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DONALD TRUMP'S IMAGE IN INTERNATIONAL MEDIA: A FRAMING ANALYSIS BEFORE AND AFTER THE 2024 US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

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Abstract
This article examines international media framing of Donald Trump, particularly before and after the 2024 election. Trump has become one of the most controversial media figures in the US and international contexts. Since he was elected president, Trump has championed American nationalist policies and sparked controversies, including immigration, trade, and foreign relations policies. This study used framing theory to analyse mainstream media outlets, such as USA Today, Reuters, Al Jazeera, and the Jakarta Post, in reporting on the figure of Trump. The analysis covered 699 news stories from the four mainstream media outlets, published between 5 October and 5 December 2024. NVivo 12 was used to process and examine the media sentiment. The framing analysis used four (4) keywords, namely positive, negative, moderately positive, and moderately negative. The results show that the international media's framing of Trump is predominantly negative, with many reports highlighting his controversial policies, such as the ban on immigration from Muslim countries, as well as statements that are considered undiplomatic. This negative framing showcases distrust toward Trump's leadership because he rejected multilateral principles. This may imply that Trump has failed to gain positive support from domestic and international media that are more inclined to see him as a leader who fuels international tensions and potentially jeopardises global stability.

Keywords: Donald Trump, international media, media framing, presidential election

Introduction
The 2024 United States presidential election has drawn global attention due to its potential impact on domestic and international policy. As the US is a global superpower, changes in its leadership signal shifts in political direction that resonate worldwide. The contest between Republican Donald Trump, returning after a controversial presidency (2017–2021), and Democrat Kamala Harris adds intensity to an already high-stakes election (Antonov, 2023). Trump's election as the 47th President of the United States with 312 electoral votes, surpassing Kamala Harris (226 votes) and the 270-electoral-votes threshold, triggered various reactions, both positive and negative (Sorongan, 2024).

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Trump is known for his controversial leadership style and is seen as a global catastrophe (Sahide et. al 2024). However, Trump's supporters see this victory as a sign of a return to pro-business 'America First' policies that reflect economic nationalism, contrasting with the multilateral trading system. Supporters believe this approach can increase the country's prosperity (Sheldon et al. 2018). In many cases, the media act as a site of political mediation, influencing public perception, constructing narratives, and contributing to political outcomes. The media holds significant influence in national and global political arenas, shaping the public image of political actors and impacting their popularity and legitimacy (Bradshaw et al. 2020). Thus, the outcome of the 2024 US presidential election is not only crucial for the American public, but also carries wide-reaching implications for international politics, diplomacy, and policy direction. For this reason, it has drawn intense attention from both the global public and international media.

This study adopts Entman's (1993) framing theory to examine how media construct Donald Trump's image by selecting and emphasising particular aspects of political issues. Media may highlight certain issues because of their political significance, relevance to campaign debates, and potential domestic or international consequences. For example, immigration may be framed in terms of national security or humanitarian concerns, while economic policies may be presented through anticipated benefits or potential risks. These different emphases can produce contrasting representations of Trump across media outlets. Agenda-setting theory McCombs and Shaw (2017) complements framing theory by explaining how media attention influences the importance audiences attach to particular issues. While agenda-setting concerns which issues receive attention, framing focuses on how those issues are presented and interpreted. In this study, these theories guide the analysis of how USA Today, Reuters, Al Jazeera, and The Jakarta Post portray Trump before and after the 2024 U.S. presidential election.

Previous studies have examined media framing across several interconnected areas, including politics and public policy, conflict, social issues, political discourse, and the representation of political leaders. Research on politics and public policy has explored how media coverage constructs interpretations of political actors, policies, and public controversies (Siagian & Mitonga, 2024). Studies on conflict have further examined how media representations shape the interpretation of contested events and the actors involved (Al Nahed & Hammond, 2018; Arslan, 2024; Klein & Amis, 2021; Lev-On, 2018). Meanwhile, research on social and political communication has investigated how news narratives and political discourse emphasize particular issues and perspectives (Jones & Himelboim, 2010). Collectively, these strands of research establish media framing as a useful approach for examining how political issues and actors are represented. However, their findings need to be considered in relation to the specific political context, media outlets, and analytical approaches employed in each study. Research specifically addressing Donald Trump has examined his political policies, leadership, public discourse, and media representation. Studies of Trump's policies and political leadership have discussed the implications of his political positions for domestic governance and international relations (Biegon & Hamdaoui, 2024; Carati & Locatelli, 2023; Humire, 2024). Other studies have investigated political conflict and discourse surrounding his presidency and political activities (Biebricher, 2024; da Vinha, 2019). More directly, Sahide et al. (2024) examined Indonesian media

coverage of Trump during the 2020 US presidential election and found that negative framing predominated in the media outlets they studied.

However, comparative research examining media framing of Donald Trump before and after the 2024 U.S. presidential election remains limited. To address this gap, this study analyses how USA Today, Reuters, Al Jazeera, and The Jakarta Post portrayed Trump during the two periods. Specifically, this study asks: How did these four media outlets frame Donald Trump before and after the 2024 US presidential election? By examining the language, viewpoints, and narratives presented in their coverage, this study seeks to identify patterns and changes in media framing across the four outlets, thereby contributing to a better understanding of the representation of political figures in international news coverage.

Method

Data Collection

This study examines 699 news articles published by four media outlets: USA Today, Reuters, Al Jazeera, and The Jakarta Post. These outlets were selected to provide different institutional, geographical, and journalistic contexts for analysing Donald Trump's image before and after the 2024 US presidential election. Rather than assuming each outlet represents an entire region or provides entirely neutral reporting, this study recognises that media coverage may be shaped by editorial priorities, target audiences, news values, and the political contexts in which reporting takes place. USA Today was selected because of its broad domestic reach and its coverage of American politics, governance, and public policy (Jaber, 2024).

As a US-based outlet, it provides a domestic perspective on Trump's political image and the issues emphasised during the election period. Reuters, headquartered in London, was included as an international news agency to provide a comparative perspective on U.S. political developments from a global news-reporting context (Billah & Biswas, 2024). Its inclusion does not imply that Reuters represents European opinion as a whole. Al Jazeera was selected because of its international coverage and its relevance to examining how US political developments are reported in relation to the Middle East, particularly issues involving Islam, regional conflicts, and US foreign policy (Guo, 2022). The Jakarta Post, an English-language Indonesian newspaper, provides a Southeast Asian perspective on US politics and its potential international implications (Suryahadi & Solo, 2024). In this context, The Jakarta Post also provides a perspective on how non-Western countries perceive US political dynamics and their impact on international relations. Together, these outlets enable a comparison of media representations across different institutional and geographical contexts without assuming that their coverage is neutral or uniform within their respective regions.

The study covers articles published between 5 October and 5 December 2024. The corpus is divided into two periods: before the election (5 October–4 November 2024) and after the election (5 November–5 December 2024). This temporal division enables a comparison of how Trump's image was presented before the election outcome and in the period immediately following it. The analysis examines the issues emphasised, the language used, and the narratives constructed by each outlet. It also considers the distribution of positive, moderately positive, moderately negative, and negative portrayals to identify patterns and changes in coverage

across the two periods. These categories compare media representations rather than establish the outlets' intentions or determine their effects on public opinion.

Table 2. Media source

Media	Regional	Link	**Before the election** 5 October–4 November, 2024	**After the election** 5 November–5 December 2024
USA Today	US	https://www.usatoday.com/	31	151
Reuters	Europe	https://www.reuters.com/	136	195
Aljazeera	Middle East	https://www.aljazeera.com/	61	89
Jakarta Post	Southeast Asia	https://www.thejakartapost.com/	2	34
Total			**230**	**469**
			699	

Data analysis

The data analysis process was conducted using NVivo 12 Plus software for thematic analysis. Data collected using NCapture were imported into NVivo 12 Plus and categorised based on relevant themes and issues regarding Trump. NVivo 12 eased the thematic coding, pattern identification, and data visualisation, providing a more in-depth picture of the media framing of Trump. With these structured stages, the research is expected to produce more comprehensive and in-depth findings (Contesa & Sahide, 2024; 2025).

The researcher used two tools to analyse media framing of Trump, Crosstab analysis and Sentiment analysis. In addition, the researchers used four keywords to read news opinion articles in the media, namely positive, moderately positive, moderately negative, and negative. The categorization was based on observations of the intensity of the language used in the articles, for example, the use of adjectives or phrases that express in-depth views about a political figure. To differentiate between categories, researchers analysed whether a statement was directly favourable or unfavourable (positive/negative), as well as the degree of moderation that led to a more balanced judgement. These categories were grouped based on affectivity as assessed by words and phrases describing more extreme or weaker judgements.

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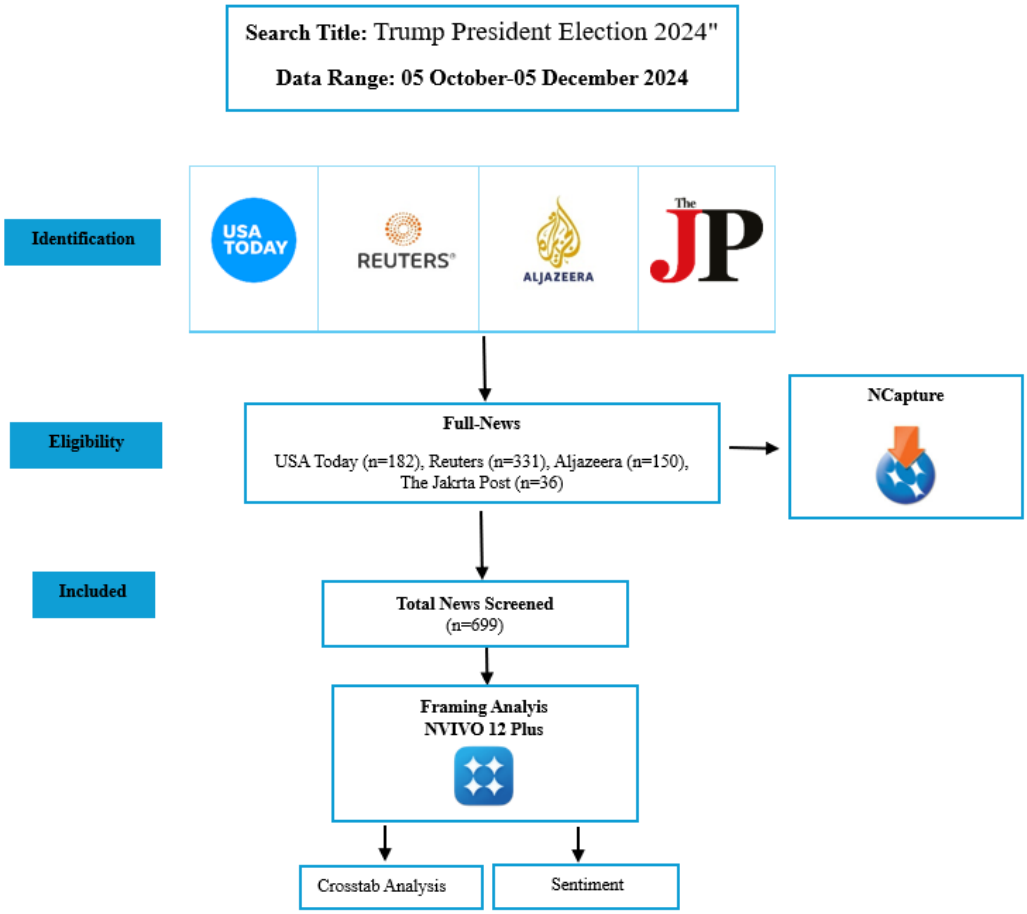


Figure 1. Research flow

Findings and Discussion

Media analysis

The United States Presidential election, especially involving Donald Trump, has been at the centre of global attention from when he became president in 2017 until the 2023 election. The media's role in shaping political discourse and public perceptions of Trump, both domestically and internationally, is significant. Studies on Trump's election show tremendous interest in various countries, with a total of 366 documents recorded in the Scopus database. This research touches on various aspects related to Trump, including domestic and foreign policies, leadership style, and his impact on US and global politics and society.

Research on Donald Trump's election is extensive, with many countries analysing the election, especially in North America. Countries like the United States and Canada recorded a total of 237 documents, while Europe, including the UK, Germany, Spain, and the Netherlands, recorded 91 documents. Additionally, Oceania recorded 20 documents, including Australia and New Zealand. This phenomenon shows how controversial and influential Trump has been in various fields of study, ranging from politics and economics to media and communication. Several studies, such as Fuchs (2017), illustrate how economic power, state power, and ideological power are intertwined and contribute to significant changes in US politics and society. Changes in US capitalism, political anxiety, and demagoguery

played an important role in Trump's rise. Trump is also known for introducing and spreading disrespectful and aggressive communication styles, such as accusations of lying, which were prominent in his political campaigns on social media (Kenski et al., 2018).

Moreover, the continued academic interest reflects Trump's significant influence on various aspects of political and social life, both in America and globally. From 2017 to 2023, 38 documents discussed the framing of Trump's presidential election through various types of media coverage. Among the countries involved, the United States had the highest interest, with 25 documents on the topic. The United Kingdom ranked second with 3 documents, while Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa each had 2 documents. Other countries like Chile, China, India, and Israel each had 1 document. Media outlets used in this research included China Daily, AP, CNN, FOX News (Asghar et al., 2019), Arab News (Isakhan et al., 2019), The New York Times (DuBosar, 2022) (Wang, 2024), Breitbart Sports (Falcous et al., 2019), Kompas, The Jakarta Post, and Republika (Sahide et al., 2024).

The image of Donald Trump in USA Today

USA Today, as a leading daily media outlet in the United States, actively reported on developments related to Trump's election both before and after the 2024 election. Based on the Crosstab Query–USA Today Before the Election, there were 31 news articles covering Trump. Of these 31 articles, the news in USA Today tends to be negative, at 33%, while only 24% of the news describes Trump in positive terms. Meanwhile, news that falls into the moderately positive and moderately negative categories each has a percentage of 20%. The framing shows that the majority of USA Today's news coverage is more likely to report Trump with negative accusations or images.

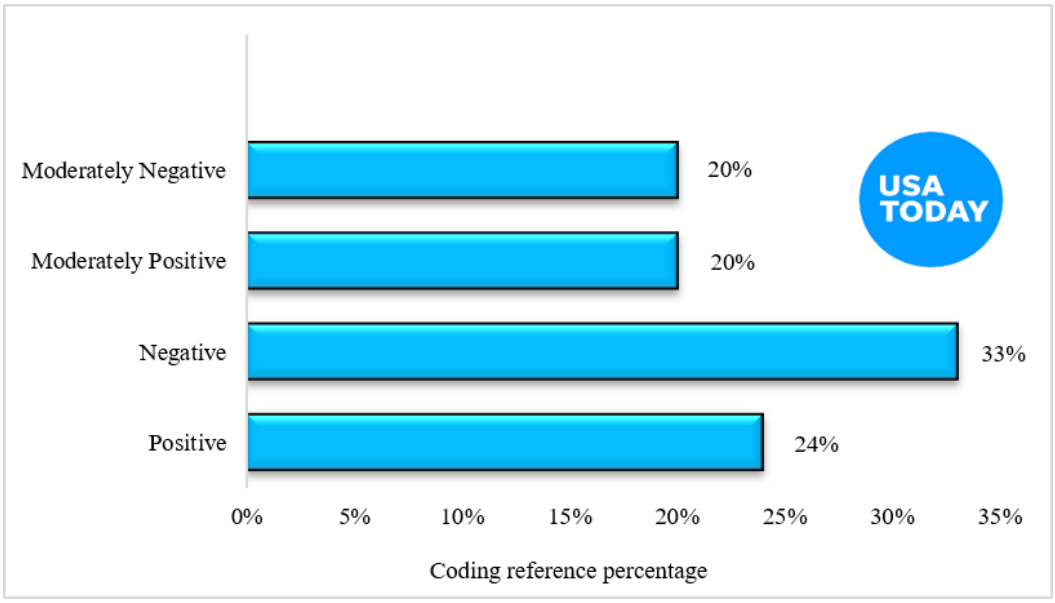


Figure 2. Crosstab Query–USA Today before the election

USA Today articles highlighted Trump as having a higher chance of winning the 2024 election compared to Kamala Harris, especially in key battleground states

such as Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Despite the discrepancy with rigorous polling, betting platforms such as Polymarket see Trump ahead, although the difference is within the margin of error. This contrasts with historian Allan Lichtman, who maintains his prediction that Harris will win, despite the tight race. On the other hand, there were concerns among Trump supporters about the potential for violence if Trump lost, with the possibility of riots on the right and backlash from the left if Trump won, reflecting the high political tensions leading up to the election (Woodward, 2024), especially regarding past incidents such as the attack on the Capitol on 6 January 2021. These concerns reflect the growing uncertainty among Trump's supporters and critics, exacerbating the atmosphere ahead of the election (Anderson, 2024; Pitofsky et al., 2024).

Based on USA Today's Crosstab Query after the election, the number of news articles covering Trump increased compared to before, with 151 articles recorded. Of these 151 articles, the news in USA Today tends to be negative, at 33%, while only 27% of those describe Trump in positive terms. Meanwhile, news that falls into the moderately positive and moderately negative categories each has a percentage of 20%. The framing shows that the majority of USA Today's news coverage is more likely to report Trump with negative accusations or images.

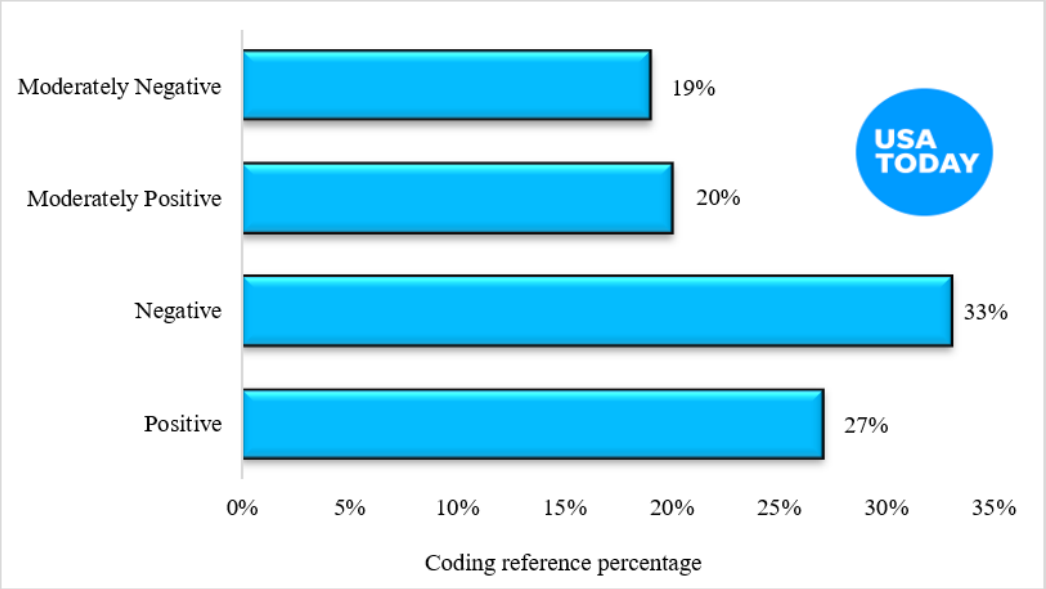


Figure 3. Crosstab Query–USA Today after the election

The positive framing of the articles included several points that highlighted Trump's success in gaining strong support in key battleground states, such as North Carolina, Florida, and Ohio, which are strong Republican bases. Trump's victories in these states demonstrate the huge influence and trust of voters in these regions. In addition, while a national popular vote does not necessarily determine the winner of an election, if Trump wins the most votes, this will be considered a 'moral victory,' reflecting success in gaining support despite the challenges of the Electoral College system. The USA Today article also highlighted that Trump could potentially become the first Republican candidate to win the popular vote in two decades. This suggests increased support and better public performance. Trump also managed to turn things around in several states that he previously lost in 2020,

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which further strengthens the picture of his progress and potential victory in the 2024 elections (Cross, 2024; Lagatta, 2024).

On the other hand, Trump's victory in the presidential election had a negative impact on the bond market. After Trump's victory, the bond market plummeted, largely due to rising stock prices that made investors switch to the stock market, leaving bonds behind, which led to falling prices and rising bond yields. In addition, Trump's economic plan involving tax cuts and increased public spending fuelled concerns among bond investors about a potential increase in the federal budget deficit, which already stands at $1.8 trillion. These policies also risk fuelling inflation, further exacerbating market uncertainty. These concerns caused bond yields, such as the 10-year Treasury bond, to rise to 4.479%, which is the highest level in four months, reflecting the growing tension in the bond market. Investors were concerned about the country's fiscal condition, which continued to worsen, with government debt and no clear plan to reduce spending (Limehouse, 2024; Show, 2024).

The comparison between before and after the election, when Trump was exposed, increased significantly by 120 news articles. This increase reflects the increased media intensity in covering Trump after the 2024 election. In the positive framing category, there was an increase of 3% compared to before. Moderate positive and moderate negative framings each remained stable at 20%, indicating that balanced coverage remains. These changes suggest an increase in positive coverage of Trump after the 2024 election, although negative framings are still dominant. This may reflect changing opinions or media attempts to balance their reporting after the election results are known, which could also be influenced by post-election changes in politics and social situations.

The image of Donald Trump in Reuters

Reuters, one of the world’s largest and most trusted news providers, published 136 news articles relating to Donald Trump in the run-up to the general election. According to the Crosstab Query–Reuters before the election, 34% of the 136 stories reported on Trump in a negative category, while positive framing only accounted for 23%. Moderate positive and moderate negative categories accounted for 20% and 22%, respectively. This framing shows that the majority of Reuters coverage before the election tended to report Trump with negative accusations or images.

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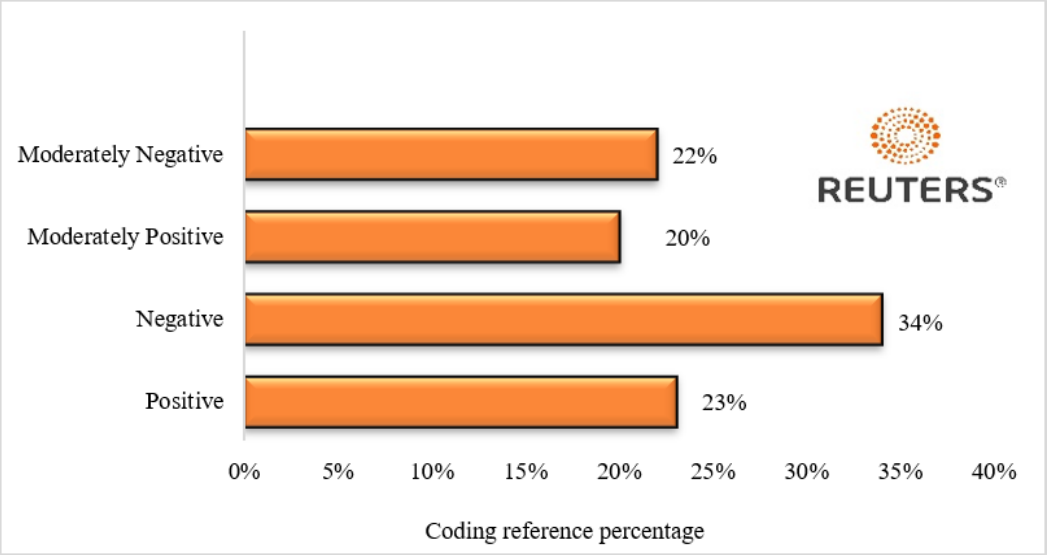


Figure 4. Crosstab Query-Reuters before the election

Reuters' negative pre-election framing of Trump highlighted various criticisms of his policies and attitudes. Trump described immigrants from the Congo as criminals without evidence, worsening the image of his immigration policies. He also called the refugee resettlement programme a 'security vulnerability,' creating fear and mistrust. His extreme approach to reducing the number of refugees was perceived as harming those in need of protection, framing Trump as a figure who does not support humanitarian or diversity policies (Cooke & Hesson, 2024). However, there were also positive framings that emerged. Some positive framings noted that Trump may not fully understand the Congolese situation, showing his more complex humanitarian side. The legal challenges his lawyers faced could be seen as an attempt to uphold justice. Trump's efforts to ensure the integrity of the ballots could be perceived as maintaining a fair and transparent election process, emphasising a commitment to integrity, security and law enforcement (Cohen, 2024).

Based on the Query–Reuters crosstab after the election, the number of news articles covering Trump increased compared to before; there were 195 articles recorded. Of the 195 news articles, the news on Reuters tends to be negative, at 34%, while only 25% of them describe Trump in positive terms. Meanwhile, news that falls into the moderately positive and moderately negative categories each has a percentage of 21%. The framing shows that the majority of Reuters news is more likely to report Trump with negative accusations or images.

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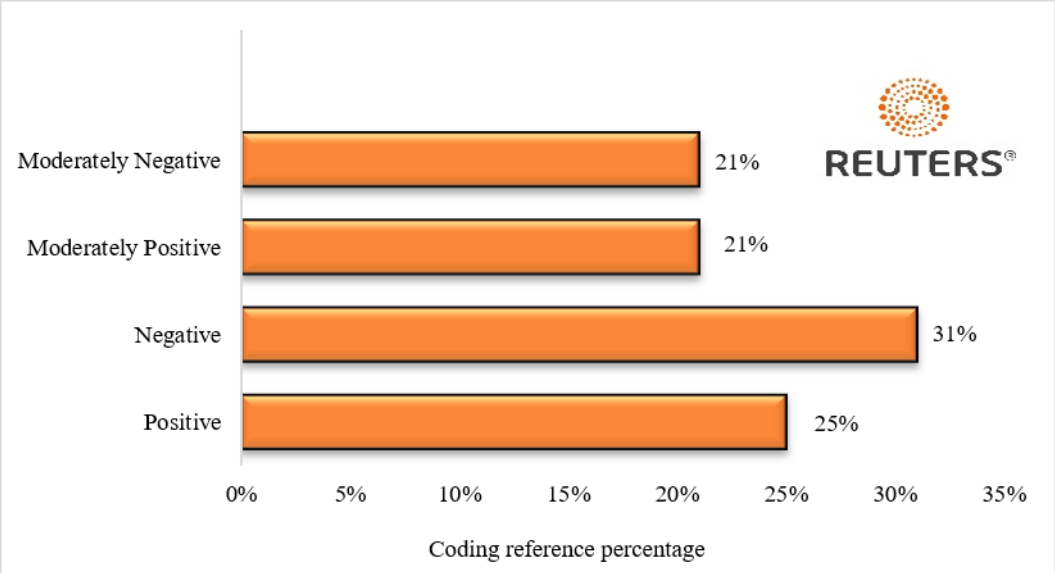


Figure 5. Crosstab Query–Reuters after the election

Reuters positive framing highlights that after Trump's victory, the Republicans' full control of the government is seen as an opportunity to implement pro-growth economic policies, such as tax cuts and deregulation. Deutsche Bank analysts estimate that US economic growth could reach 2.5-2.75 per cent in 2025 if Republicans control the White House and Congress. Republican control is also expected to favour a stronger US dollar and positive stock market performance. Trump's freer policies without many opposition barriers emphasise the potential for economic growth and market stability, boosting investor confidence (Ahmed, 2024). In addition, negative framing highlighted that Trump's victory was expected to affect stock performance, inflation risks, and regulatory changes. However, the negative framing from Reuters suggests that Trump's victory brings uncertainty to market stability and the world economy. Reactions to Trump's policies point to tensions in global political dynamics, reflecting uncertainty and possible changes and their impact on the economy and international relations (Reuters, 2024).

A comparison between pre- and post-election coverage shows a significant increase in the number of articles covering Trump, with 59 articles, reflecting the increased intensity with which Reuters media reported Trump-related events and developments after the 2024 election. Although positive framing increased slightly by 2%, and negative framing dropped to 3%, negative framing still dominated Reuters' coverage of Trump. This increase in post-election coverage suggests greater media attention to the political developments surrounding Trump. However, most of the coverage continued to focus on negative images, despite a small increase in moderately positive coverage.

The image of Donald Trump in Al Jazeera

Al Jazeera, as one of the first major media broadcasters in the Middle East and often cited as challenging the dominance of Western media, also reported on developments related to Donald Trump before the 2024 election. Based on Crosstab Query-Aljazeera Before the Election, out of 61 Trump-related news stories, 31% reported Trump with negative framing, while news with positive framing only

covered 26%. The moderate positive category accounted for 21%, and the moderate negative category accounted for 20%. This framing shows that most of Al Jazeera's news coverage before the election was more likely to report Trump with negative accusations or images, reflecting the media's critical attitude towards the political figure.

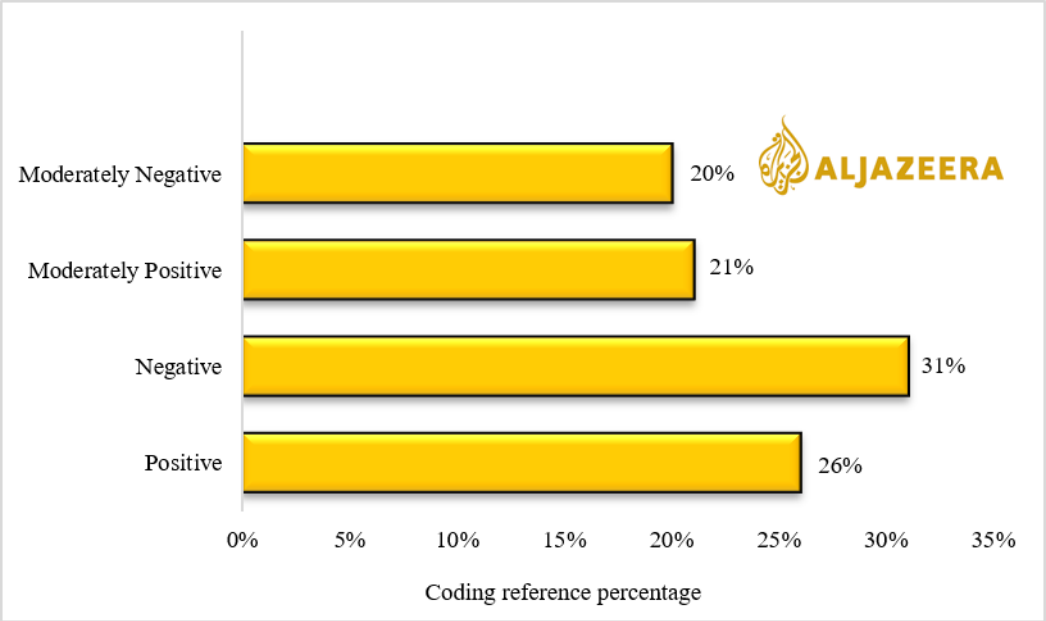


Figure 6. Crosstab Query–Al Jazeera before the election

Before the election, Al Jazeera highlighted Trump's persistent efforts to win the election through intensive campaigning in key states such as Michigan, Wisconsin, and New York. Trump was portrayed as a hard-working and committed candidate, focusing on battlegrounds such as Arizona and Nevada. He was seen as a leader who was able to utilise Republican control to push for pro-growth economic policies, providing positive sentiment towards the stock and bond markets (Kestler-D'Amours & Stepansky, 2024). Whereas his negative framing included his controversial comments about Muslim citizens and foreign policy in the Middle East. Trump is portrayed as 'lacking stamina and rambling' in his speeches and 'desiring unchecked power'. This criticism creates an image of Trump as a tired leader who is unable to face physical or intellectual challenges, and potentially dangerous due to his unlimited ambition. In addition, Harris emphasised that Trump often avoided interviews, signalling a lack of commitment and strength in the campaign (Al Jazeera, 2024b; Speri, Adler, & Rowlands, 2024).

Based on the Query–Al Jazeera crosstab after the election, the number of news articles covering Trump increased compared to before, recording 89 articles. Of these 89 articles, Al Jazeera's coverage tends to be negative, at 35%, while only 26% of the news describes Trump in a positive category. Meanwhile, news that falls into the moderate positive category is recorded at 18%, and moderate negative covers 20%. This framing shows that most of Al Jazeera's coverage after the election remains more likely to report Trump with negative accusations or images, although there is

a slight difference in the proportion of positive and moderate categories compared to previous coverage.

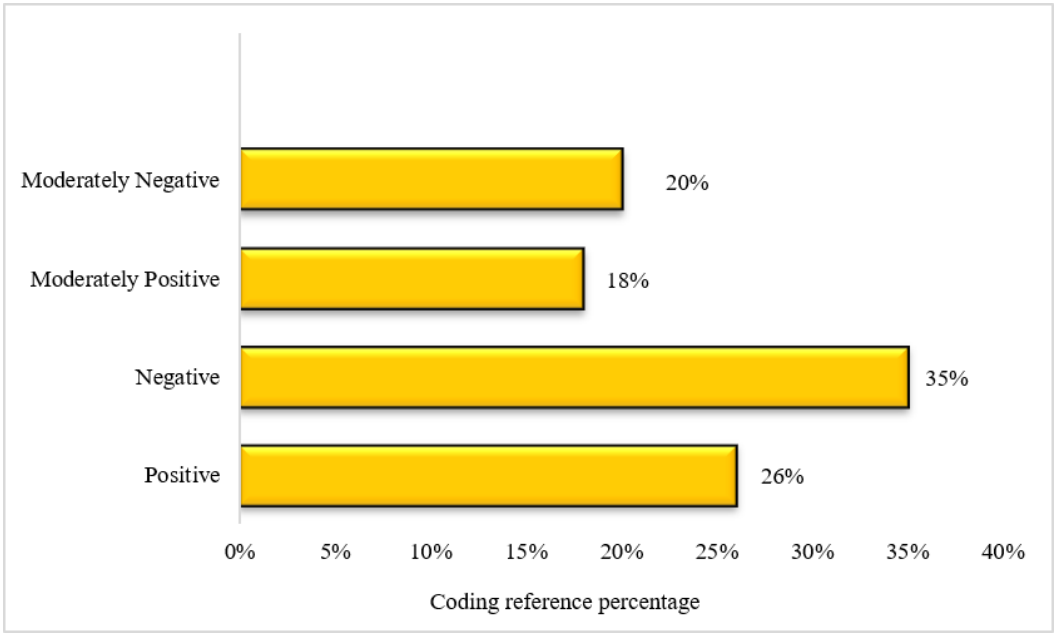


Figure 7. Crosstab Query–Al Jazeera after the election

Al Jazeera's positive framing after the election, highlighting Trump, was seen through several perspectives. Firstly, Trump's victory was considered significant by several parties, including Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, who congratulated him on the victory, showing positive recognition from several international leaders. Second, Trump is seen as having the potential to resolve global conflicts, particularly in Ukraine and the Middle East. Political analyst Alexey Malinin noted that Trump promised to end wars during his term in office, showing his intention to bring peace. Third, Trump is perceived as being able to reduce international tensions with his promise that there will be no war during his term, giving a positive signal to countries in conflict such as Russia and Ukraine (Vorobyov, 2024). On the other hand, negative framing of Trump is related to foreign policy and his attitude towards Israel. In the 2024 US election, Trump received strong support from Jewish Israelis, who saw him as supporting their interests. His policies, including the expansion of settlements in the West Bank, are seen as favourable to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. However, these policies also raise concerns for many, who consider that Trump's approach towards Israel could lead to further escalation in regions such as Gaza and Lebanon. Critics such as Ori Goldberg noted that the alliance between Trump and Netanyahu could potentially undermine the prospects for long-term peace in the region (Al Jazeera, 2024a).

A comparison between pre- and post-election coverage showed a significant increase in the number of articles covering Trump, with 28 articles. Despite this increase, negative framing still dominated Al Jazeera's coverage, rising by 4%. Meanwhile, news with positive framing showed that this percentage remained the same, at 26%. Overall, this comparison shows that despite the increase in coverage

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after the election, most of Al Jazeera's coverage still tends to report Trump with a negative framing, both before and after the election.

The image of Donald Trump in The Jakarta Post

The Jakarta Post, as the only Indonesian media in English, also reported on developments related to the US election, particularly regarding Donald Trump. Based on the Crosstab Query before the election, The Jakarta Post was not as intensive as other media such as USA Today, Reuters, and Al Jazeera, which only published 2 news articles related to Trump, released on 10 October and 27 October 2024. From these two articles, the news is more likely to use negative framing, at 63%, while positive framing is only 18%. Meanwhile, the moderate negative and positive categories each recorded 9%. Although the number of news articles released is relatively small and not very significant in the context of overall news coverage, the framing shows that the majority of The Jakarta Post's coverage before the election was more inclined to highlight Trump with negative accusations or images. This may reflect the media's stance in responding to US political dynamics, albeit limited in number and impact.

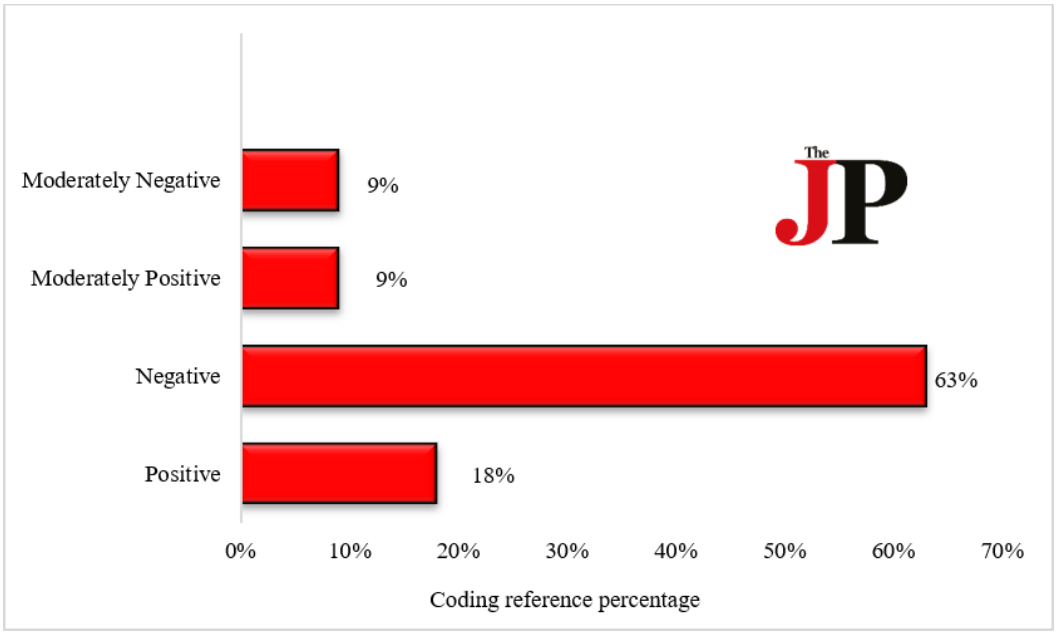


Figure 8. Crosstab Query–The Jakarta Post before the election

The Jakarta Post's negative framing before the election, criticising Trump and other candidates for ignoring the Native American community in Nevada, demonstrated a lack of concern for minority issues (Bun & Paula, 2024). Trump's decision not to debate Kamala Harris was also perceived as a lack of commitment to the democratic process (Agence France-Presse, 2024a). While there was positive framing of Trump, some communities felt neglected; there was recognition that Trump was considered a viable alternative due to economic considerations. Trump is seen as a candidate who is able to address economic challenges and is willing to engage in public debate, showing himself to be a confident leader who is ready to face important issues (Agence France-Presse, 2024a). Overall, this positive framing

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positions Trump as a leader who is attentive to economic issues and willing to engage in public debate, which appeals to some segments of the electorate.

Based on a crosstab query of The Jakarta Post after the election, the number of news articles covering Trump increased compared to before, with 34 articles recorded. Of the 34 news articles, the news in The Jakarta Post also tends to be negative, at 32%, while only 26% of the news describes Trump in positive terms. Meanwhile, news that falls into the moderate positive category is only 19%, and moderate has a percentage of 21%. The framing shows that after the election, most of The Jakarta Post's news coverage is more likely to report Trump with negative accusations or images.

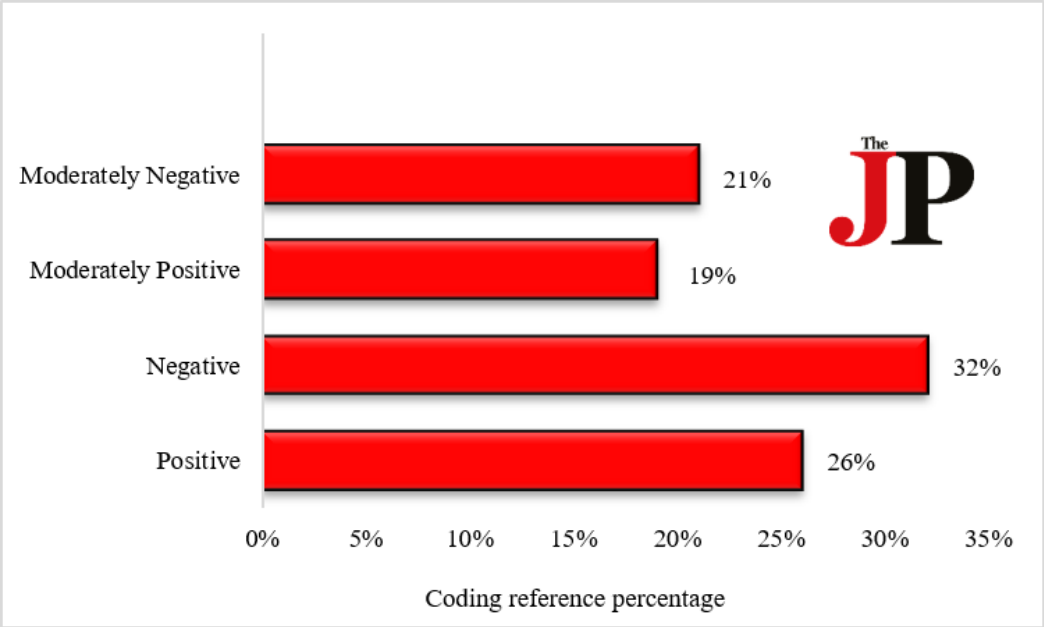


Figure 9. Crosstab Query–The Jakarta Post after the election

The Jakarta Post's positive framing after the election, Trump is portrayed as a decisive and bold leader with a clear economic plan, especially in tariff policy. The market expects Trump's policies, such as the change in stance at the US Securities and Exchange Commission, to support innovation and speculation in the cryptocurrency sector, which is considered positive for financial markets (Seow, 2024). Trump is seen by some as a leader capable of advancing the US' standing in the world with a firm, albeit sometimes protectionist, foreign policy. This positive framing shows Trump as a strong leader focused on national interests, which is expected to benefit the US domestic economy and international markets in the long run (Seow, 2024). Trump is known for his assertive approach in international negotiations, which is often interpreted as the courage to take risky decisions to protect national interests. Despite his controversial policies, some of his supporters see him as a leader who is not afraid to assert US power in the world (Raimondi, 2024). Meanwhile, negative framing of Trump highlighted his protectionist trade policies, especially additional tariffs, which caused global economic uncertainty. The Mexican peso and other currencies experienced a sharp decline, creating instability in international markets. High tariffs imposed on imported products from China and other countries fuelled tensions with major trading partners, reduced

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competitiveness, and increased the cost of goods for consumers, hurting the global economy (Reuters, 2024, November 7).

Comparative analysis before and after the election showed that despite an increase in the number of news articles by 32, negative framing still dominated, although it decreased slightly from 63% to 32%. The increase in post-election coverage reflects the media's increased attention to Trump-related political developments after the election. Despite a slight increase in positively framed stories from 18% to 26%, most stories continued to portray Trump in a critical and negative light. This reflects the Indonesian media's critical stance in reporting Trump-related developments, both before and after the 2024 election.

Table 3. International media comparison

F*	USA Today (USA)	Reuters (Europe)	Al Jazeera (Middle East)	The Jakarta Post (Indonesia)
(-)	**Before:** Potential riots if Trump loses.	**Before:** Trump's immigration policies were criticised for concerns over human rights and inclusivity.	**Before:** Trump's statements on Islam and Muslims were criticised for potentially increasing religious tensions and instability.	**Before:** Trump was perceived as neglecting Native American communities, minority issues, and democratic principles.
	After: Risk of inflation and pressure on the bond market.	**After:** Trump's victory could benefit the stock market but increase inflation risks and economic uncertainty.	**After:** Trump's support for Israel was seen as potentially escalating conflicts in Gaza and Lebanon.	**After:** Trump was portrayed as a decisive leader with a clear economic plan, particularly on tariffs.
(+)	**Before:** Trump was considered more likely to win than Harris.	**Before:** Trump was considered insufficiently informed about Congo, although the election process was viewed as fair and transparent.	**Before:** Trump actively campaigned in Michigan, Wisconsin, and New York to secure victory.	**Before:** Trump was regarded as capable of addressing economic challenges and confident in public debates.
	After: Trump gained strong support in North Carolina, Florida, and Ohio.	**After:** Trump's pro-growth economic policies were seen as having the potential to boost economic growth.	**After:** Trump's victory was linked to promises to resolve global conflicts, end wars, and promote peace.	**After:** Trump's protectionist trade policies were seen as potentially increasing global economic uncertainty and trade tensions, particularly with China.

Description: F*=framing, (-) negative, (+) positive

Discussion

The findings indicate that negative portrayals of Donald Trump were prominent across the four selected media outlets before and after the 2024 U.S. presidential election. However, this pattern should not be interpreted simply as evidence of media bias. Negative coverage may reflect the prominence of controversial policies, political conflicts, and concerns surrounding Trump's leadership during the election period. Entman (1993) explains that framing involves selecting and emphasising particular aspects of reality, thereby shaping how issues and political actors are presented. The findings therefore suggest that Trump's portrayal was closely associated with the political issues and controversies

receiving media attention. Reuters published the largest number of articles in the dataset (341), whereas The Jakarta Post published the fewest (36). This difference indicates variation in the volume of coverage, but it does not necessarily demonstrate that Reuters was more critical or that The Jakarta Post considered Trump less important. Rather, the differences may reflect the outlets' editorial priorities, publication practices, and approaches to international political news. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) similarly found that news framing can vary according to the type of media outlet and the topic being reported. Since this study examines media content rather than audience responses, the implications of these patterns for public perception should be understood as interpretive possibilities rather than demonstrated effects.

The cross-tab results further reveal that the framing of Trump varied across outlets and between the pre-election and post-election periods. USA Today emphasised political tensions and concerns about the potential economic consequences of Trump's policies, while Reuters presented a mixture of criticism of his immigration positions and discussion of possible economic and political developments following his victory. Al Jazeera's coverage combined criticism of Trump's political rhetoric and foreign policy with attention to his electoral success and potential international role. Meanwhile, The Jakarta Post highlighted concerns about minority issues and democratic processes before the election, alongside discussion of Trump's economic and foreign policy positions afterwards. These differences suggest that the same political figure can be represented through different evaluative perspectives depending on the issues selected and the aspects emphasised by each outlet. From Entman (1993) framing perspective, such variation is important because the presentation of political actors involves selecting and highlighting particular aspects of reality rather than simply reproducing events neutrally.

The findings also contribute to the discussion of media framing by showing why the distinction between issue prominence and evaluative framing matters. The relatively high volume of Reuters coverage demonstrates the prominence of Trump in the outlet's reporting, whereas the sentiment categories indicate the evaluative direction of the articles. These are related but distinct dimensions: frequent coverage does not necessarily imply negative framing, and negative framing does not by itself establish deliberate editorial bias. Furthermore, the differences observed between the four outlets should not automatically be generalised to entire geographical regions. USA Today, Reuters, Al Jazeera, and The Jakarta Post are individual media organisations with distinct institutional and editorial contexts. Accordingly, the findings provide evidence of variation across these four outlets rather than definitive evidence of uniform Western, Middle Eastern, or Southeast Asian perspectives.

The predominance of negative portrayals can also be considered alongside existing research on Trump's media representation. Setiawan et al. (2025), for example, found contrasting approaches to Trump's 2024 election victory in their analysis of Xinhua News and The Washington Post. Their study highlights how different outlets can construct distinct narratives around the same political event. Rather than focusing on a single national media context, the present study compares four outlets across different geographical contexts and two periods surrounding the election. Its contribution is therefore comparative and temporal: it provides a basis

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for examining continuity and variation in Trump's media image before and after the election. Nevertheless, claims about changes in framing should be based on the observed distributions in the cross-tabulation results rather than inferred from the election outcome alone.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that international media framing of Donald Trump during the 2024 U.S. presidential election varies according to media contexts, editorial priorities, and geographical perspectives. By comparing USA Today, Reuters, Al Jazeera, and The Jakarta Post, the study highlights how Trump's political image was constructed through different narratives before and after the election. The findings emphasise that international media coverage is not uniform and that differences in framing do not necessarily indicate regional consensus or deliberate political bias. Furthermore, although media framing can shape how audiences interpret political leaders, this study does not establish a direct causal relationship between media coverage and public attitudes.

This study is limited to four English-language media outlets and two months surrounding the 2024 presidential election. Future research could include more media outlets, languages, and countries, as well as longer periods of analysis. Combining content analysis with audience research could also help explain how media framing relates to public perceptions. Overall, this study contributes to political communication research by demonstrating how media contexts and editorial choices influence the representation of U.S. political leadership across different international settings.

Generative AI Statements

Generative AI tools were used for language editing, grammar correction, and improving the clarity of the manuscript. The authors reviewed and revised all AI-assisted content and take full responsibility for the accuracy, originality, and integrity of the final manuscript.

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