



Media Studies and Politics in Indonesia: a Systematic Literature Review

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to systematically map the themes, trends, and gaps in media and political studies in Indonesia between 2020 and 2025. The method used was a systematic literature review (SLR) guided by the PRISMA framework. The dataset was collected through the Scopus/ScienceDirect database using specific keywords. The initial data collection yielded 98 entries. After screening and eligibility assessment, the clean data yielded 32 entries. The dataset was analysed using the bibliometrix tool in RStudio. The analysis showed that the phrase "palm oil" was the most dominant keyword, followed by "public health" and "social media." This finding indicates a cross-sectoral dimension in media-political studies. The trend analysis revealed three thematic phases: the dominance of the pandemic and news media issues (2020), a shift to public health, the environment, and religion (2021-2023), and the strengthening of social media, child marriage, and sentiment analysis (2025). The co-occurrence network revealed three main clusters: media and digital studies, empirical research and public data, and global policy and trade. We also found that there is a significant gap between the academic agenda and actual political dynamics.

1. Introduction

In the past two decades, developments in information and communication technology have transformed the way people consume political information and the way political actors construct public narratives (Afzal et al., 2023; Ausat, 2023; Holroyd, 2022; Quach et al., 2022; Tolstov & Shapoval, 2025). These developments have made the media no longer function as a neutral channel for simply conveying messages but have also become an arena for battles over discourse, ideological interests, and even power (Abid et al., 2025; Borchers, 2025; Suuronen et al., 2022). This phenomenon has also occurred in Indonesia, given that Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest internet and social media users in the world (Adiputra et al., 2023; Adityawan et al., 2025; Martahadi & Alfalah, 2025; Prisilia et al., 2025). Furthermore, the extraordinary acceleration of digitalisation during the COVID-19 pandemic has significantly impacted Indonesian media consumption (Susanti & Muliawanti, 2022; Syah & Witanti, 2022; Wibowo et al., 2022). Consequently, studies on the relationship between media and politics have become increasingly complex and require a systematic and comprehensive

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scientific approach to map the direction, trends, and gaps within the ever-expanding academic literature.

The COVID-19 pandemic and post-pandemic period have been one of the most dynamic and turbulent phases in Indonesia's democratic history (Azmi & Satria, 2022; Kusmanto et al., 2022). During this time, Indonesia has faced a series of monumental political events. These include the enactment of the Omnibus Law, which sparked massive demonstrations in 2020, the controversy surrounding the presidential term extension that briefly surfaced, and the legal and constitutional upheaval that marked the 2024 General Election (Sukma et al., 2020; Sutan et al., 2021; Wiguna & Rifai, 2021). This latter case also encompasses the controversial Constitutional Court ruling that changed the age requirements for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, sparking public debate about the independence of the judiciary (Pangidoan et al., 2024; Tariah et al., 2025; Yuliana et al., 2024). Ultimately, the 2024 General Election became a political battleground, demonstrating how conventional and digital media were intensively used as instruments for shaping public opinion, mobilising the masses, and spreading disinformation (Farida et al., 2023; Nababan et al., 2024; Suntra Yanti et al., 2024). This turmoil demonstrated the strong link between media practices and the dynamics of power and politics in Indonesia. This dynamic also underscores the urgency of the time period selected in this study.

One of the most prominent phenomena concerning media and politics in Indonesia in the 2020-2025 period is the deepening political polarisation mediated by the digital media ecosystem, particularly social media (Manuputty et al., 2025; Setiawan et al., 2024; Srikandi, 2025; Welan & Kompas, 2025). Social media platforms such as Twitter/X, Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube, besides being spaces for public political expression, also become fertile ground for the development of practices that threaten the quality of democracy, such as the spread of hoaxes, organized buzzers, and the silencing of critical voices through cyberattacks and legal pressure (Arianto, 2020; Setiawan et al., 2024; Simangunsong & Shenna, 2024). The post-truth phenomenon also exacerbates this condition, ultimately raising questions about the democratic function of the media. Media ownership concentrated in the hands of a handful of elites with specific political affiliations also adds a layer of complexity to understanding the dynamics of media-politics relations in Indonesia (Bustami & Sazali, 2025; Cahyana, 2022; Evanalia, 2022; Khumairoh, 2021). This situation has driven the emergence of various academic studies with diverse perspectives. This is one of the reasons why this systematic literature review is necessary to map the diversity of themes and findings in a structured and critical manner.

Although studies on media and politics in Indonesia have grown rapidly in recent years, our initial observations indicate a gap in the synthesis and consolidation of academic findings. Existing research tends to be partial and fragmented, with varying focuses. This reality reinforces the urgency of this study, considering its efforts to integrate issues, themes, and research findings into a comprehensive knowledge map.

This systematic literature review on media and politics studies in Indonesia for the 2020-2025 period has multiple significances, from academic to practical. Academically, this research contributes to the development of a corpus of knowledge on political communication in Indonesia, which has been underrepresented in global political communication literature. Practically, the findings of this study can be used as a reference for journalists, media activists, and civil society organisations engaged in media literacy and press freedom monitoring. The systematic mapping conducted in this study can also

provide input to policymakers, such as the Press Council and the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, as an overview of media and politics studies in Indonesia and can be used as a reference in formulating media regulations that are democratic, equitable, and responsive to the challenges of the digital era.

2. Methods

This study employed a systematic literature review (SLR) approach as its primary methodological framework. SLR was chosen because it encompasses the process of identifying, evaluating, and synthesising all scientific studies used as the research dataset through explicit, systematic, and replicable procedures. We also chose this approach due to its ability to minimise literature selection bias, maximise study coverage, and produce evidence-based conclusions (Linnenluecke et al., 2020; Mohamed Shaffril et al., 2021; Paul et al., 2021). Given the context of this research, which encompasses media and political studies with broad literature coverage, SLR was deemed appropriate for comprehensively mapping these studies.

We conducted our SLR based on the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) framework. Developed as a guideline in the context of medical and health research, PRISMA has now been widely adopted in various disciplines, including communication science. This is due to PRISMA's ability to provide a rigorous yet flexible structure for the literature synthesis process. PRISMA is an evidence-based reporting guide or framework consisting of a checklist of items and a flowchart designed to ensure transparency, reproducibility, and completeness of reporting throughout the review process. These stages include source identification, screening, eligibility assessment, and literature inclusion (Page, McKenzie, Bossuyt, Boutron, Hoffmann, Mulrow, Shamseer, Tetzlaff, & Moher, 2021; Page, McKenzie, Bossuyt, Boutron, Hoffmann, Mulrow, Shamseer, Tetzlaff, Akl, et al., 2021; Sarkis-Onofre et al., 2021; Sohrabi et al., 2021). In this study, we used PRISMA as an operational guide to sort datasets in a measurable and accountable manner. This allows the entire selection process to be traced back.

Data collection in this study was conducted through a systematic search of the Scopus/ScienceDirect database. This database was chosen because of its reputation as one of the largest and most comprehensive multidisciplinary scientific literature databases. The search was conducted using the Boolean keyword combination "media studies" AND "politics" AND "Indonesia" with a publication timeframe of 2020 to 2025. Using these keywords, the search yielded 98 reference entries, which served as the initial dataset. As a first step in the screening phase based on PRISMA, deduplication and identity and metadata completeness checks were performed to eliminate entries that appeared more than once. This process successfully identified and removed 11 entries, reducing the number of entries that continued to the next stage to 87. This step is crucial to ensure that each piece of literature used is only counted once in the analysis process and that there is no overweighting or overrepresentation of certain works.

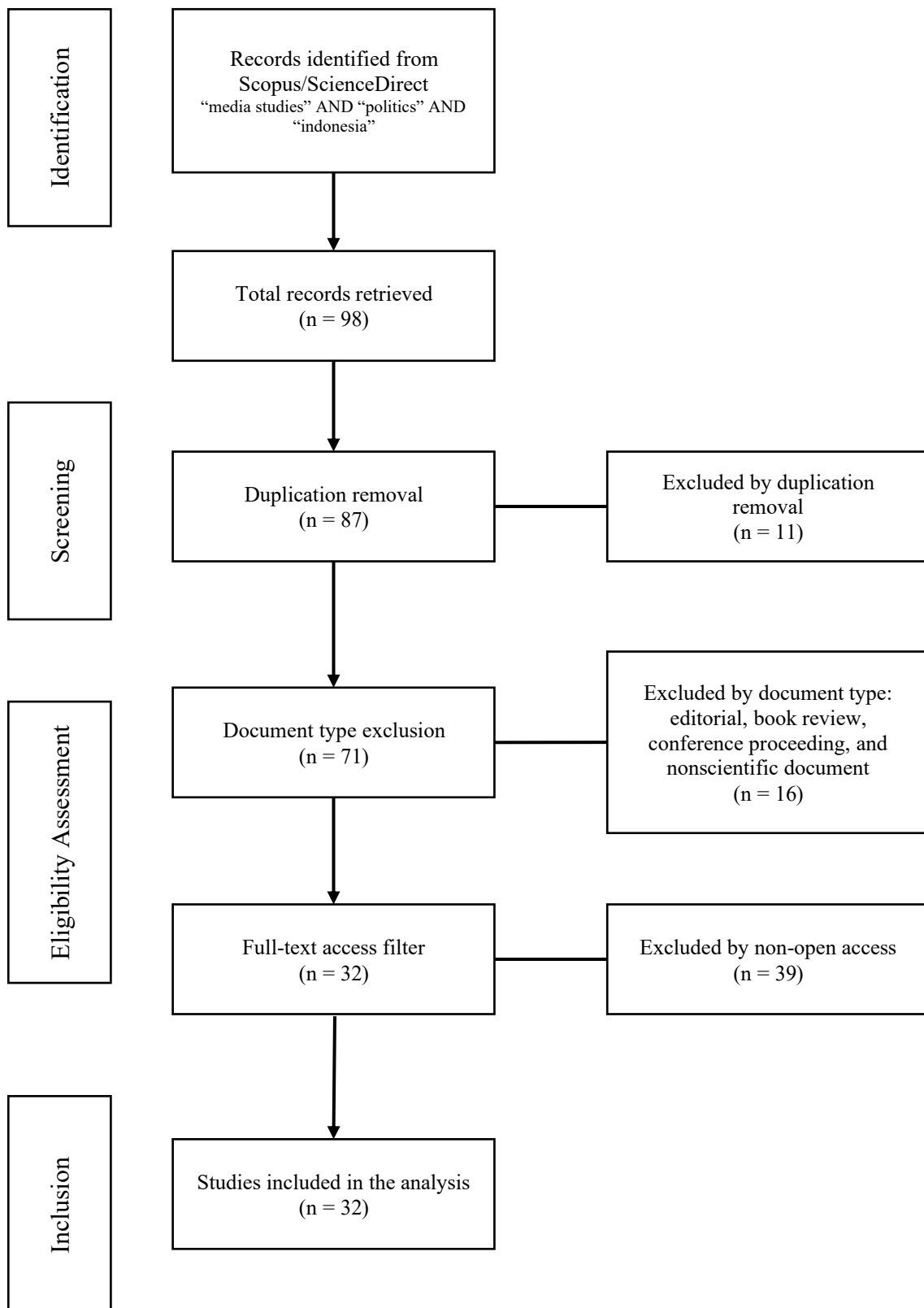


Figure 1. PRISMA Flow Diagram

After the screening stage, the process continued to the eligibility assessment stage, which was carried out in two sequential selection stages. First, screening was carried out

based on document type by eliminating non-research article references, including editorials, book reviews, conference reports, and other non-scientific documents. This process eliminated 16 entries. Second, open access criteria were applied to ensure that the analysis was conducted only on documents whose content and methodology could be thoroughly verified. This process eliminated 39 entries. After going through these two stages, 32 clean data entries were obtained that met all inclusion criteria and were ready for analysis. All clean data were then analysed using RStudio software utilising the Bibliometrix package (Aria & Cuccurullo, 2017, 2026). The entire process can be seen in Figure 1.

3. Results

Analysis of 32 article entries that met the inclusion criteria resulted in a keyword frequency distribution mapping, as shown in Figure 2. Extraction was performed using the Bibliometrix package based on the RStudio environment with parameters $n = 250$, $minfreq = 2$, $ngrams = 2$, and $stemming = TRUE$. These parameters ensure that the captured data are conceptually meaningful two-word phrases (bigrams). This two-word phrase model is preferred over the single-word model, which can only provide a general overview.

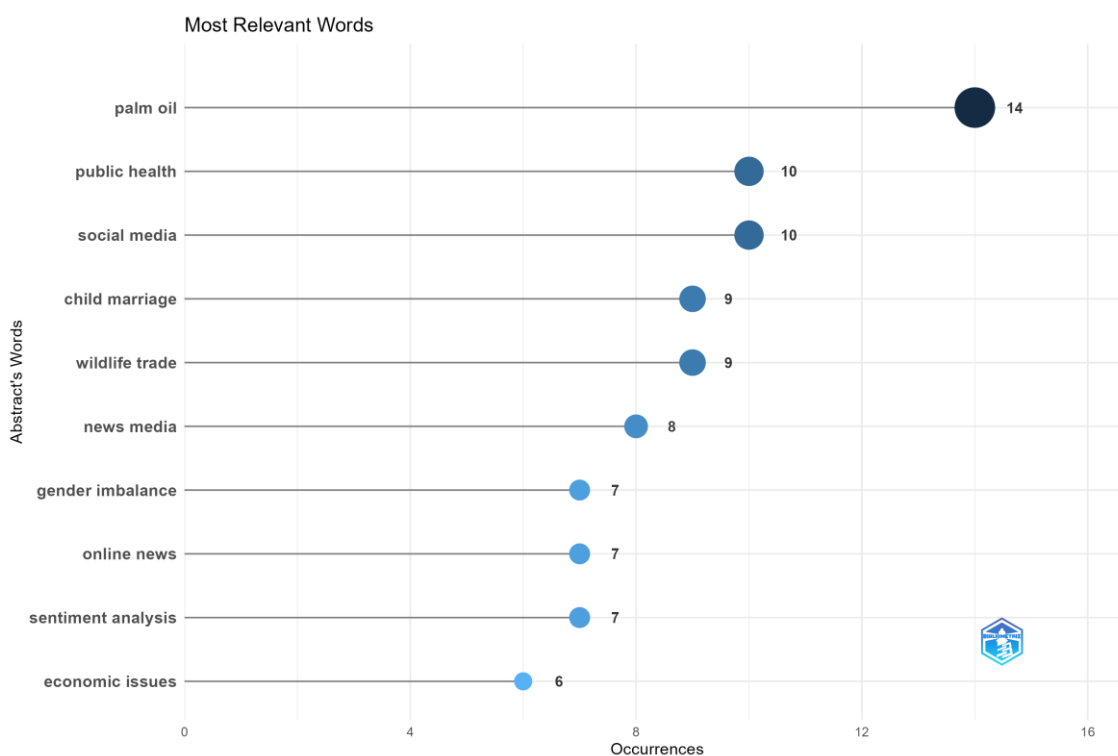


Figure 2. Most relevant words, inferred from the dataset

Figure 2 depicts a mapping of the 10 most relevant phrases. The phrase "palm oil" was the keyword with the highest frequency ($f=14$). It was closely followed by "public health" and "social media," which had the same frequency ($f=10$). This finding indicates that, in the 2020-2025 timeframe, the issues dominating academic discourse in the tested dataset were not solely centred on politics and media themes. This finding indicates a cross-sectoral dimension to environmental and commodity issues (palm oil), public health, and digital communication.

The occurrence of the phrases "child marriage" and "wildlife trade" at the same frequency (f=9) indicates a human rights dimension and reinforces politically mediated environmental issues. Meanwhile, the presence of the phrases "news media" (f=9), "online news" (f=7), and sentiment analysis (f=7) reflects significant attention to digital media studies and computational methods in content analysis and public opinion. The phrase "economic issues" (f=6) complements the thematic issue with a political-economic dimension that significantly influenced media and political dynamics in Indonesia during the period studied.

Topic trend analysis was conducted to map the temporal evolution of the dataset used in this study. Trend data was obtained by inferring the start year, median year, and end year, which represent the distribution range of publication years for each topic. This mapping allowed us to identify topics that are time-bound, or tied to a specific period, as well as topics that are longitudinal, or develop continuously across years. The results of the distribution of the 12 topics with the highest frequency are shown in Table 1, and the mapping is shown in Figure 3.

Table 1. Trend topics based on frequency and median

Topic	Frequency	Q1	Median	Q3
News Media	8	2020	2020	2020
Online News	7	2020	2020	2020
Economic Issues	6	2020	2020	2020
Public Health	10	2021	2021	2021
Wildlife Trade	9	2022	2022	2022
Islamic Videos	6	2022	2022	2022
Covid-19 Pandemic	5	2020	2022	2022
Palm Oil	14	2023	2023	2023
Gender Imbalance	7	2023	2023	2023
Social Media	10	2022	2025	2025
Child Marriage	9	2025	2025	2025
Sentiment Analysis	7	2025	2025	2025

Based on Table 1 and Figure 3, we identify three distinct thematic phases. The first phase (2020) was characterised by a dominance of themes related to media responses to the COVID-19 pandemic crisis. The keywords "news media" (f=8, median 2020), "online news" (f=7, median 2020), and "economic issues" (f=6, median 2020) illustrate the research focus on how online media responded to and framed the economic impact of the first wave of the pandemic. The media's role in disseminating public information amidst the uncertainty caused by the pandemic was a key topic of the studies conducted during this period.

The second phase (2021-2023) showed a significant thematic shift. The topic "public health" (f=10, median 2021) marked the transition of research from emergency pandemic response to long-term public health management. In 2022, we found the emergence of new themes: "wildlife trade" (f=9) and "Islamic videos" (f=6). These two themes indicate that research topics are beginning to shift to the dimensions of environmental and religious policy in the digital space. The phrase "Covid-19 pandemic" (f=5, Q1 2020, median 2022) indicates that the topic of the Covid-19 pandemic remains relevant but is shifting toward more specific and in-depth research topics. We also found that in 2023, the topics "palm oil" (f=14) and "gender imbalance" (f=7) dominated

research. These two topics demonstrate research attention to commodity sustainability and gender equity issues mediated by media coverage and political policy.

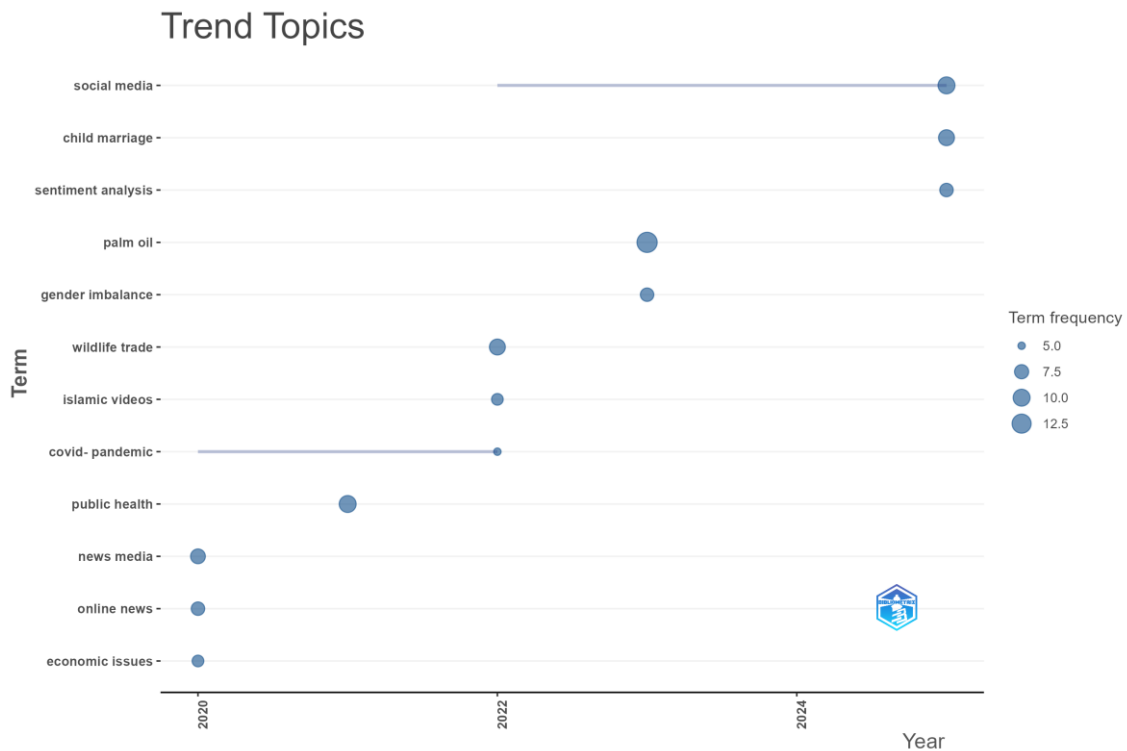


Figure 3. Inferred trend topics from the dataset

The third phase (2025) demonstrates a forward-looking orientation dominated by three topics. The topic "social media" (f=10, Q1 2022, median 2025) exhibits the longest trend, from 2022 to 2025, indicating that studies on social media as a political arena continue to develop. The topics "child marriage" (f=9) and "sentiment analysis" (f=7), concentrated in 2025, indicate the emergence of two prospective research clusters. First, studies of social rights and child protection are linked to political narratives and the media. Second, the adoption of computational analysis methods based on Natural Language Processing (NLP), which is increasingly gaining ground in contemporary media and political studies.

Table 3. Term distribution based on betweenness, closeness and PageRank

Node	Cluster	Betweenness	Closeness	PageRank
media	1	45,2187461	0,02040816	0,04970064
study	1	51,533514	0,02040816	0,05492497
analysis	1	61,3678466	0,02040816	0,04883042
news	1	7,45551852	0,01724138	0,02718196
social	1	29,9248556	0,01923077	0,03840437
digital	1	6,8326305	0,01666667	0,02535286
articles	1	29,3006055	0,01851852	0,034258
findings	1	20,284251	0,01851852	0,03444611
islamic	1	0	0,01162791	0,00641234
sentiment	1	0,99177635	0,01428571	0,01520763
approach	1	4,67153056	0,01666667	0,02659481
sustainability	1	0	0,01123596	0,00472756
temporal	1	0,01818182	0,01234568	0,00693406
positive	1	1,13413879	0,01388889	0,01386495
technologies	1	0	0,01176471	0,00619354
community	1	12,3003955	0,01818182	0,02879234
context	1	0,75687978	0,01449275	0,0160111
found	1	1,15747307	0,01428571	0,01430988
including	1	2,50153127	0,015625	0,02417448
political	1	0,19540438	0,01333333	0,01098381
practice	1	0,10850712	0,01298701	0,00897489
reveal	1	0,26989618	0,01449275	0,0170317
research	2	46,1544196	0,02040816	0,04798687
public	2	12,783296	0,01886792	0,03064457
based	2	14,9624072	0,01785714	0,03237895
health	2	0	0,01315789	0,00939115
data	2	8,33082079	0,01754386	0,03043466
development	2	2,94636707	0,01612903	0,02059901
information	2	6,63429952	0,01754386	0,02796695
countries	2	9,01467331	0,015625	0,01920685
results	2	21,7812217	0,01886792	0,03830778
economic	2	0,06102546	0,01369863	0,01179778
issues	2	0,13477967	0,01298701	0,00918933
online	2	9,39794598	0,01754386	0,02427149
covid-	2	0,66981641	0,01515152	0,01620525
indonesia	2	0,65538964	0,01408451	0,01296952
significant	2	6,24863522	0,01754386	0,02849898
pandemic	2	0,75947842	0,01515152	0,01688709
indicators	2	0,54414859	0,01388889	0,01352747
questions	2	1,94476996	0,01492537	0,01463513
related	2	1,63344872	0,01587302	0,0186474
oil	3	0	0,01176471	0,00562998
global	3	34,7614908	0,01785714	0,02933453
policy	3	24,5578832	0,01724138	0,02386764
trade	3	0	0,01020408	0,0043092

The presence of the terms "political" (betweenness 0.195 and PageRank 0.011), "Islamic" (betweenness 0 and PageRank 0.006), "sentiment" (betweenness 0.99 and PageRank 0.015), and "sustainability" (betweenness 0 and PageRank 0.005) in this cluster indicates diverse cross-dimensional studies. These study dimensions include analysis of political discourse, online religious content (Islamic ideas), the application of computational methods (sentiment analysis), and media reporting on environmental sustainability issues.

Cluster 2 illustrates a grouping of terms oriented toward an empirical approach to studying public issues. We see that the term "research" dominates this cluster, with the highest betweenness value (46.15) and the second-highest PageRank in the entire network (0.048). The position of these two terms establishes them as important connecting terms. Furthermore, the terms "results" (betweenness 21.78 and PageRank 0.038) and "public" (betweenness 12.78 and PageRank 0.031) occupy central positions in this cluster.

The term "Indonesia" (betweenness 0.66 and PageRank 0.013) in this cluster caught our attention. It co-occurred with the terms "Covid-19" (betweenness 0.67 and PageRank 0.0162), "pandemic" (betweenness 0.76 and PageRank 0.0169), "health" (betweenness 0 and PageRank 0.0094), and "economic" (betweenness 0.061 and PageRank 0.012). The presence pattern of this cluster of terms indicates that references to Indonesia emerged in the context of empirical research that focused more on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on public health and the economy than on critical studies of political systems and discourse.

Cluster 3 is the smallest, consisting of four terms: "global," "policy," "trade," and "oil." This cluster is particularly significant due to the presence of the terms "global" (betweenness 34.76) and "policy" (betweenness 24.56). These two terms serve as the primary link between this cluster and clusters 1 and 2. We also note that this cluster represents dimensions of international policy and the global economy. This context refers to the palm oil commodity trade and wildlife trade, discussed within the global policy framework. Table 3 outlines the distribution of terms based on cluster, betweenness, closeness, and PageRank.

From the overall data inference, we constructed a thematic map to evaluate the strategic position of each topic cluster based on the centrality dimension, which measures how important and connected a theme is to the overall research network, and density, which measures how cohesive a theme's development is. The results of this inference are presented in Table 4 and illustrated in the thematic map shown in Figure 5.

Table 4. Publication list for thematic mapping

DOI	Author, Year, Publication	Assigned Cluster	PageRank
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2024.103331	ANNUKA NAYHA AN, 2024, For. Policy Econ.	findings reveal	0,01691033
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jwds.2023.100075	GREETJE SCHOUTEN GS, 2023, World Dev. Sustain.	findings reveal	0,0330671
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jidtr.2021.102174	ZOBAIDA AL-BALDAWI ZAB, 2021, Int. J. Disaster RISK Reduct.	findings reveal	0,06040556
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2023.106628	RORY PADFIELD RP, 2023, Land USE Policy	media representations	0,03286185
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsci.2025.104005	LIVIA FRITZ LF, 2025, Environ. Sci. Policy	n.a.	0
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1108/JD-11-2024-0267	FERESHITA WESTIN FW, 2025, J. Doc.	n.a.	0
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssahe.2025.102295	ALEM FEBRI SONNI AFS, 2025, Soc. Sci. Humanit. OPEN	n.a.	0
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/26666286-12340033	RUKAYYAH REICHLING RR, 2023, J. Mater. Cult. Muslim World	n.a.	0
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.joi.2023.101460	KAZUKI NAKAJIMA KN, 2023, J. Inf.	n.a.	0
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-bjaj0047	JULIAN MILLIE JM, 2023, Bijdr. TOT TAAL- LAND- Volkenkd. / J. Humanit. Soc. Sci. Southeast ASIA	n.a.	0
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e15685	DIAROT SULISTIO WISNUBROTO DSW, 2023, HELIYON	n.a.	0
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jseforum.2022.09.004	SASHA ENGELMANN SE, 2022, GEOFORUM	n.a.	0
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e09083	MD. SAYEED AL-ZAMAN MSAZ, 2022, HELIYON	n.a.	0
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e06276	SEPTIAWAN SANTANA KURNIA SSK, 2021, HELIYON	n.a.	0
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e09704	TUTI BAHFIARTI TB, 2022, HELIYON	news articles	0,03564204
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2021.102079	PATRICK D. THELEN PDT, 2021, Public RELATIONS Rev.	news articles	0,01600272
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.osnem.2021.100149	MAYANK KEJRIWAL MK, 2021, Online Soc. NETWORKS Media	news articles	0,02078044
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2020.e05169	FORD LUMBAN GAOL FLG, 2020, HELIYON	news articles	0,08477146
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2020.e05599	DYAH GANDASARI DG, 2020, HELIYON	news articles	0,10034333
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esg.2025.100286	CHRIS ARSENAULT CA, 2025, EARTH Syst. Gov.	policy makers	0,00638243
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2196/30979	NEVILLE CALLEJA NC, 2021, JMIR INFODEMIOLOGY	policy makers	0,00638243
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jwss.2025.100286	SOFYAN SJAF SS, 2025, Wellbeing Space Soc.	research examines	0,01958968
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeresp.2021.100017	PATRICIA M. GREENFIELD PMG, 2021, Curr. Res. Ecol. Soc. Psychol.	research examines	0,00559644
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1108/QRJ-02-2024-0036	TAWFFEEK A.S. MOHAMMED TASM, 2025, Qual. Res. J.	sentiment analysis	0,08142977
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jiime.2025.100368	ABDUL SITTA AS, 2025, Int. J. Inf. Manag. DATA INSIGHTS	sentiment analysis	0,01100172
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2025.07.004	VIMAL BALASUBRAMANIAM VB, 2025, J. Comp. Econ.	significantly influences	0,00559644
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.procs.2025.08.265	EDI SUPRIYADI ES, 2025, PROCEDIA Comput. Sci.	social media	0,06300362
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.caeo.2025.100293	MATEO R. BORBON MRB, 2025, Comput. Educ. OPEN	social media	0,04116742
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jif.2024.106068	JIAZHEN WANG JW, 2024, Financ. Res. Lett.	social media	0,01132849
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jgecco.2022.e02270	YIFU WANG YW, 2022, Glob. Ecol. Conserv.	social media	0,02245852
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssahe.2024.101085	SOLEH HASAN WAHID SHW, 2024, Soc. Sci. Humanit. OPEN	theoretical frameworks	0,04647203
https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techsoc.2020.101397	STELLA SOPHIE ZILIAN SSZ, 2020, Technol. Soc.	theoretical frameworks	0,00564739

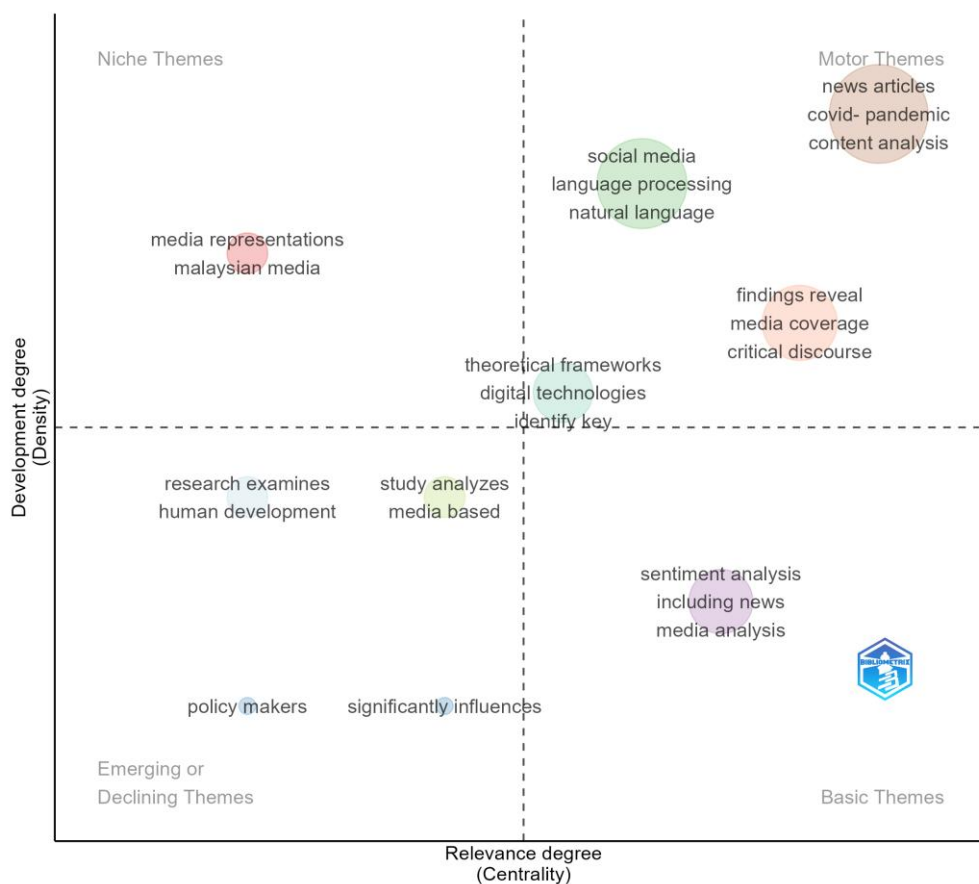


Figure 5. Thematic mapping of the analysed issues

Motor themes encompass themes that hold a central position. The first cluster indicates that content analysis studies on COVID-19 news are the most influential theme. This finding is confirmed by the high PageRank values of key articles in this cluster, such as Gandasari & Dwidienawati (2020) with a PageRank of 0.10 and Gaol et al. (2020) with a PageRank of 0.085. Both articles were published early in the pandemic and serve as foundational works that serve as references for subsequent research. The second cluster encompasses critical discourse analysis of media coverage, characterised by the article by Al-Badawi et al. (2021) with a PageRank of 0.06, making it the most influential article.

Niche themes are cohesive and structured themes with minimal connections to other themes. We see that the first cluster of niche themes indicates a group focused on media representation in the Malaysian context. The presence of this topic reflects the geographical and cultural proximity between Malaysia and Indonesia. Consequently, the topic emerges as a cohesive yet isolated theme. The second cluster demonstrates the integration of social media studies with NLP techniques. Two key articles in this cluster are Supriyadi & Makatita (2025) with a PageRank of 0.063 and Borbon & Rae (2025) with a PageRank of 0.041. Both articles indicate that computational approaches in social media studies are in a phase of rapid growth and have the potential to shift to the position of a motor theme.

Basic themes encompass themes with high centrality. Themes in this quadrant are relevant and broadly connected to other themes, but lack strong internal cohesion. The high centrality of sentiment analysis indicates that this method is applied across themes

in different contexts. However, we also note that the low density of sentiment analysis indicates a lack of unified methodological consolidation.

Emerging and declining themes represent themes with low centrality and density. The majority of articles in this cluster have low PageRank values. We also observe that publications from 2023-2025 have not yet established citation networks. The presence of the "policymakers" theme in this quadrant indicates that the study of policymakers has not been firmly institutionalised, even though, normatively, this dimension is a core element in media and political discourse. We believe this situation indicates a significant research gap between the themes and the theoretical developments.

4. Discussions

We begin this discussion by focusing on the study's most striking finding: a thematic configuration that transcends the traditional boundaries of media and political studies. Based on keyword frequency distribution, the phrase "palm oil" emerged as the most dominant keyword, surpassing even keywords more directly related to media and political studies, such as "news media" or "political." We believe this finding illustrates and reflects the reality that media and political studies in Indonesia cannot be separated from their surrounding political-economic context. This issue encompasses the relationship with strategic commodities like palm oil, which frequently become an arena for narrative battles between business, environmental, and global geopolitical interests. This argument aligns with the political economy of media perspective, which emphasises that the content and direction of media coverage are inextricably linked to ownership structures, market pressures, and industry interests that dominate the public sphere.

In Indonesia, the palm oil industry is one of the sectors most vulnerable to the discursive battle between national development narratives and international pressures regarding environmental sustainability. Conventional and digital media serve as arenas where this framing battle takes place. (Heryadi, 2025; Sisca & Tri Lestari, 2025) Therefore, the study of media representations of the palm oil issue is essentially a study of media politics. Our findings also reveal that this theme dominated the publication period we selected (2020-2025). This finding indicates that researchers view the commodity dimension as a central point in their analysis of Indonesian media and national politics (Albarran, 2023; Azzimonti & Fernandes, 2023; Fuchs, 2021; Gandy, 2021; Parkinson, 2024).

A similar situation applies to the emergence of the themes of "child marriage" and "wildlife trade." These two themes emerge not merely as standalone social or environmental issues, but as politically mediated issues. State policies, media narratives, and civil society pressure interact in a complex manner. These findings also reinforce the argument that the conventional boundaries between media studies, political studies, and social studies are increasingly blurred in contemporary communication research (Jensen, 2022; Kirk et al., 2023; Kremer et al., 2022; Törnberg, 2022).

Findings based on the temporal distribution of topics also reveal the strong influence of the COVID-19 pandemic in shaping research issues during 2020-2022. In the initial phase, the themes of "news media," "online news," and "economic issues" simultaneously dominated. This finding reflects the research's focus on the role of media as a critical information infrastructure amidst the crisis. This phase parallels an infodemic, a situation where a surge in online news consumption occurs alongside the proliferation of disinformation and misinformation related to health and the economy (Angus, 2025; Hutchins, 2022). This pattern is typical of crisis conditions, illustrated by the early

position of research, which serves as the basis for subsequent research based on new or previously unstudied phenomena (Wolbers et al., 2021).

From 2021 to 2022, the shift in public health as a dominant topic marked a research transition from studying "how the media reports on the pandemic" to studying "how media communication contributes to public health management." In our opinion, this shift demonstrates not only a thematic evolution but also an evolution of perspective. Therefore, the political dimension of pandemic media studies cannot be ignored, as it intersects with the topic of media as a health policy agent and directly shapes public attitudes toward policy interventions (Mach et al., 2021; Melki et al., 2022; Mellado et al., 2021).

The co-occurrence network also reveals an epistemic structure divided into media and digital studies (cluster 1), empirical research and public data (cluster 2), and global policy and trade (cluster 3). These three clusters reflect three distinct research epistemologies addressing the relationship between media and politics. The relationships between these identified clusters indicate that, although they operate in different domains, there is an active methodological exchange between quantitative, data-driven approaches and more interpretive media content analysis.

The implications of thematic map analysis are projected for the future development of research agendas for media and political studies in Indonesia. Findings on motor themes highlight the challenge of diversifying the application contexts of content analysis and critical discourse analysis to avoid becoming trapped in a single narrative that is losing its relevance (e.g., the pandemic narrative). Strategic findings emerge from niche themes, indicating the integration of social media studies and NLP techniques. In the Indonesian political context, relevance lies in the increasing use of social media as a platform for campaigning, spreading hoaxes, and conducting buzzer operations (Kusumawardani & Cahyanto, 2023; Soegiarto, 2025; Syadila et al., 2025). Research that combines analysis of social media political content with computational methods has great potential to develop as motor themes.

5. Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that the study of media and politics in Indonesia cannot be separated from the various intricacies of Indonesia's social, political, and economic conditions. These findings reveal significant convergences and divergences between academic research agendas and the realities on the ground. The dominance of the COVID-19 pandemic theme in the early period (2020-2022) accurately reflects the role the pandemic played in shaping the themes and topics of media and politics studies. On the other hand, divergences emerged between academic research agendas and the intensity of political dynamics in Indonesia, such as the Omnibus Law and the controversial Constitutional Court ruling. Not to be overlooked are themes that explicitly examine these dynamics, such as "electoral politics," "political polarisation," "disinformation," and "press freedom." We believe this divergence also indicates a publication lag on current political issues in Indonesia, such as the 2024 elections and the accompanying political turmoil. Indications of systematic bias were also taken into consideration, given that international publications tend to focus on more relevant global issues.

However, we acknowledge that this study has several limitations. First, the unevenness of the trend data indicates the possibility of uneven data distribution or sample size limitations. The sample size of 32 entries is relatively small and has direct

consequences for the application of strict inclusion criteria. Second, the high number of articles with PageRank values close to 0 is due to articles published between 2022 and 2025 that have not yet accumulated citations. This may be related to the phenomenon of citation lag. Consequently, evaluating the influence and importance of recent articles in the dataset cannot rely solely on PageRank and needs to be combined with a qualitative analysis of their conceptual and methodological contributions. Third, we acknowledge that using only one database may lead to representational bias. This relates to research published in national journals in Indonesia and international journals not included in the Scopus/ScienceDirect database, which is very large and encompasses a variety of in-depth contextual studies on local media and politics. We recommend conducting a complementary SLR that integrates national databases (SINTA) and searches from aggregation sites such as Google Scholar.

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