at the G20 Summit, although not too strong in showing the role of second line diplomacy, but when compared with the three conclusions of positive, neutral, and negative news framing values, national mass media in framing reporting on implementation of the G20 Summit are positive.

Although there is news that can be considered negative, but conveyed more politely and rhetorically as the news entitled Activities in Bali are Limited at the G20 Summit.

Constructing reality for mass media through media framing is one of critical functions of mass media, so that in the context of reporting on the G20 Summit, whatever the facts of mass media coverage remain a form of contribution to holding of the G20 Summit.

Especially if mass media framing positively can be categorized as, mass media has played a role as a second diplomacy.

According to Naveh (2002), mass media transforms events through a format that contains ideology and a value perspective with a focus on headlines, symbol, and associated stereotypes.

Even though, according to Mintz and DeRouen (2010), there are two theories who can answer the question of influence of news media on foreign policy decisions: CNN Effect theory which states that media is a support-raising factor and The Manufacturing Consent theory which argues that elite control media and government uses mass media to create support.

However, in reporting on the G20 Summit, it is difficult to identify a suitable theory between two theories based on framing of national mass media, because more dominant in objective journalistic principles.

Political Communication of Mass Media

As part of political infrastructure actors in a country, mass media also carry out political communication in carrying out roles in presenting various contents of a political event, including news content. Likewise, in the G20 Summit event which was held in Bali, 14-16 November 2022, national mass media doing political communication.

Among the political infrastructure factors: political parties, interest groups, pressure groups, political figures, and political communication tools (Nolte, 2016), the mass media can have many roles as political actors. In addition to mass media being political communication tools, they can also play the role of interest groups, pressure groups, members of political parties, and raises political figures. The many roles of mass media as actors of political communication, so that news coverage in mass media also determines the nation's image in the eyes of international world (Anholt, 2009). Moreover, the event that became an object of news was the G20 Summit involving many countries, political communication of mass media also determines images of successful implementation of the G20 Summit in the eyes of the world community.

Even more powerful, the role of political communication actors (Anwar, 2009) can encourage and create strategic changes as a result of actions and reactions between global, regional and national environment as well as the types and role of actors who are increasingly diverse, both in style and interests. The forms of political communication played by contemporary actors are increasingly diverse aligned with political interests that frame it.

Arifin (in Hikmat, 2019) divides forms of political communication into seven forms, they are: Rhetoric: addressing the crowd (public); Political agitation: awakening public to a political movement; Propaganda: instilling and creating an atmosphere of suggestion; Public Relations: creating a relationship of mutual trust, harmony, open or accommodative with the public; Political campaigns: efforts to obtain and strengthen voter political support; Political lobby: The arena for politicians or political cadres to talk about power, influence, authority, conflict and consensus; Through Mass Media: efforts to expand senses to convey political messages through public opinion or political image through mass media.

In this modern era, political marketing is a fundamental part of political life. President and prime minister; politicians and parties; all government departments and boards use marketing in pursuit of their political goals. Lees-Marshment, J. (2014). This form is also an adoption a form of political communication that lives in political arena in United States which has been developing since 1980s (Nursal, 2004).

According to Graber (in Andriani, 2015), there are at least four functions of mass media for a country's international relations. First, mass media conveys latest information about various political events that happening in international arena. Second, mass media provides space for social awareness for the state to examine more deeply public opinion that developing in international community. Third, mass media facilitates the state to convey important messages to international community. Fourth, mass media provides opportunities for state administrators to maintain continuity of his power in midst of his role.

At the G20 Summit event in Bali, 15-16 November 2022, mass media is not only a political communication tool which is used by superstructure political communication actors, but also act as an infrastructure factor that conveys political messages in various content.

Based on framing analysis described above, national mass media tend to uphold objectivity in presenting the G20 Summit news.

The national mass media framing news based on their own "taste." Partiality of national mass media coverage towards Government or certain parties relatively low.

From the framing analysis of news coverage of the G20 Summit, it can also be categorized as forms of political communication carried out by national mass media, among which those identified are political agitation, propaganda, and political public relations.

Arifin (2003) defines agitation aimed at arousing the people to a political movement, both verbally and in writing by stimulating and arousing the emotions of the audience. Starting with how to create contradictions in society and move the audience to oppose the realities of life that are experienced.

Even though national mass media acts as an agitator, in Smith's terms (Zakyuddin, 2019) it is called as a calm agitator. With reporting that tends to be objective, it is able to move audiences, so that thoughts, attitudes, and behaviour of audience provide support for a conducive climate at holding of the G20 Summit, such as schools being closed down (during), activity restrictions being obeyed, even Bali Leaders' Declaration being made viral.

Meanwhile, propaganda according to Wooley and Howard (2016) and Sulton (2021) becomes as business of individuals or interest groups to control attitudes of other groups of individuals by using suggestions. Oddo (2023) propaganda as a more collective activity, something that audiences spread among themselves, either intentionally or without any design.

In the view of political communication, mass media as part of interest groups in country's political arena so that it enters infrastructure political actor. Mass media framing analysis conducted on online mass media reporting on the G20 Summit as an attempt to reveal mass media's interest in the event.

The results of framing analysis-interpreting tendency of mass media interests, which are object of research in reporting on the G20 Summit, namely creating a conducive climate for implementation. In an effort to achieve this interest, mass media conducts propaganda through reporting that is relatively in favour of success of the G20 Summit.

Public Relations Politics according to Stomback (2013) is to carry out reciprocal (two-way) relations rationally to create a relationship of mutual trust, harmony, open or accommodative between political communication actors, both superstructure and political infrastructure actors, and public.

As a political infrastructure actor, national mass media in reporting on the G20 Summit explicitly uses principles of Political Public Relations by strengthening public trust in goals and benefits of the G20 Summit. Although the response that was obtained was an indirect response, with support of a conducive climate for holding the G20 Summit.

Students' Knowledge

Various communication models that use a circular approach besides having main element of participants (communication participants), there is also a response (feedback) due to communication that occurs two-way traffic communication.

In political communication, political participants are termed political actors and their responses are also called political effects.

Hasan (2009) categorizes three effects of political communication, there are cognitive, affective, and conative (behavioral) effects.

These three effects are stronger when political communication uses mass media as political communication tools.

Especially if mass media plays a role as an infrastructure, political actor that provides political messages in its news offerings.

Like national mass media at the G20 Summit who also acts as a political communication actor. Their presentation of news as a political message has an effect on audiences, both cognitive, affective and conative effects.

However, this study only measures cognitive effect or increase in audience knowledge related to reporting on the G20 Summit. Respondents who were measured were also selected purposively, students in West Java Province from study programs related to human relations.

From questionnaires distributed, it was found that 410 students who filled out questionnaire with characteristics came from West Java Province 96.5%, from study programs related to human relations 99%, and 97% used to listen to news in online mass media.

Before the implementation of the G20 Summit in Bali, 15-16 November 2022, only 27.7% of 410 students knew about the G20, but after implementation of the G20 Summit in Bali, it increased to 97.5%.

Student knowledge about the G20 Summit was obtained from mass media 96.6%, although 71.35% admitted that apart from mass media, there are other parties who are also a source of their knowledge about the G20 Summit in Bali.

However, 89.1% of students acknowledged that mass media provided the most knowledge about the G20 Summit.

There were 99.5% of student respondents who acknowledged that hosting the G20 Summit for Indonesia was an achievement in itself in development of international relations.

Because 99% of them admit that existences of the G20 very beneficial for Indonesia for advancement of international relations, so, 98.5% of students support Indonesia to continue to be active in various G20 activities.

Table 1: Students Knowledge

No	Questions	Number of Respondents	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly
1	I know that in November 2022, Indonesia will be the housefather of the G20 Summit in Bali.	410	47,8%	49,8%	2%	0,5%
2	Before to holding the G20 Summit in Bali in November 2022, I had no idea about the G20.		12,5%	60,5%	24,9%	2,4%
3	I know about the G20 Summit from mass media (print, electronic, social media).		42,4%	54,1%	2,9%	0,5%
4	The mass media that I use most often are online mass media portals or other social media that use internet network.		52,2%	47,8%	0%	0%
5	Apart from mass media (print, electronic, social media), there were other parties who informed me about the G20 Summit.		17,1%	54,6%	25,9%	2,4%
6	On a percentage basis, knowledge about the G20 Summit more due to mass media (print, electronic, social media) than from other parties.		34,1%	55,1%	9,8%	1%
7	Being the housefather of the G20 Summit for Indonesia is an achievement for development of international political relations.		43,9%	55,6%	0,5%	0%
8	The G20 Summit has benefits for Indonesia's international relations.		48,3%	50,70%	1%	0%
9	Indonesia should continue to play an active role in the G20.		40,5%	58%	1,5%	0%
10	The G20 Summit is a form of international political communication carried out by countries in the world.		44,9%	54,1%	1%	0%

CONCLUSION

We analyzed the frame of national mass media coverage regarding to G20 Summit that tends to be positive framing. Consequently, it contributes to the success of holding the G20 Summit. Furthermore, we see that there are trends in three forms of political communication use by the national mass media coverage content of the G20 Summit in forms of political agitation, political propaganda, and political public relations. We also see that students' knowledge toward the G20 Summit increased by 76.2% after the mass media reported on holding the G20 Summit.

Acknowledgements

We especially thank to our colleagues who all were involved in collecting the data.

Conflict of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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