



## Social Network Analysis of Sherly Tjoanda's Framing as Female Leadership on the X and TikTok Apps

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### Info Article

| Submitted: 14 March 2026 | Revised: 14 April 2026 | Accepted: 24 April 2026

| Published: 24 April 2026

**How to cite:** Abiyyu Ahnaf Bayana, etc., "Social Network Analysis of Sherly Tjoanda's Framing as Female Leadership on the X and TikTok Apps", *Sociale : Journal of Social and Political Sciences*, Vol. 2 No. 1, 2026, p. 112-128.

### ABSTRACT

The rapid development of social media has significantly transformed the way political leadership is constructed, distributed, and perceived within the digital public sphere. This transformation becomes more complex in the context of women's leadership in Indonesia, which continues to face various structural and cultural challenges, including gender bias, stereotypes, and the tendency to evaluate leaders based on personal attributes. This phenomenon is reflected in the emergence of Sherly Tjoanda as a female regional leader who is active on platforms such as X and TikTok, where public conversations about her not only focus on performance and policy issues but also on gender identity, appearance, and emotional closeness to society. The differing characteristics of these platforms further shape the dynamics of interaction and the construction of meaning in digital spaces. This study aims to analyze the construction of women's leadership by mapping conversation network structures and identifying framing patterns on X and TikTok using a mixed-methods approach that combines Social Network Analysis (SNA) and framing analysis. Data were collected through a scraping process using Python in Google Colaboratory with relevant keywords, then analyzed using Gephi to identify network structures, dominant actors, and interaction patterns, while framing analysis was employed to examine dominant narrative tendencies. The findings indicate that conversation networks on TikTok tend to be more centralized with relatively homogeneous narratives emphasizing leaders' closeness to the public and engagement with economic welfare issues, while still containing framing that highlights personal attributes and gender identity. In contrast, networks on platform X are more fragmented with a high level of modularity, reflecting the presence of diverse discourse clusters containing support, criticism, and contestation of public opinion. This study concludes that the construction of women's leadership on social media is shaped not only by policy narratives but also by social processes that both reproduce and challenge gender bias in the digital public sphere.

**Keywords:** Social Network Analysis; Framing; Women's Leadership; Social Media; Sherly Tjoanda

### ABSTRAK

Perkembangan pesat media sosial telah mengubah secara signifikan cara kepemimpinan politik dikonstruksi, didistribusikan, dan dipersepsikan dalam ruang publik digital. Perubahan ini menjadi semakin kompleks dalam konteks kepemimpinan perempuan di Indonesia yang masih menghadapi berbagai tantangan struktural dan kultural, seperti bias gender, stereotip, serta kecenderungan penilaian berbasis atribut personal. Fenomena tersebut terlihat dalam kemunculan Sherly Tjoanda sebagai figur kepala daerah perempuan yang aktif di platform X dan TikTok, di mana percakapan publik mengenai dirinya tidak hanya berfokus pada aspek kinerja dan kebijakan, tetapi juga pada identitas gender, penampilan, serta kedekatan emosional dengan masyarakat. Perbedaan karakteristik kedua platform turut membentuk dinamika interaksi dan konstruksi makna dalam ruang digital. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis konstruksi kepemimpinan perempuan melalui pemetaan struktur jaringan percakapan serta identifikasi pola framing pada platform X dan TikTok dengan menggunakan pendekatan mixed methods yang menggabungkan Social Network Analysis (SNA) dan analisis framing. Data dikumpulkan melalui teknik scraping menggunakan Python di Google Colaboratory dengan kata kunci terkait, kemudian dianalisis menggunakan Gephi untuk mengidentifikasi struktur jaringan, aktor dominan, serta pola interaksi, sementara analisis

framing digunakan untuk mengkaji kecenderungan narasi yang berkembang. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa jaringan percakapan di TikTok cenderung terpusat dengan narasi yang relatif homogen yang menekankan kedekatan pemimpin dengan masyarakat serta keterlibatan dalam isu kesejahteraan ekonomi, namun tetap memuat framing yang menonjolkan atribut personal dan identitas gender. Sebaliknya, jaringan pada platform X bersifat lebih terfragmentasi dengan tingkat modularitas tinggi yang mencerminkan adanya beragam klaster diskursus yang memuat dukungan, kritik, serta kontestasi opini publik. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa konstruksi kepemimpinan perempuan di media sosial tidak hanya dibentuk melalui narasi kebijakan, tetapi juga melalui proses sosial yang mereproduksi sekaligus menantang bias gender dalam ruang publik digital.

**Kata Kunci:** *Social Network Analysis; Framing; Kepemimpinan Perempuan; Media Sosial; Sherly Tjoanda*

## **Introduction**

The development of digital technology and social media has created new spaces for political representation, including the construction of women's leadership images in the digital public sphere (Castells, 2013). In Indonesia, women in politics continue to face various structural and cultural barriers, ranging from gender stereotypes to limited representation in strategic public offices (Siregar, 2025; Theocharis, 2015). At the same time, digital platforms provide opportunities for women to construct their own leadership narratives, extending beyond the limitations of conventional media, which often reproduce gender bias (Haq, n.d.).

Sherly Tjoanda has emerged as one of the prominent female political figures attracting public attention in recent times. As the Governor of North Maluku, her presence on digital platforms particularly on the applications X and TikTok illustrates how female political figures are constructed and framed within leadership narratives in the digital era (Rahmanto & Anshori, 2025; Tsaniyah, n.d.). The framing of messages about women's leadership on social media represents an important phenomenon to examine, as it not only reflects public opinion but also actively shapes it (Entman, 1993).

Narratives of women's leadership on social media can serve as instruments of empowerment and positive representation. On the other hand, such constructions are also vulnerable to gender bias, stereotypes, and negative framing that may undermine women's legitimacy in politics (Krook & Sanín, 2020). The platforms X and TikTok, as two platforms with different characteristics text-based communication and interaction networks versus short-form visual content generate distinct framing dynamics. Therefore, a comparative examination of these platforms becomes both relevant and important (Azmina et al., 2025).

The Social Network Analysis (SNA) approach enables researchers to map the structure of digital conversation networks surrounding Sherly Tjoanda, identify key actors who dominate the narrative, and analyze how the framing of women's leadership spreads and interacts within digital networks (Borgatti et al., 2024). By

combining SNA with framing analysis, this study seeks to generate a more comprehensive understanding of the construction of women's leadership in Indonesia's digital public sphere (Aulia et al., 2026).

Studies on women's representation in social media and the use of Social Network Analysis in the context of digital politics have grown rapidly. (Hafsari et al., 2025; Hamad, 2004) employed Social Network Analysis (SNA) to examine the polarization of actors in digital social movements on the platform X, finding that digital social networks tend to form fragmented communities with high levels of modularity. This study provides an important methodological foundation, although its focus remains on general social movements and does not specifically address gender representation within digital networks.

(Hafsari et al., 2025) expanded the application of Social Network Analysis by examining the phenomenon of viral-based policy through the platform X, demonstrating how digital interaction mapping can be used to understand the dynamics of public opinion and pressure directed toward policymakers. Meanwhile, (Azmina et al., 2025) proposed a comprehensive analytical model that integrates Social Network Analysis (SNA), topic modeling, and framing analysis, offering richer methodological opportunities to analyze digital discourse simultaneously from both structural and content dimensions.

Particularly in studies on women's leadership, several studies indicate that media framing of female politicians tends to emphasize personal attributes and appearance rather than leadership capacity (Febriana et al., 2025). Research on TikTok as an arena for political communication remains relatively limited compared to other platforms, although the platform has proven to have significant reach among younger audiences (Cervi et al., 2021).

Based on the literature review above, several research gaps form the basis of this study. First, existing SNA research in Indonesia generally focuses on issues related to social movements or general public policy, and there has been little research specifically examining the framing of women's leadership using this approach. Second, studies on the representation of women in Indonesian political discourse on social media are still dominated by conventional content analysis approaches and have not yet integrated network analysis to map the structure and dominant actors behind the dissemination of such narratives (Rahmanto & Anshori, 2025).

A comparative study of the framing of women's leadership between the platforms X and TikTok has not yet been conducted, even though the two platforms possess fundamentally different interaction characteristics. Furthermore, the use of Google Colaboratory and Python as data-processing tools, combined with Gephi for network visualization within the context of gender and digital studies, remains

very limited in the Indonesian political science literature. This study seeks to address these gaps.

This study aims to analyze the structure of digital conversation networks surrounding Sherly Tjoanda on the platforms X and TikTok using Social Network Analysis (SNA), as well as to identify the dominant patterns of framing of women's leadership within these networks. In addition, the study seeks to compare the dynamics of women's leadership framing across the two platforms in order to understand how platform characteristics influence the construction of leadership narratives about women in Indonesia's digital public sphere.

Social Network Analysis (SNA) serves as the primary analytical approach in this study, focusing on social relationships among actors within a digital network (Borgatti et al., 2024). SNA represents user interactions through nodes and edges, enabling researchers to measure actor centrality using four main indicators: degree centrality, which indicates the number of direct connections; betweenness centrality, which measures the role of an actor as a bridge between groups; closeness centrality, which assesses an actor's proximity to all others within the network; and eigenvector centrality, which evaluates influence based on connections with other influential actors.

The Framing Theory developed by (Entman, 1993) is used as the content analysis framework in this study, where framing is defined as the process of selecting and highlighting certain aspects of reality in order to promote particular interpretations. In the context of women's leadership, framing may take the form of emphasizing substantive leadership attributes (such as competence, policies, and achievements) or non-substantive attributes (such as appearance, domestic roles, and emotionality).

The combination of Social Network Analysis (SNA) and framing analysis enables this study not only to map who is speaking and how interaction patterns are formed, but also what is being discussed and how these narratives are collectively constructed within digital networks.

### **Research Methods**

This study employs a mixed-methods approach by integrating quantitative Social Network Analysis (SNA) with qualitative framing analysis. Data were collected through a scraping process of content on the platforms X and TikTok using Python in Google Colaboratory, utilizing relevant keywords such as the name Sherly Tjoanda and hashtags related to her leadership. The use of Google Colaboratory enables efficient large-scale data processing through cloud-based computing, while Python scripts are used for crawling, data cleaning, and converting the data into a node edge list format that can be further processed for network analysis (Aarts, 2013; McLevey et al., 2023).

The collected data were then imported into Gephi for visualization and network structure analysis. Gephi was used to calculate key SNA metrics, including degree centrality, betweenness centrality, modularity, density, and clustering coefficient, as well as to generate visualizations of interaction networks among users on both platforms (Pantić et al., 2026). The interpretation of the network analysis results was subsequently combined with framing analysis of the dominant narrative content, in order to produce a comprehensive understanding of how the leadership of Sherly Tjoanda is constructed within the digital public sphere.

## **Results and discussion**

### **1.1 Identification of Discussion**

1. **Problem Identification and Research Objectives:** Determining the research focus, namely how the patterns of framing of Sherly Tjoanda's women's leadership appear on the platforms X and TikTok, as well as establishing the research objective of understanding the network structure and the dominant narratives that emerge.
2. **Literature Review and Theoretical Framework:** Reviewing relevant theories, including Social Network Analysis (Borgatti et al., 2024), Framing Theory (Entman, 1993), and literature on gender representation in digital political communication.
3. **Data Collection:** Scraping data from the platforms X and TikTok using Python in Google Colaboratory with keywords related to the name Sherly Tjoanda and associated hashtags. The collected data include mentions, reposts/retweets, replies, and comments.
4. **Data Cleaning and Preparation:** Removing duplicates, bot accounts, and irrelevant content using Python. The data were then prepared in CSV format (node-edge list) to be imported into Gephi.
5. **Social Network Analysis (SNA) with Gephi:** Importing the data into Gephi and calculating key metrics such as degree centrality, betweenness centrality, modularity, density, and clustering coefficient, as well as generating visualizations of interaction networks among users on both platforms for comparative analysis.
6. **Framing Analysis:** Identifying the dominant narratives and framing of Sherly Tjoanda's women's leadership based on the most widely circulated content within the network, using a qualitative interpretative approach.
7. **Interpretation and Conclusion:** Synthesizing the findings from SNA and framing analysis to produce comprehensive conclusions regarding the construction of Sherly Tjoanda's women's leadership in the digital public sphere, as well as providing academic and practical recommendations.



size, the higher the level of connectivity of that term within the digital conversation (Borgatti et al., 2018).

The largest node within the network is the word “*funksinya*” (its function), which is connected to several other nodes such as “*paham*” (understand), “*gubernur*” (governor), “*Bulog*”, “*beras*” (rice), and “*makanan*” (food). The dominance of this node indicates that public conversations on TikTok largely highlight the role and function of Sherly Tjoanda’s leadership in the context of public policy, particularly in relation to the distribution of basic commodities and food price stability.

The connection between the word “*funksinya*” and terms such as “*Bulog*” and “*beras*” suggests that the digital discourse does not solely focus on the personal figure of the leader, but also links her leadership to institutional capacity in managing economic policies affecting the public.

This phenomenon indicates that social media can function as a public deliberative space that enables the public to connect political leaders with specific policy issues. From the perspective of the network society, digital media have created new communication spaces that allow the horizontal production and reproduction of political narratives among users (Castells, 2013).

Thus, the discourse surrounding Sherly Tjoanda on TikTok does not merely construct the personal image of a female leader, but also shapes public perceptions regarding her leadership capacity in managing economic issues affecting society.

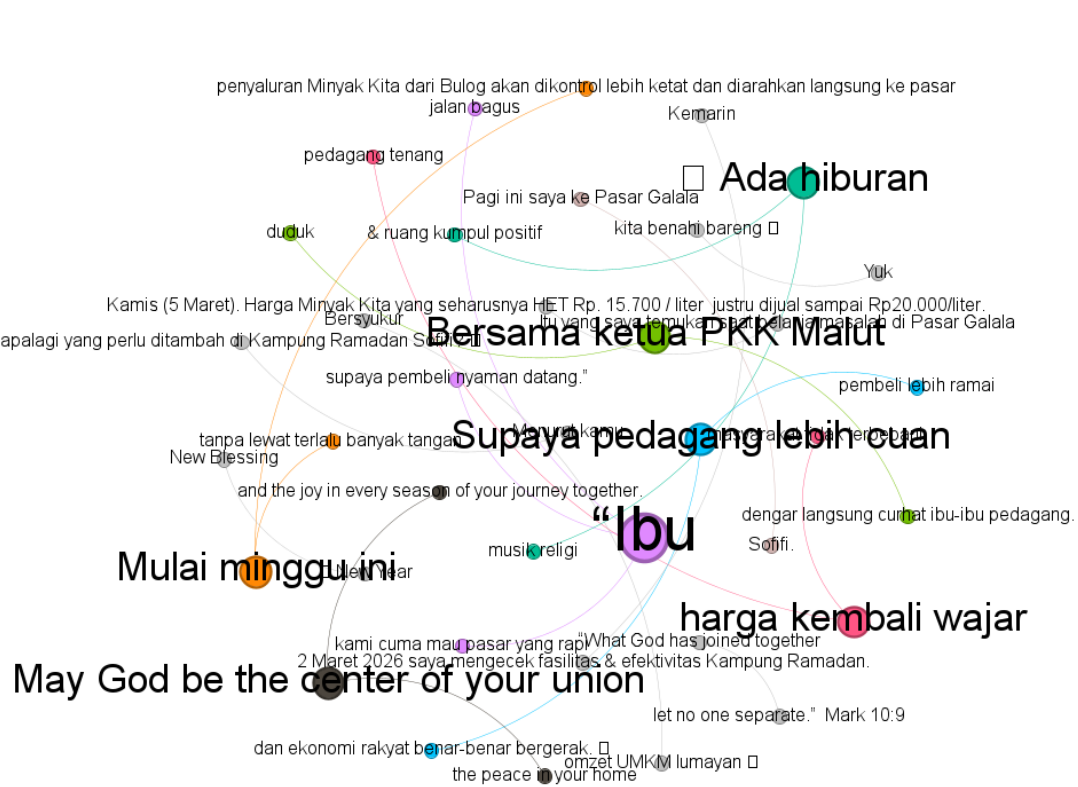
The TikTok network structure also reveals the presence of other discourse clusters that differ significantly from policy-oriented narratives. One notable cluster is centered on the node “*cantik*” (beautiful), which is connected to words such as “*sehat*” (healthy), “*elegan*” (elegant), and “*ibu*” (mother). This cluster reflects a form of framing based on personal attributes that is often attached to female political figures.

Research on the representation of women in political communication indicates that female politicians are frequently evaluated not only on the basis of policy competence but also on their appearance and personal characteristics (Druckman et al., 2021).

From the perspective of framing theory, this phenomenon reflects the process of selecting and highlighting certain aspects of social reality in order to shape public interpretations of a political figure (Entman, 1993). In this context Sherly Tjoanda’s leadership is framed not only through her policy capacity but also through personal attributes that have historically been associated with women in politics. Thus, the TikTok network structure in this study reveals a dual framing in the construction of women’s leadership. On the one hand, there are narratives that emphasize leadership capacity and public policy competence. On the other hand, there are narratives that highlight personal attributes related to gender identity.

This duality indicates that the legitimacy of women’s leadership in digital spaces remains influenced by gender stereotypes embedded in the political culture of society (Ayu & Anjani, 2026; Krook & Sanín, 2020).

## 1.2 The Dynamics of Policy Narratives and the People’s Economy



**1.2 Figure: Gephi Visualization Results Using Interval Analysis and the Directed Fruchterman–Reingold Model Based on TikTok Crawled Data**

The second network visualization reveals a more specific pattern of conversation regarding the intervention of the regional government in maintaining the stability of cooking oil prices in the market. The dominant node in this network is the word “ibu” (mother/Mrs.), which is connected to several other nodes such as “harga kembali wajar” (prices returning to normal), “pedagang” (traders/vendors),

“pasar” (market), and “bersama ketua PKK Maluku” (together with the Chair of the North Maluku PKK).

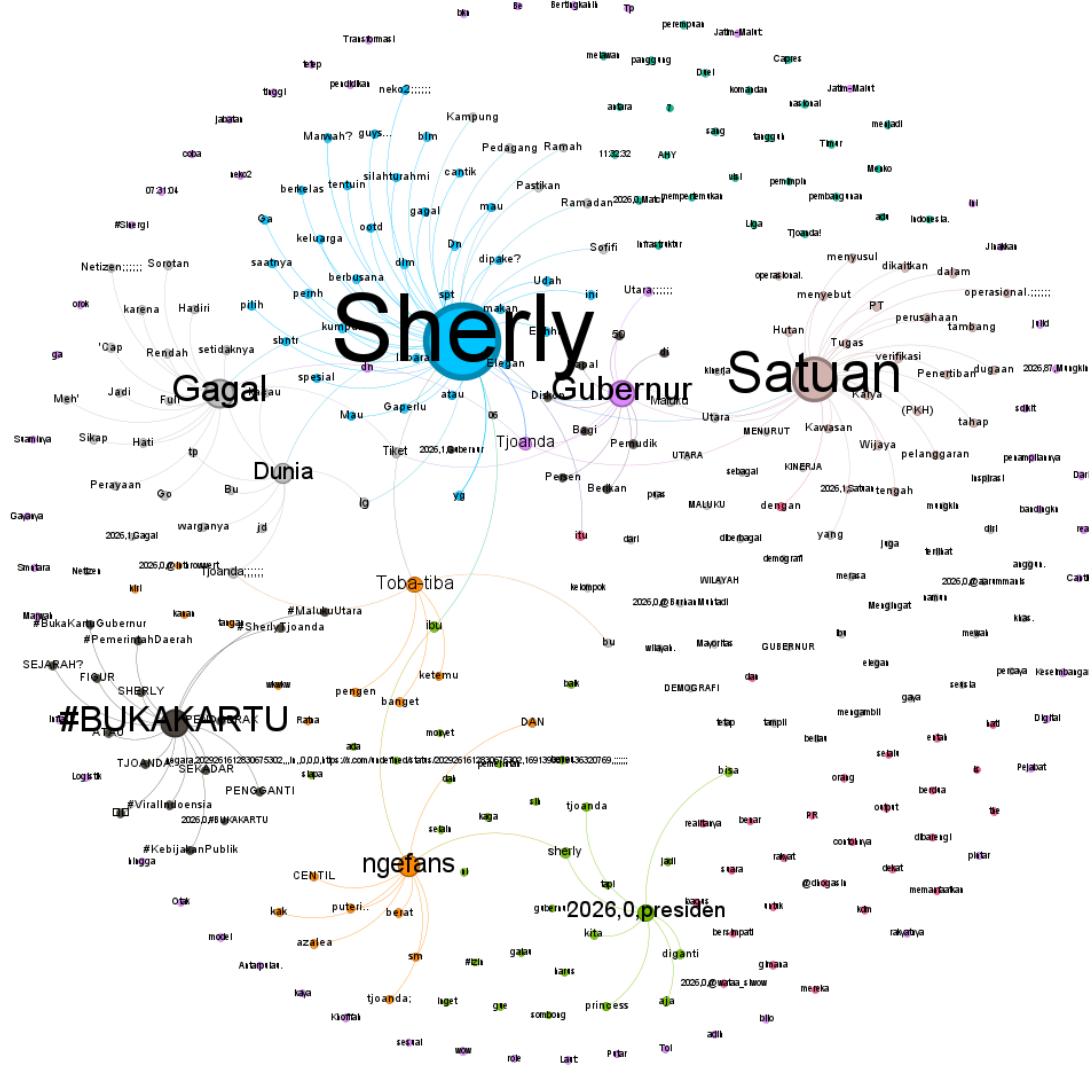
The use of the term “ibu” carries an important symbolic meaning. It not only indicates gender identity but also constructs an image of a leader who possesses emotional closeness with the community. In gender and political studies, this phenomenon is often referred to as maternal framing (Hevriansyah, 2021), a representational strategy that emphasizes the maternal dimension in women’s leadership to build political legitimacy (Krook & Sanín, 2020).

The conversation cluster connecting the words “pasar” (market), “pedagang” (traders/vendors), and “harga minyak” (cooking oil prices) indicates that public discourse on TikTok also highlights aspects of the people’s economy. This narrative illustrates that Sherly Tjoanda’s leadership is framed as that of a figure who actively goes directly to the field to monitor market conditions and ensure price stability for the public. In digital political communication, representational strategies such as this are often used to construct an image of leadership that is responsive to the needs of the community (Cervi et al., 2021).

The network analysis also indicates that the dissemination of narratives within the TikTok network tends to follow a **top-down pattern**. Most nodes in the network are connected to narratives originating from a single primary source, namely content produced by official accounts or accounts that have a direct association with the political figure. This phenomenon suggests that although social media provides a broad space for public participation, the structure of conversation networks is still influenced by actors who possess greater control over the production and distribution of political content.

### 1.3 Conversation Network Structure on the X Platform

Unlike TikTok, the conversation network on the X platform exhibits a more complex and fragmented network structure. The central node in this network is the word “Sherly,” which has the highest centrality in the conversation network.



**1.3 Figure: Gephi Visualization Results Using Interval Analysis and the Directed Fruchterman–Reingold Model Based on Python JSON Crawling Data with the Keyword “Sherly Tjoanda” (Time Range: 2024-02-10 – 2026-03-11)**

However, in contrast to TikTok which is largely dominated by positive narratives the network on the platform X reveals the presence of several more diverse discourse clusters, including critical narratives. One of the more prominent nodes in the network is the word “gagal” (failure), which forms its own distinct conversation cluster. The presence of this node indicates that there are conversations that question or criticize the performance of Sherly Tjoanda’s leadership.

In studies of digital political communication, the platform X often functions as a more agonistic arena of political discourse compared to other platforms. Text-based interactions allow users to express criticism, opinions, and political debates more directly (Jungherr, 2016). Consequently, conversation networks on this

platform tend to exhibit a higher level of opinion polarization than visually oriented platforms such as TikTok.

The network visualization also reveals the presence of the node **#BUKAKARTU**, indicating the dynamics of narrative contestation within digital conversations. Hashtags of this kind are often used as tools for mobilizing public opinion or as part of political communication strategies to criticize or expose particular issues within the digital public sphere.

#### 1.4 Metrik Social Network Analysis

To gain a deeper understanding of the network dynamics, this study also analyzes several **key metrics in Social Network Analysis (SNA)**.

Platform	Density	Modularity	Node Dominan	Karakter Jaringan
TikTok	Low	Low-Moderate	fungsinya, ibu	Centralized
TikTok (post 2)	Low	Moderate	ibu, harga	Policy-Oriented Narrative
X	Very Low	High	Sherly, gagal	Fragmented

The relatively low network density indicates that not all nodes are directly connected to one another within the conversation network. However, the higher level of modularity on the platform X suggests that public conversations tend to be divided into several relatively separate discourse groups.

In Social Network Analysis, high modularity often indicates network fragmentation or opinion polarization within public discourse (Himmelboim et al., 2017). This finding suggests that conversations about Sherly Tjoanda's leadership on the platform X are not dominated by a single narrative but instead consist of multiple competing perspectives.

#### 1.5 Comparative Framing of Women's Leadership

The results of the comparative analysis indicate that the construction of women's leadership on the two platforms exhibits distinct characteristics. On TikTok, the dominant framing emphasizes leadership that is close to the community and oriented toward practical policy solutions. This is reflected in nodes related to public welfare issues such as food prices, markets, and traders. In contrast, on the platform X, the framing of women's leadership is more contestational and political.

The discourse not only highlights government policies but also includes criticism, political debate, and narratives that question leadership legitimacy.

These differences can be explained by the distinct characteristics of each platform. TikTok, as a short-form video platform, tends to promote narrative and emotionally engaging content that is easily viral. Conversely, the platform X provides a more open discursive space, enabling the emergence of diverse and competing opinions within the digital public sphere (Theocharis, 2015).

## CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the construction of women's leadership in digital spaces is strongly influenced by the structural characteristics and interaction patterns of each social media platform. Through a Social Network Analysis (SNA) approach to public conversations about Sherly Tjoanda on TikTok and X, this study identifies significant differences in the structure of conversation networks, patterns of user interaction, and the framing of women's leadership that emerge within these two digital environments.

On the TikTok platform, the conversation network tends to exhibit a more centralized structure, characterized by the dominance of several key nodes that connect the majority of interactions within the network. This pattern suggests that the evolving discourse is relatively homogeneous and largely influenced by content originating from primary sources or accounts occupying central positions in the production of narratives. In this context, the framing of Sherly Tjoanda's leadership is primarily constructed through narratives emphasizing the leader's closeness to the community, direct involvement in economic welfare issues, and a leadership image that is responsive to everyday societal concerns. These characteristics are consistent with the nature of TikTok as a visual-based platform that tends to promote narratives that are personal, emotional, and easily viral within user networks.

In contrast, the conversation network on the platform X demonstrates a more complex and fragmented structure, characterized by a higher level of modularity. This fragmentation indicates that public conversations do not develop around a single dominant narrative but are instead divided into several discourse clusters reflecting diverse perspectives, including support, criticism, and contestation of political opinions. Consequently, the platform X functions as a more open and agonistic discursive space, where users have greater opportunities to express political opinions and engage in public debate regarding the performance of political leadership.

Beyond differences in network structure, this study also shows that the framing of women's leadership in digital spaces cannot be separated from the

dynamics of gender representation. In TikTok conversations, for instance, alongside narratives concerning policy capacity and governmental performance, there are also discourses highlighting personal attributes such as appearance and gender identity. This phenomenon illustrates that the representation of female politicians in digital political communication remains influenced by gender stereotypes that have historically been embedded in media coverage and political communication (Krupnikov et al., 2021). Therefore, the legitimacy of women's leadership in digital spaces is constructed not only through policy performance, but also through social constructions related to the leader's gender identity and societal role.

## **SUGGESTION**

Future research is recommended to combine Social Network Analysis with sentiment analysis and topic modeling methods in order to identify public emotions and more specific discourse themes within digital conversations. In addition, subsequent studies may expand the analysis to other platforms such as Instagram and YouTube to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the construction of women's leadership within the social media ecosystem.

## **Acknowledgements**

The author would like to express sincere appreciation and gratitude to all parties who have provided support throughout the preparation of this research. Special thanks are extended to the academic community of the Department of Government Studies, Universitas Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, particularly to Ika Arinia Indiyany, as the lecturer of the Gender and Politics course, who provided academic space and intellectual support in the development of this research.

The author also expresses gratitude to academic supervisors and colleagues who provided valuable feedback, constructive criticism, and insightful academic discussions during the preparation of this article. These contributions were instrumental in enriching the analysis and strengthening the interpretation of the research findings, particularly in the application of Social Network Analysis and framing analysis within the study of digital political communication.

In addition, the author appreciates the contributions of software developers and open-source communities that provide data analysis tools such as Python, Google Colaboratory, and Gephi, which enabled the effective collection, processing, and visualization of social network data in this research.

Author would also like to thank all social media users who indirectly contributed to this research through their interactions and digital conversations on the TikTok and X platforms. Without these dynamic digital interactions, research

on the construction of women's leadership in digital spaces would not have been possible in a comprehensive manner.

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