Reporting Indonesia's New E-Cigarette/Tobacco Regulation (PP 28/2024): Public-Health vs Industry Frames

Andi Subhan Amir[1], Moti Pangkam[2], Markus Joohs[3], FX Ari Agung Prastowo[4]
[1]Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Hasanuddin University, Makassar, Indonesia
[2]Fakir Mohan University, Odisha, India
[3]School of Media and Communication, Shenzhen University, Shenzhen, China
[4]Faculty of Communication Sciences, Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Background: Indonesia's PP 28/2024 reshapes controls on tobacco and e-cigarette products, making news coverage a crucial venue where policy meaning is constructed. Prior research on media framing and health communication indicates competition between public-health frames (risk, youth protection, efficacy) and industry frames (jobs, costs, consumer choice), motivating hypotheses about outlet differences, headline–body congruence, source–frame coupling, and timing shifts. **Purpose:** To describe the balance of public-health versus industry frames in Indonesian online news on PP 28/2024 and assess headline–body alignment, sourcing patterns, and early temporal trends. **Methods:** Quantitative content analysis (unit: article) across five major outlets, August 2024–August 2025; codebook for dominant frame, headline frame, tone, source mix, and evidence cues; 15% double-coding planned (target $\kappa \geq 0.70$); χ^2 with Cramér's V, McNemar tests, descriptive tables, and a monthly trend line as primary outcomes. Results: A 10-item pilot (five outlets) found industry frames 6/10 (60%) and public-health frames 4/10 (40%); headline–body agreement was 10/10 (100%). Outlet × frame association was $\chi^2 = 10.000$, p = .075, Cramér's V = .707. Public-health–framed pieces more often referenced primary law; later coverage tilted toward economic and compliance narratives, consistent with framing theory and efficacy-timing expectations. No adverse events apply. **Conclusion:** Early coverage shows competitive framing with strong headline integrity but uneven verification of economic claims. Full-sample analysis will test outlet differences and source–frame coupling and inform practice on mirroring legal specifics, balancing sources, and sustaining risk-and-efficacy context. **Implications:** Newsrooms should strengthen verification by linking rule-based stories to relevant PP 28/2024 provisions, adding minimal context for numerical claims using official data, and diversifying expert sources to support evidence-based public understanding.

Keywords: e-cigarettes; health communication; journalism; media framing; tobacco policy

Correspondence: Dr. Andi Subhan Amir, S.Sos., M.Si, (Senior Lecturer and Researcher). Department of Communication Studies, Hasanuddin University, Kampus Unhas Tamalanrea, Jl. Perintis Kemerdekaan Km.10, 90245. Email: asa@unhas.ac.id

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian Government's Regulation (PP) 28/2024, which operationalizes the 2023 Health Law, signals a tougher stance on tobacco and electronic nicotine products in Indonesia. The most contested points are concrete and easy to translate into headlines: the minimum purchase age is raised to 21; packaging and pictorial health warnings are tightened; retail access is narrowed, including online sales that require age checks; and advertising, promotion, and sponsorship (TAPS) face stronger limits. Unsurprisingly, the regulation has been debated publicly not only as a legal instrument but also as a social issue. Much of that debate becomes visible through news reporting, where the rules are explained and interpreted and where the policy is framed as either protection or restriction (Ahsan et al., 2022, p. 2; Peraturan Pemerintah (PP) Nomor 28 Tahun 2024, 2024).

News coverage is produced in a setting where tobacco is not just a health topic but a major economic sector. This matters for journalistic routines: reporters are pulled between two "common-sense" storylines that can both look persuasive on the surface—economic dependence on tobacco (taxes, jobs, supply chains) and the escalating health consequences of nicotine use. The result, as earlier research has noted, is recurring contestation over what counts as the "main problem" and whose evidence is treated as authoritative.

The promulgation of PP 28/2024 gave newsrooms a fresh policy hook that reoriented coverage toward questions of access and control. In particular, the 21-year age threshold and retail restrictions put long-normalized patterns of availability into public debate. This forces newsrooms to choose between prioritizing the "right to health" or the "economic liberty" of the industry in their daily coverage. This study builds upon the work of Ahsan et al. (2022, p. 3) by examining how online news outlets balance these competing narratives during the high-stakes early implementation phase.

From a journalism-studies standpoint, framing research has long shown that news stories organize reality by selecting and emphasizing certain problem definitions, causal attributions, moral evaluations, and remedies (Entman, 2007). In parallel, health communication scholarship links risk and efficacy messaging to shifts in perceptions and behavioral intentions (Amir et al., 2024, p. 5; Sultan & Amir, 2023, p. 4; Thompson & Harrington, 2022). Tobacco/e-cigarette coverage sits precisely at this intersection: public-health frames (e.g., youth protection, addiction/disease burden, cessation/prevention) often compete with industry frames (e.g., jobs and revenue, consumer freedom, illicit trade, enforcement burden) for agenda space (Banks et al., 2017, p. 9; Holipah et al., 2020, p. 25; Immurana et al., 2021, p. 8). How those competing frames are distributed—and how they are headlined—matters for audience understanding and policy support.

International and Indonesian studies have begun to map media portrayals of tobacco and e-cigarettes, finding, for example, that source selection (who gets to speak) is a strong predictor of the angle taken, and that economic-oriented narratives can overshadow risk-reduction messages when not anchored in evidence or law (Ahsan et al., 2020, p. 7; D'Esterre et al., 2025, p. 310). Yet, despite this literature, there is limited comparative evidence on Indonesian headline–body alignment during a major regulatory change, and little systematic description of how source mixes (health officials/academics vs. industry associations vs. NGOs/politicians) sort with frames in everyday coverage of PP 28/2024. The early implementation phase offers a natural laboratory to observe these dynamics (Amir & Pangkam, 2025).

To examine how competing narratives take shape in news texts, this research draws on gatekeeping and framing as practical newsroom processes. Editorial decisions determine which aspects of PP 28/2024 are foregrounded—what becomes the headline, what is treated as the

"problem," and what counts as a plausible solution. In our coding, two recurrent orientations are anticipated: a public-health emphasis that centers youth protection and nicotine risk, and an industry-oriented emphasis that stresses compliance costs, retail disruption, and burdens on producers.

A second lens concerns how those frames enter the news through sourcing routines. The indexing tradition suggests that coverage tends to track the range of positions articulated by powerful or institutionally recognized actors; in health-policy stories, this can translate into a strong link between who is quoted most and which interpretation dominates. The Extended Parallel Process Model (EPPM) is used here as a check on the informational balance of that coverage: stories can heighten perceived "threat" (for example, addiction risks or, conversely, job losses) but they differ in whether they offer "efficacy" cues—clear information about what the regulation is expected to achieve and how it can be implemented. If coverage focuses exclusively on the "threat" to industry jobs without providing "efficacy" information regarding health benefits, it may lead to audience disengagement.

We articulate three theoretical pillars to structure expectations. First, framing theory (problem, cause, remedy) predicts that the prominence of specific issue attributes—for example, youth protection or job losses—will guide audience judgments (Entman, 2007; Masita et al., 2016, p. 5). Second, the Extended Parallel Process Model (EPPM) suggests that when communications pair high perceived threat (e.g., addiction/health risks) with high efficacy (e.g., enforcement capacity, cessation supports), audiences are more likely to process danger-control messages; conversely, absent efficacy, fear appeals can backfire (Sultan & Amir, 2023, p. 10). Third, source credibility/indexing traditions hold that who speaks—officials, experts, industry, NGOs—shapes perceived legitimacy and, consequently, frame uptake (Ariestyani, 2023, p. 6; Rivaldi et al., 2022, p. 163). Together, these lenses imply that journalistic source selection and headline cues will be tightly linked to dominant frames in PP 28/2024 coverage.

Building on these theories, we advance provisional expectations to guide analysis (Entman, 2007; Rice & Atkin, 2013; Thompson & Harrington, 2022). We expect (H1) outlet differences in frame distributions, reflecting editorial lines and audience niches (Musfialdy et al., 2024, p. 9; Rivaldi et al., 2022, p. 11); (H2) headline–body congruence to be generally high, given copy-editing norms that headlines should mirror the article's core claim (Prabawangi & Noer Fatanti, 2023, p. 203); (H3) source mixes to covary with dominant frames (health officials/academics in PH stories; industry/politicians in IND stories) (Ariestyani, 2023, p. 6); and (H4) a temporal pattern in which PH frames dominate immediately after promulgation (rule explainers) and IND frames gain salience later (implementation costs/contestation) (Lestari et al., 2022, p. 71; Tsagkroni & Dikaios, 2024, p. 8380). These hypotheses are directional and will be evaluated alongside descriptive research questions suitable for content analysis.

Despite the salience of PP 28/2024, Indonesian scholarship has not yet provided (i) a cross-outlet map of public-health vs. industry dominant frames during its first year; (ii) a test of headline–body alignment in routine policy coverage; and (iii) a profile of source mixes associated with each frame type. Existing work offers valuable antecedents on tobacco communication and misinformation dynamics, but it predates PP 28/2024 or focuses on different policy moments and platforms (e.g., COVID-19 periods, social media-native content). The absence of an integrated, journalism-focused analysis of PP 28/2024 coverage constitutes a timely research gap for both journalism studies and health communication in Indonesia.

Journalists operate under constraints of speed, space, and attention; during regulatory change, these constraints can amplify reliance on familiar frames and easily available sources. When stories about PP 28/2024 foreground economic harms without parallel context on

public-health rationales or legal specifics, audiences may misread policy intent or underestimate risk. Conversely, when coverage integrates primary legal citations and health-risk evidence, the public is better positioned to evaluate competing claims (Holipah et al., 2020, p. 8). Understanding how Indonesian outlets actually framed PP 28/2024—headline cues, body frames, and sources—thus serves both scholarly and practical ends (Ariestyani, 2023, p. 6; Rivaldi et al., 2022, p. 11).

This study therefore aims to: (1) quantify the distribution of public-health versus industry dominant frames across major Indonesian online news outlets; (2) assess the alignment between headline and body frames; (3) describe the source mixes associated with each frame; and (4) explore monthly trends in the share of public-health framing across August 2024–August 2025. In doing so, the work contributes empirical evidence relevant to newsroom practice (headline policy, sourcing balance, verification routines) and to health-communication objectives (risk/ efficacy emphasis when reporting regulatory details).

RESEARCH METHOD

We conducted a quantitative content analysis of Indonesian online news coverage of PP 28/2024. The study integrates journalism-studies attention to framing and sourcing with health-communication outcomes of risk and efficacy emphasis (Krippendorff, 2019). Reporting follows a pre-specified protocol (codebook, sampling and analysis plan). We purposively sampled five outlets based on two criteria: (1) high online reach and visibility in the Indonesian news ecosystem, and (2) policy salience and outlet-type diversity to capture variation in framing and sourcing routines (mainstream digital news portals, a national wire service, and business/policy outlets). The final set includes Detik.com, CNNIndonesia.com, ANTARA News, Katadata.co.id, and CNBCIndonesia.com. The window spans 1 August 2024–31 August 2025, binned by calendar month for trend analyses.

The unit of analysis is a single online news item, comprising headline, subhead (if any), full body text, embedded quotes and visible metadata (date, section, byline) (Riffe et al., 2019). Include: straight news, explainers and live-update entries that substantially address PP 28/2024 or its tobacco/e-cigarette provisions. Exclude: signed opinion/editorial, advertorial, unedited press releases and forum posts. For syndicated/wire copy, we retain the earliest instance, and flag later reposts as syndicated.

We validated the instrument with a 10-item pilot across five outlets—Detik, CNN Indonesia, ANTARA, Katadata, and CNBC Indonesia—spanning Aug 2024–Jun 2025, with items retrieved via site search and Google using Indonesian policy/product terms (e.g., "PP 28/2024," "*rokok elektronik*," "*vape*," "*iklan rokok*"); this pilot established feasibility and face validity before scaling to the full sample (Krippendorff, 2019; Riffe et al., 2019). For the full corpus, 15% of items will be double-coded (stratified by outlet and month), targeting Cohen's κ ≥ 0.70 on dominant_frame, headline_frame, and tone_regulation. Analyses include descriptive summaries by outlet, month, and story type (T1); Outlet × Frame (PH vs. IND) using χ^2 and Cramér's V (T2); headline vs. body comparisons (PH vs. IND) using McNemar's exact test on discordant pairs (T3); source-mix profiles (means/medians) by dominant frame (T4); and a monthly trend of PH-share from Aug 2024 to Aug 2025. All procedures are implemented in a reproducible R/Python pipeline.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

We present the findings in the order of our analytic plan. We start with a corpus overview to show outlet distribution and timespan (Table 1). Taken together, these ten articles span the first implementation wave and early reactions. With this context set, we turn to how often the coverage foregrounded public health versus industry rationales across outlets (Table 2). Next, we test headline–body alignment on the PH/IND binary (Table 3), followed by sourcing profiles associated with each dominant frame (Table 4). We close with a month-to-month trend in the share of public-health framing (Figure 1). Where relevant, we flag patterns that are likely to change once the full sample is coded. We coded 10 news items spanning Aug 2024–Jun 2025 across six outlets: Detik (2), CNN Indonesia (2), ANTARA (2), Katadata (2), and CNBC Indonesia (2). This mix captures both early rule explainers and subsequent stakeholder reactions. See Table 1.

Moving from who and when to how stories were framed, we collapsed the detailed categories into a PH/IND binary for comparability. On this collapse, we observed IND = 6 and PH = 4 (PH share = 0.40). Public-health pieces most often foregrounded "*perlindungan anak usia 21 tahun*" and "*kontrol kesehatan publik*" such as "*promosi dan peringatan bergambar*", while industry-framed items emphasized "*dampak ekonomi/pekerjaan*" and "*beban kepatuhan*" including "*kepatuhan kemasan/PHW dan zona iklan*". Although exploratory given the pilot size, this contrast already hints at different editorial emphases across outlets. Table 2 breaks this balance down by outlet to show where the industry rationale concentrates and where public-health reasoning holds more ground.

Having established how often public-health and industry rationales appear across outlets, the next question is whether the first cue a reader sees, the headline, tracks the frame that governs the story itself. In our pilot the headline and body aligned in all ten items (100 percent agreement) on the PH/IND binary, a simple but meaningful integrity check for early PP 28/2024 coverage. This consistency suggests that readers scanning on mobile would receive a coherent framing signal before clicking, and that copy editors were anchoring titles to verifiable claims in the body. Because larger samples often surface small mismatches under deadline pressure, we treat this as a benchmark to probe with McNemar in the full dataset. Table 3 presents the crosstab that underpins this point.

With headline cues aligning to body frames, the next lever is who gets to speak. Frames rarely travel alone; they are carried by sources. In our coding we counted unique voices by category, so differences are not just about word choice but about access and emphasis. Items dominated by industry framing tended to feature association spokespeople and business-facing officials, while public-health pieces leaned on health-government sources and, at times, NGO

Table 1. Corpus by Outlet (Pilot)

No	OUTLET	n = 10
1	Detik Finance	2
2	Katadata	2
3	CNN Indonesia	2
4	CNBC Indonesia	2
5	ANTARA	2

Source: Research Data 2024-2025

Table 2. Dominant Frames (PH vs IND) by Outlet

No	OUTLET	IND	PH
1	Detik Finance	2	0
2	Katadata	2	0
3	CNN Indonesia	0	2
4	CNBC Indonesia	2	0
5	ANTARA	0	2

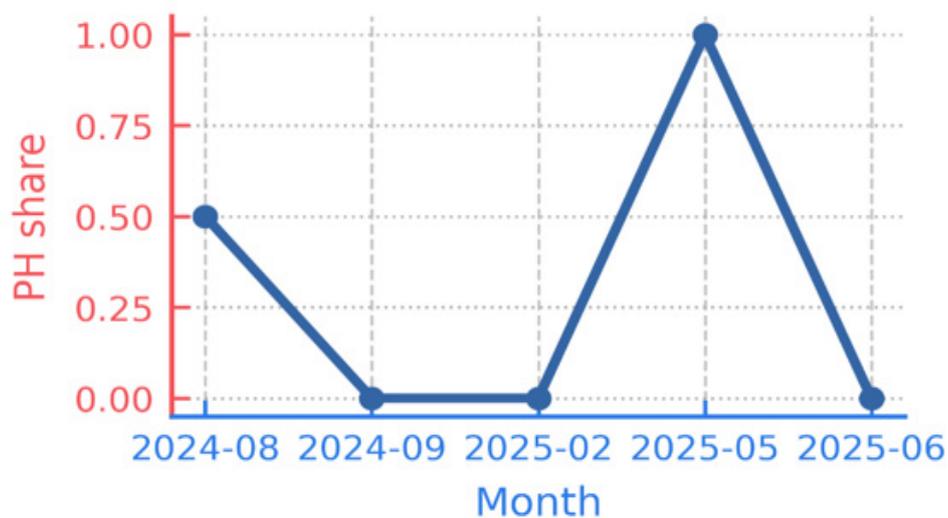Source: Research Data 2024-2025

Table 3. Headline vs Body (PH / IND**)**

No	HEADLINE	IND	PH
1	IND	6	0
2	PH	0	4

Source: Research Data 2024-2025

Table 4. Source Mix (Means and Medians)

Frame	Health_Gov	Academic_Health	Industry	NGO	Politician	Other
			Mean			
IND	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.17	0.17
PH	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.25	0.0	0.0
			Mean			
IND	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
PH	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: Research Data 2024-2025

Figure 1. Monthly share of public-health dominant frames (pilot)
Source: Reaearch Data 2024-2025

advocates or clinicians. Given the small N, we report both the mean and the median number of sources per item for each dominant frame. Table 4 summarizes the distributions: industry-dominant stories tend to include more industry-coded voices, while public-health–dominant stories more often feature health officials. Mixed-source items, however, appear in both groups.

We also plotted the monthly share of PH-dominant items across the pilot months to assess changes over time. The pilot shows a higher PH share in August 2024, when several items are structured as rule explainers; in subsequent months, IND-dominant items become more prevalent as more stories emphasize costs and compliance. Counts are small, so read the shape as indicative rather than final. Figure 1 shows the month-to-month values.

Discussion

The pilot already makes one thing clear: coverage of PP 28/2024 is a tug of war between public health and industry rationale (Ahsan et al., 2022; Entman, 2007). In August 2024 the early explainers read like civics lessons that walk a reader through age 21, retail limits, and pictorial warnings (Lestari et al., 2022, p. 71). A few months later, the center of gravity shifts. Headlines begin to highlight words like "*terancam*" and "*anjlok*" that invite readers to imagine economic shock (Tsagkroni & Dikaios, 2024, p. 8381). I am cautious not to overread ten stories, yet the direction fits how policy news often evolves after promulgation.

Headline integrity is striking. In the pilot every headline matched the body frame on the PH vs IND binary. Editors appear to keep top-line cues consistent with the article's main (Prabawangi & Noer Fatanti, 2023, p. 202; Rivaldi et al., 2022, p. 171). That may sound small, but in fast production environments mismatches are common. Here, perhaps because the rules are concrete and quotable, producers avoided headline drift (Musfialdy et al., 2024, p. 112; Sultan & Amir, 2023a, p. 9). I would still expect some divergence once we add more outlets and months, especially on business desks that optimize for search and social metrics.

The source-frame coupling is also intuitive. Stories that center youth protection and enforcement tend to quote Kemenkes officials or NGOs who work on tobacco control (Ahsan et al., 2020, p. 6; Ariestyani, 2023, p. 5). Stories that center costs and jobs lean on industry associations and local politicians. These echoes indexing logic in journalism studies, where the voices that are easiest to reach and most legitimate in a beat often shape the angle a reporter takes. It is not necessarily bias. It is workflow (Thompson & Harrington, 2022). But it has consequences for how the public understands why the regulation exists.

Verification choices matter. When explainers pin-cite a specific article of PP 28/2024, for example the age limit or the packaging rules, readers can check the primary text and gain confidence. When cost claims appear without baselines or methods, the reader is left guessing. In the pilot, public health framed items were more likely to point to the law directly, for example the age 21 requirement and online sales controls. That habit is easy to generalize. Reporters can link to JDIHN entries and note the enactment date to keep the legal timeline straight (Peraturan Pemerintah (PP) Nomor 28 Tahun 2024, 2024).

Economic claims deserve more scrutiny than a single quote. The well-circulated "six million jobs at risk" line is vivid, yet it raises simple questions that a desk editor can ask in two minutes. What is the denominator? Which sectors are counted, and which are not? Over what period? Is the estimate a scenario or an observed effect? A short sidebar that pairs the quote with BPS employment tables or past elasticity estimates would cool the rhetoric without silencing it (Kamimura et al., 2018, p. 17).

In our pilot, the repeated circulation of the "six million jobs" figure shows how easily packaged numbers travel in routine online reporting. Industry associations often supply

ready-to-publish statistics and interpretations, and under tight deadlines those claims can be reproduced with minimal interrogation—especially when they fit a familiar conflict storyline. The risk is not simply tone; it is precision. Without basic clarification about what is being counted, over what period, and under which assumptions, a number like this functions more as an argument than as evidence.

That problem matters for PP 28/2024 because public acceptance depends partly on whether audiences understand what the regulation is intended to prevent and why the measures are structured as they are. In the pilot items where the industry frame dominated, the story frequently foregrounded costs and disruption while leaving the public-health rationale thin or absent, producing an uneven account of policy consequences. A more defensible routine is to treat industry-provided figures as a starting claim to be tested: specify the claim's scope, check it against BPS employment data where relevant, and align it with the legal definitions and enforcement mechanisms in the Health Law and its implementing regulation.

This matters for PP 28/2024 because the policy's legitimacy in everyday discussion depends on whether audiences can connect the restrictions to the health problem the regulation is trying to address. When stories foreground economic disruption while offering little detail about youth protection, addiction risk, or the logic of access controls, readers receive an incomplete account of policy trade-offs. The pattern we saw in industry-dominant items—costs made visible, benefits left implicit—can encourage a "one-sided" sense of consequence, even when the regulation is designed as a preventive intervention. A more defensible newsroom routine is therefore to treat industry-provided figures as contestable claims rather than settled facts: specify the scope of the estimate (which sectors and workers are included), clarify whether the number is a projection or an observed effect, and place it alongside baseline employment data from BPS and any available independent projections. Just as importantly, reporters can connect economic assertions back to the legal architecture of the Health Law and PP 28/2024—what conduct is restricted, what enforcement is plausible, and why the rules are framed around minors and retail access. These small checks do not "silence" economic concerns; they help ensure the costs are reported with the same evidentiary discipline expected of public-health claims.

Readers can hold two ideas at once: regulations have costs, and they also have public health aims. Harm reduction talk requires careful handling. Some industry spokespeople frame e-cigarettes as a safer alternative in blanket terms (Izquierdo-Condoy et al., 2024, p. 27). The argument is not nonsensical, but it is incomplete without age restrictions, product standards, and cessation context. Health communication research suggests that high-threat messages work best when paired with clear efficacy paths; otherwise, audiences may disengage (Amir et al., 2024, p. 3; Broniatowski et al., 2018, p. 1381). A practical newsroom move is to invite a clinician or tobacco-control researcher to explain where harm reduction holds and where evidence is thinner, rather than setting up a strawman debate (Kreslake et al., 2023, p. 15).

Timing probably explains part of the pattern we saw. Early in a policy cycle coverage is anchored to what changed and why. Over time implementation generates conflict stories: inspections, warnings, packaging inventories, advertising audits (Lestari et al., 2022, p. 73). It would not be surprising to see a second public-health wave close to compliance deadlines, when agencies publish guidance or enforcement metrics. The monthly trend is therefore more than a line. It is a reminder that beats have calendars.

Outlet differences are worth exploring with more power, because in Indonesian newsrooms desk mandates and beat routines tend to map onto sourcing pools and angle-setting (Rivaldi et al., 2022, p. 173). Business-focused desks will naturally give the microphone to

manufacturers, trader associations, or regional chambers, while general news desks prioritize ministries and NGOs. That is not a value judgment; it is a hypothesis about how audience niches and desk workflow shape coverage. Our full sample can test this expectation directly through outlet-by-frame comparisons and source-mix profiles across months. If the pattern holds, a cross-outlet comparison could show where balance is already strong and where small adjustments in sourcing would make a large difference (Prabawangi & Noer Fatanti, 2023, p. 203).

The divergence in framing across different outlets also points to the "mediatization" of health policy, where the logic of the media desk dictates the presentation of the law. The divergence in framing across different outlets also points to the "mediatization" of health policy, where the logic of the media desk dictates the presentation of the law. In the pilot items, outlet orientation appears to matter: business-facing sections tended to approach PP 28/2024 primarily as an economic and operational issue. That tendency is understandable as a routine effect of beat reporting. Reporters on finance or business desks rely on the sources they speak to most often—manufacturers, retailers, and trade associations—and those voices naturally foreground compliance costs, revenue risk, and enforcement burdens. The consequence is that the public-health rationale can recede into the background, and the regulation is narrated less as population protection than as a regulatory exposure that firms must manage.

This desk-specific filtering has implications for the informational balance of coverage. When PP 28/2024 is framed mainly through business impact, the dominant "threat" presented to readers shifts from nicotine-related harm to the perceived risk of regulation itself. In that configuration, efficacy cues—what the policy is intended to accomplish for youth protection and how the rules are expected to work in practice—receive less space, which can leave audiences with a partial basis for judging legitimacy. A modest but realistic newsroom improvement is to build routine cross-desk sourcing: business reporters can include at least one public-health or legal expert alongside industry voices, while health reporters can, in turn, contextualize economic claims with baseline employment data and clear definitions. This does not dilute beat focus; it improves the completeness of policy reporting.

The choice of languages does quiet work on perception. Words like "*terancam*" or "*anjlok*" carry a sense of crisis, while "*ditegakkan*" signals institutional control. None of these are wrong by themselves. But a headline that reads "*6 juta orang terancam*" without a denominator primes fear more than understanding. Small edits help. Add a number from the legal text or the scope of the rule, for example the 200-meter radius or the retail-age threshold and note who is affected directly (Hayek, 2024, p. 9). Readers then see that a claim is one of several frames, not the only one.

Visuals and embeds can either normalize product use or support risk literacy. If a piece is about age verification, a cropped photo of an ID check communicates the rule better than a product glamour shot. If a piece is about packaging, a neutral mock-up that highlights the warning area helps readers see the policy (Dutta et al., 2018, p. 7). Where lawful, a side panel that lists the relevant "*pasal*" with short plain-language glosses makes the article feel like a guide rather than a shouting match (Peraturan Pemerintah (PP) Nomor 28 Tahun 2024, 2024).

There is also an ethical angle that journalists already know but sometimes need permission to state plainly. Not every stakeholder claims merits the same weight on the page; verification and clear labeling are part of reducing the spread of weak or misleading assertions (Prabawangi & Noer Fatanti, 2023, p. 204). When a figure comes from an industry-funded brief that does not explain how it was produced, the article should say so, and it should avoid presenting the number as a settled fact. Where feasible, a reporter can do a quick plausibility check against

the primary legal text and baseline official indicators (Peraturan Pemerintah (PP) Nomor 28 Tahun 2024, 2024). The same transparency works in the other direction: if a health study is peer-reviewed and openly accessible, note that and provide a link so readers can inspect the evidence directly (Holipah et al., 2020, p. 13). This kind of provenance is not "anti-industry"; it is basic professional hygiene. It also aligns with scholarship that links ethical transparency to constructive routine reporting and with newsroom policies that ask journalists to separate advocacy from analysis through clear sourcing notes (Sultan & Amir, 2023a, p. 9).

A constructive approach to PP 28/2024 coverage can build on that foundation without flattening disagreement. The point is not to silence economic concerns, but to report them in proportion and with context. For tobacco and e-cigarette regulation, a practical shift is to balance "what may change for businesses" with "what the regulation is designed to protect," especially minors. Reporting can also become more useful when it includes efficacy information—how measures such as pictorial health warnings (PHW), retail controls, and age limits are expected to work and what evidence exists from comparable settings—rather than relying on alarm language alone.

Ethical reporting in a digital environment also benefits from simple habits that improve public literacy. Linking directly to the relevant *pasal* of PP 28/2024 and to peer-reviewed studies does not overload readers; it helps them see what the policy says and where health claims come from. This is particularly valuable when public discussion is shaped by short summaries and reposted claims that strip away context. In that sense, journalism acts as a translator between legal text, technical evidence, and everyday understanding—and it can do so without taking a partisan stance. The aim is a clearer information environment: debate remains, but the basic terms of the debate become easier for the public to verify.

Finally, a note on what we still do not know. This pilot is small and does not yet include Kompas, Tempo, or Tribunnews. We did not apply McNemar's test because the pilot produced no discordant headline–body pairs. In the full sample, we plan to disaggregate sub-frames (for example, illicit trade versus employment) and run a light lexical analysis of headline verbs. We also intend to examine whether PHW-focused items and age-limit items attract different patterns in reader comments, as an initial indication of how frames are received. None of this will "settle" the PP 28/2024 debate, but it should give editors a clearer map of the choices being made in coverage—and what those choices foreground or leave out.

Synthesis: Pilot findings and practice implications

Across this pilot, framing shows a modest shift over time. Items published closer to the announcement more often take the form of rule explainers and foreground public-health rationales, whereas later items more frequently emphasize costs, compliance, and enforcement burdens. Headlines largely track the dominant frame in the body, which matters in a mobile-first reading environment. Sourcing also differs by dominant frame: PH items are typically anchored by health-government sources (and occasionally NGOs), while IND items rely more on trade associations and political voices. Read as a whole, the pattern looks less like a single-direction bias than the routine effects of beat orientation and source access, even though those routines still influence how audiences interpret policy purpose and legitimacy (Voina & Stoica, 2023, p. 147). The limits are clear. With only ten stories, we cannot generalize outlet differences, and the high headline–body alignment observed here may change once Kompas, Tempo, and Tribunnews enter the full corpus. The larger sample will also allow a closer look at sub-frames—such as illicit trade versus employment—and whether they come with distinct sourcing profiles.

The practical implications are straightforward and do not require a new newsroom "model." Start with the basics: keep headline cues tied to verifiable claims, and when a specific rule is the news hook, direct readers to the relevant *pasal* of PP 28/2024. When an article hinges on a large number, add a minimal layer of context—what the figure covers, the time horizon, and, where possible, a link to official data. Economic claims and public-health rationale can appear in the same story without forced balance: pairing an industry estimate with an agency explanation helps readers see both the asserted costs and the intended health objective. Source routines can also be widened in small ways, for example by including a clinician, tobacco-control researcher, or legal analyst when harm-reduction arguments are presented. Lastly, visuals matter: images and graphics that clarify provisions (age verification, the 200-meter radius, PHW) do more for public understanding than product shots that inadvertently normalize use. These are standard verification practices made visible, and they help keep discussion of PP 28/2024 anchored to evidence rather than slogans (Ahsan et al., 2022, p. 9).

CONCLUSION

In line with the study aims, the pilot indicates that Indonesian online coverage of PP 28/2024 features competitive framing, with industry-oriented narratives appearing slightly more often than public-health narratives in the sampled items. Headline–body alignment was consistently high in this pilot, suggesting strong headline integrity in early regulatory reporting. Sourcing patterns also tracked dominant frames: public-health stories tended to rely on health-government sources (and occasionally NGOs), whereas industry-framed stories more often drew on trade associations and political voices. Finally, the pilot suggests a modest temporal shift: items closest to the announcement more frequently took the form of rule explainers foregrounding public-health rationales, while later items more often emphasized costs, compliance, and enforcement burdens. Given the small pilot size, the full-year corpus across the five outlets will be used to test whether these patterns persist and to translate them into practical guidance on linking coverage to specific PP 28/2024 provisions, contextualizing numerical claims with official data, and broadening expert sourcing to support evidence-based public understanding.

To improve the quality of health-policy reporting in this context, we propose a three-tiered approach that targets newsroom routines as well as presentation choices. Structurally, media organizations can adopt health–economic verification protocols so that claims about job losses or revenue decline are checked against official data or independent projections, reducing the risk of amplifying weak or interested assertions. At the sourcing level, greater diversification is needed beyond the familiar government–industry binary by prioritizing disinterested experts—clinicians, public health scholars, or legal analysts—who can explain the policy rationale and evidentiary basis without commercial incentives. Finally, at the visual and lexical level, journalists should avoid crisis-oriented wording (e.g., terancam) and product-centric imagery that may prime fear or normalize consumption; neutral infographics explaining provisions such as the 200-meter radius and age-verification rules can instead strengthen public policy literacy. Future research should extend beyond producer logic by examining audience reception to determine how frames shape perceived risk and support for regulation, and by conducting longitudinal comparisons between legacy and digital-native outlets to evaluate whether verification standards remain consistent under competitive pressures.

REFERENCES

Ahsan, A., Afin, R., Amalia, N., Hindriyani, M., Jacinda, A. R., & Kramer, E. (2022). FCTC ratification, smoking prevalence, and GDP per capita: lessons for Indonesia and the rest of the world. *Globalization and Health*, *18*(1), 11. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-022-00810-y

Ahsan, A., Wiyono, N. H., Veruswati, M., Adani, N., Kusuma, D., & Amalia, N. (2020). Comparison of tobacco import and tobacco control in five countries: Lessons learned for Indonesia. *Globalization and Health*, *16*(1), 65. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-020-00595-y

Amir, A. S., Mulyana, D., Dida, S., & Suminar, J. R. (2024). Digital divide and privacy challenges in digital health communication in Indonesia. *EVOLUTIONARY STUDIES IN IMAGINATIVE CULTURE*, *8*(3), 816–825. https://doi.org/10.70082/esiculture.vi.733

Amir, A. S., & Pangkam, M. (2025). Political public relations in digital health communication: Engagement and trust building. *PRofesi Humas*, *10*(1), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.24198/prh.v10i1.62600

Ariestyani, K. (2023). Constructive journalism: Indonesian journalists' perception and implementation in the Covid-19 News. *Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia*, *12*(1). https://doi.org/10.7454/jkmi.v12i1.1058

Banks, C., Rawaf, S., & Hassounah, S. (2017). Factors influencing the tobacco control policy process in Egypt and Iran: A scoping review. *Global Health Research and Policy*, *2*(1), 19. https://doi.org/10.1186/s41256-017-0039-6

Broniatowski, D. A., Jamison, A. M., Qi, S., AlKulaib, L., Chen, T., Benton, A., Quinn, S. C., & Dredze, M. (2018). Weaponized health communication: Twitter bots and Russian trolls amplify the vaccine debate. *American Journal of Public Health*, *108*(10), 1378–1384. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2018.304567

D'Esterre, A. P., Tulsiani, S., Hair, E. C., Aseltine, M., Yu, L. Q., Ichimiya, M., Bingenheimer, J. B., Cantrell, J., & Evans, W. D. (2025). Pathway from Exposure to an e-cigarette prevention social media campaign to increased quitting intentions: A randomized trial among young adult e-cigarette users. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *22*(2), 307. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph22020307

Dutta, B., Peng, M.-H., & Sun, S.-L. (2018). Modeling the adoption of personal health record (PHR) among individual: The effect of health-care technology self-efficacy and gender concern. *Libyan Journal of Medicine*, *13*(1), 1500349. https://doi.org/10.1080/19932820.2018.1500349

Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of Communication*, *57*(1), 163–173. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00336.x

Hayek, L. (2024). Media framing of government crisis communication during COVID-19. *Media and Communication*, *12*. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.7774

Holipah, H., Sulistomo, H. W., & Maharani, A. (2020). Tobacco smoking and risk of all-cause mortality in Indonesia. *PLOS ONE*, *15*(12), e0242558. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0242558

Immurana, M., Boachie, M. K., & Iddrisu, A.-A. (2021). The effects of tobacco taxation and pricing on the prevalence of smoking in Africa. *Global Health Research and Policy*, *6*(1), 14. https://doi.org/10.1186/s41256-021-00197-0

Izquierdo-Condoy, J. S., Naranjo-Lara, P., Morales-Lapo, E., Hidalgo, M. R., Tello-De-la-Torre, A., Vásconez-Gonzáles, E., Salazar-Santoliva, C., Loaiza-Guevara, V., Rincón Hernández, W., Becerra, D. A., González, M. B. D., López-Cortés, A., & Ortiz-Prado, E. (2024). Direct health implications of e-cigarette use: A systematic scoping review with evidence assessment. *Frontiers in Public Health*, *12*, 1427752–1427752. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2024.1427752

Kamimura, A., Trinh, H. N., Johansen, M., Hurley, J., Pye, M., Sin, K., & Nguyen, H. (2018). Perceptions of mental health and mental health services among college students in Vietnam and the United States. *Asian Journal of Psychiatry*, *37*, 15–19. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ajp.2018.07.012

Kreslake, J. M., O'Connor, K. M., Liu, M., Vallone, D. M., & Hair, E. (2023). A resurgence of e-cigarette use among adolescents and young adults late in the COVID-19 pandemic. *PLOS ONE*, *18*(3), e0282894. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0282894

Krippendorff, K. (2019). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071878781

Lestari, M. T., Purnama, H., & Diniati, A. (2022). he important role of new media during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Kajian Jurnalisme*, *6*(1), 64. https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v6i1.32235

Masita, M., Aziz, S., & Amir, A. S. (2016). Analisis framing kasus Dwi Kewarganegaraan Arcandra Tahar di Koran Kompas. *KAREBA: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, *5*(1). https://journal.unhas.ac.id/index.php/kareba/article/view/1883

Musfialdy, M., Hidayat, D. R., Karlinah, S., Wahyudin, U., & Jamal, M. F. (2024). The mechanism of newsroom and TV journalist work routines during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Jurnal Kajian Jurnalisme*, *7*(2), 112. https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v7i2.46409

Peraturan Pemerintah (PP) Nomor 28 Tahun 2024 (2024). https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/details/294077/pp-no-28-tahun-2024

Prabawangi, R. P., & Noer Fatanti, M. (2023). Ketika fakta bukanlah kebenaran: Peran media daring dalam amplifikasi misinformasi kesehatan di era pandemi COVID-19. *Jurnal Komunikasi*, *17*(2), 185–206. https://doi.org/10.20885/komunikasi.vol17.iss2.art4

Rice, R. E., & Atkin, C. K. (2013). *Public communication campaigns*. SAGE Publications. https://books.google.com/books/about/Public_Communication_Campaigns.html?hl=id&id=B7J1AwAAQBAJ

Riffe, D., Lacy, S., Watson, B. R., & Fico, F. (2019). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative*

content analysis in research. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429464287

Rivaldi, M. F., Hidayat, D. R., & Supriadi, D. (2022). Disiplin verifikasi wartawan Tribunnews. com dan Detik.com dalam pemberitaan penganiayaan Ratna Sarumpaet. *Kajian Jurnalisme*, *5*(2), 160. https://doi.org/10.24198/jkj.v5i2.31701

Sultan, M. I., & Amir, A. S. (2023a). Privacy concerns in digital journalism: Balancing transparency and ethical reporting. *Jurnal ASPIKOM*, *8*(2), 371. https://doi.org/10.24329/aspikom.v8i2.1410

Sultan, M. I., & Amir, A. S. (2023b). The utilization of digital media in health communication in Indonesia. *Jurnal Riset Komunikasi*, *14*(2). https://jurnal.untirta.ac.id/index.php/JRKom/article/view/22079?__cf_chl_tk=5URx1gff7R3vM87DSv4cEf8VuXrlzKZ9o7IYZ8DpME8-1770635387-1.0.1.1-OHxzuqMhvpQ4RDAmQLvXYf2d.GmnflHDW.7_EzMiLgs

Thompson, T. L., & Harrington, N. G. (2022). *The Routledge Handbook of health communication* (3rd ed.). Routledge. https://www.routledge.com/The-Routledge-Handbook-of-Health-Communication/Thompson-Harrington/p/book/9780367487447

Tsagkroni, V., & Dikaios, G. (2024). Editorial: Policy framing and branding in times of constant crisis. *Media and Communication*, *12*. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.8384

Voina, A., & Stoica, M. S. (2023). Reframing leadership: Jacinda Ardern's response to the COVID-19 pandemic. *Media and Communication*, *11*(1). https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v11i1.6045