
Language and Power: How News Media Construct a Biased Structure of Information in Public Discourse during the Presidential Election

Zurriyati*¹ Fadhlur Rahman² Mohammed H. Alaqad³

^{1,2}Department of English Language Education, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Lhokseumawe, Indonesia.

³School of Education and Social Sciences, Management and Science University, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

* Corresponding Author: zurriyati@iainlhokseumawe.ac.id

Abstract

Democracy relies on public discourse to shape public opinion and influence political choices. However, political interference in reporting, as seen in media such as Media Indonesia and CNN Indonesia, has distorted public discourse and has become a serious problem. This study aimed to explore how reporting during the Indonesian presidential election is influenced by the close relationship between political parties and media authorities. This study also aims to find patterns of bias and polarization. Three methodologies were used in this research to address the problem: content analysis, comparative analysis, and intertextuality analysis. The results of this study revealed: Based on the analysis of the content of Media Indonesia's coverage, there is a clear bias towards one of the presidential candidates, which indicates political interference in the reporting. Comparative analysis reveals significant variations in news reporting approaches between Media Indonesia and CNN Indonesia, underscoring the possible impact of political players on media organizations. The use of extra textual evidence by authors to build credibility and support the stories presented is shown through an analysis of intertextuality. This study also highlights the negative effects of political interference in news coverage and its effect on public debate. The quest for universal truth is hampered by politicized and biased portrayals of topics in the media, which limit public understanding of complex issues. This study highlights the need for a free and independent press to fight these distortions, especially in fighting the domination of powerful interests.

Keywords: Language and Power, News Media, Discourse, Bias, The Presidential Election.

Introduction

The public discourse has been distorted as a result of political interference in news coverage. Political actors and media news institutions play a significant role in shaping the news, resulting in a biased and polarized depiction of issues and a lack of comprehension of complex problems (Hänggli, 2012; McChesney & Pickard, 2017; Schudson, 2002). It has been alleged that the media is aligned with political interests, resulting in the promotion of certain narratives and the suppression of others (Kellner, 2003). Through selective reporting, framing, and spin, bias can manifest and influence how the public perceives events. It is argued that the media constructs and reinforces hegemonic practices, restricting free speech and imposing specific values and political frameworks on the public. Hegemonic practices are the means by which dominant social forces maintain their dominance over weaker social groups. Promoting particular values while marginalizing others, the news media perpetuates and reinforces these practices.

Masterman (2018) suggest that the use of neutral language in news reporting can be a means of constructing hegemonic practices. Neutral language can provide the appearance of impartiality and objectivity while concealing or normalizing dominant societal values and assumptions. Therefore, it is crucial to recognize how political intervention and the news media construct hegemonic practices (Farkas & Schou, 2018). Therefore, news analysis and critical reflection are required to challenge dominant discourses and promote a more pluralistic and democratic public sphere (Phelan, 2017). The influence of news media goes beyond just reporting on events; it also extends to the way issues are framed and public debates are constructed. This means that the news media can represent the dominant social force and influence public opinion, attitudes, and behaviour by promoting a particular viewpoint or agenda while suppressing others.

In addition, the rise of social media and the proliferation of fake news have only exacerbated the problem, with many political actors and interest groups using these platforms to spread disinformation and manipulate public opinion (Bouvier & Machin, 2018; Vosoughi et al., 2018). Therefore, this politicizing of the news has far-reaching effects, undermining the credibility of journalism and eroding public confidence in the media. It also stifles meaningful dialogue and impedes progress on crucial issues, as different sides become more entrenched in their respective positions, resulting in a polarization of public discourse.

The media's influence in shaping public opinion is not a new phenomenon, but it has gotten more attention recently because of the rise of populist leaders who use media outlets to amplify their messages and agendas. Media outlets in Indonesia have had a significant impact on shaping public opinion and political discourse, particularly during the 2019 presidential election (Ida, 2011). Joko Widodo, also known as Jokowi, was a key figure in this election because he was seeking a second term in office. Jokowi's popularity stemmed largely from his media-savvy campaign style, which helped him capture the attention of a wide range of voters (Power, 2018). His popularity, however, was also due to the support he received from media moguls with direct ties to political parties (Ida, 2011; Tapsell, 2015, 2017). These media outlets gave Jokowi a "spacious and privileged platform" to promote his message and political agenda, allowing him to become a

prominent political figure in the 2019 election.

Hence, understanding the media's role in shaping public opinion and promoting political figures is critical, especially in democracies where the media is supposed to serve as an independent watchdog. In Indonesia, however, many of the largest media moguls have direct ties to political parties, resulting in a situation in which the media is not independent and is instead used to promote specific political agendas (Tapsell, 2017). Thus, the media's use of language and power can be viewed as a tool for increasing the prestige and popularity of political figures, particularly during election campaigns (Rudianto, 2021). Candidates can use the media to spread their message and reach a large audience, which can have a significant impact on their chances of success. However, when powerful interests control the media, it can be used to manipulate public opinion and promote specific political agendas.

Despite the close relationship between media moguls and political parties is not unique to Indonesia, it has played a crucial part in shaping the country's political landscape (Sen & Hill, 2007). The media industry is highly concentrated in the hands of a few powerful players, whose influence can be felt in all aspects of politics. The owners of major media outlets, in particular, have direct ties to political parties, which has significant implications for election campaigns (Pratama, 2017).

Media ownership in Indonesia is highly concentrated, with a few large conglomerates controlling the majority of the country's newspapers, TV stations, and online news portals. Because of the concentration of media ownership, these companies have enormous power to shape public opinion and influence the political process. Many of these media moguls have direct ties to political parties, allowing them to lend significant support to their preferred candidates during election campaigns. For instance, Surya Paloh, the owner of Media Group, which owns several major media outlets including Media Indonesia and Metro TV, is one such example. Paloh is a strong supporter of Indonesia's current President, Joko Widodo (Jokowi), and has played an important role in endorsing him in the previous two presidential elections. Paloh's support has undoubtedly increased Jokowi's popularity and provided him with a significant advantage over his opponents. However, the close relationship between media owners and political parties has raised questions about the media's impartiality and objectivity. Media owners, critics argue, may use their outlets to promote their own political interests and to silence dissenting voices. This has prompted calls in Indonesia for greater transparency and regulation of media ownership in order to ensure that the media remains independent and free of political interference.

Similarly, Hary Tanoesoedibjo, the billionaire owner of MNC Group and the leader of the Perindo party, has been a vocal supporter of Jokowi. A study conducted in 2019 by Remotivi, a media and communication research center, revealed that both Paloh and Tanoesoedibjo manipulated information in order to help Jokowi secure a second term as president (Samudera, 2019). This demonstrates the extent to which media owners in Indonesia can influence public opinion and political outcomes. For decades, mainstream media outlets such as Media Indonesia, *Harian Republika*, *Kompas*, and *Koran Sindo* have dominated the Indonesian media landscape. They have been successful in gaining public trust and shaping public opinion. As a result, they have become powerful tools for politicians to use in their campaigns, and media owners have been only too happy to oblige.

Meanwhile, the general public frequently overlooks independent media outlets such as Remotivi and *Tirto.id*. Despite their objective reality reporting and evidence-based analysis, they have yet to achieve widespread acceptance outside of academic and educated circles. This is a concerning trend, because the media plays an important role in informing citizens and shaping public opinion. With large media conglomerates in control, there is a risk of biased reporting and skewed narratives that may not reflect the reality of a situation. Because the media has the ability to shape election outcomes and influence policy decisions, citizens must have access to a diverse range of perspectives.

In light of this, there is an increasing need for independent media outlets to gain public visibility and credibility. These outlets can provide a more balanced perspective on current events and political figures by providing objective reality in more neutral language and evidence-based analysis. As a result, a more informed and engaged citizenry can be promoted, which is essential for a healthy democracy. To ensure that the public has access to unbiased information, it is critical to understand how the media works and to promote media independence and diversity (Faisal, 2017; Sabir, 2022). This will help to prevent the media from being used to promote the interests of the powerful, while also ensuring that the public is informed and capable of making informed decisions.

The purpose of this paper is to inquire at two different ideological constructions and orientations developed in the context of news production by Media Indonesia and CNN Indonesia. The analysis will delve into the complexities of the text's interconnectedness with its social perspective, allowing for a better understanding of how media news articles are created. To accomplish this goal, the paper will draw on Van Dijk's (1988) framework, which emphasizes the importance of understanding media outlets' ideological perspectives and orientations. The study will specifically investigate how Media Indonesia and CNN Indonesia use language to construct their respective ideological perspectives and how these perspectives influence the production of news articles. Furthermore, the paper will delve into the complex relationship between language use and social perspective. The study will demonstrate how the two media outlets' linguistic choices reflect their respective social perspectives and orientations by analysing their language choices. This study will shed light on the subtle ways in which language can reinforce or challenge dominant social discourses.

Finally, the paper hopes to elicit critical thought about how media news articles are produced. The study aims to demonstrate how news articles can be shaped by the social perspectives and ideologies of the media outlets that produce them by examining the ideological constructions and orientations of Media Indonesia and CNN Indonesia. As a result, the conclusion will provide a space for additional critical reflection and discussion on the implications of this phenomenon for social action. Specifically, this paper will investigate the influence of power structures on news production in public discourse. In particular, we will compare, analyse, and evaluate how Media Indonesia and CNN Indonesia portrayed Joko "Jokowi" Widodo as a political figure during the presidential election campaign. Martin, G. J., & McCrain, J. (2019).

Literature Review

News Media

The news media is an important social institution that plays an essential role in influencing public discourse. It is responsible for gathering, processing, and disseminating information to the public, thereby contributing to the formulation of individual and community opinions and beliefs (Strömbäck et al., 2020). One of the most important functions of the news media is to provide the public with accurate and trustworthy information. By reporting on events and issues, the news media can inform the public and influence their perceptions of the world. This can subsequently affect public attitudes, behaviour, and decision-making (McChesney & Pickard, 2017; Schudson, 2002). However, the function of the news media extends beyond information dissemination. It also encompasses the contextualization and interpretation of events and issues. The framing of an issue by the news media can have a significant impact on how the public perceives it. For instance, framing an issue as a matter of public health as opposed to national security may elicit a different response from the public (Hubner, 2021). In addition, the news media have the ability to influence the public agenda by determining which issues to cover and how to cover them. This function of establishing the agenda can shape public opinion and influence policymaking.

Additionally, the news media can serve as a forum for debate and discussion of significant issues. The news media can facilitate public dialogue and contribute to the growth of informed and reasoned debate by providing a forum for differing perspectives and viewpoints (Van Dijk, 2002). The news media can serve as a vital forum for debate and discussion of crucial issues. Debate and discussion are essential for a healthy and democratic society because they allow individuals to express their opinions, challenge others, and gain an understanding of alternative viewpoints. By providing a forum for diverse voices and perspectives to be heard, the news media can play a crucial role in facilitating such debate and discussion.

Further, interviews and forum discussions in media outlets with experts and stakeholders on various issues are one of the most important ways in which the news media facilitate debate and discussion (Sari et al., 2021). These interviews and discussions can provide in-depth analysis and insights into complex issues, thereby assisting the general public in comprehending the nuances and complexities of various subjects. Additionally, the news media may function as a forum for public commentary and opinion pieces. Individuals are given the opportunity to convey their views and perspectives on a variety of issues through opinion pieces, which stimulates discussion and debate (Listiorini et al., 2019). When presented with respect and knowledge, these opinions can contribute to a more constructive and rational public discourse.

In addition, the news media can facilitate debate and discussion by providing opportunities for direct reader and viewer engagement via social media and online forums. Such participation facilitates the exchange of ideas and perspectives among individuals from disparate backgrounds and points of view. It is essential to note, however, that the role of the news media as a forum for debate and discussion can be undermined by factors such as bias, sensationalism, and an emphasis on entertainment over information (Mourão & Robertson, 2019). Therefore, it is crucial to engage in critical reflection and analysis of the reporting of the news media in order to ensure that it promotes healthy and constructive debate and discussion.

Political Interests in Media

The political interests and tendencies of the elite exacerbate a distortion in news text (J. E. Richardson, 2017). The media has a huge influence on public opinion, especially when it comes to politics and election results (Winters, 2013). This is due to the fact that news coverage may considerably influence how people perceive about political events and leaders, and so influence their voting decisions. The function of the media in moulding public conversation and opinion is essential in this regard. The monopolization of media ownership by a select few in society, on the other hand, has resulted in the production of skewed and biased news material. As a result, people have been unable to form independent and sensible opinions. As a result, the study of discourse and power in media has grown in importance in emphasizing social issues and revealing how a specific order of discourse is formed and reproduced in the media.

The study of media discourse and power is useful in comprehending the intricate interplay of language, social environment, and ideology (Phelan, 2017; Van Dijk, 2002). It has demonstrated that diverse ideological influences shape the selection, interpretation, and presentation of news items in the media. In the context of the 2019 Indonesian presidential election, for example, media outlets such as Media Indonesia and CNN Indonesia developed their news coverage based on their own ideological constructions and orientations. The investigation of these constructs and orientations might expose the intricacies of the text's language choice and its social perspective (Pavelka, 2015).

Finally, the media has a considerable influence on public opinion and political outcomes. However, the monopolization of media ownership by a few individuals has resulted in distorted news content, impeding people's capacity to form independent and sensible viewpoints. Understanding societal problems and revealing how a specific order of discourse is formed and reproduced in the media requires a study of discourse and power in media. To ensure that media news items are created with honesty, impartiality, and objectivity, it is vital to induce critical reflection for social action.

Despite improvements in the political system since Soeharto's demise, Indonesia today's society and political system is nonetheless dominated by a group of affluent and influential individuals known as oligarchs (Hadiz & Robison, 2013). These oligarchs retain their power by predatory power connections and money dominance. Controlling the media is one way they retain their power, as controlling the news is synonymous with influencing public opinion. In this case, we use Gramsci's concept of hegemony, which refers to the ruling class striving to assemble "spontaneous agreement" in various methods in order to establish community consensus. One such method is media control. This framework produces an orientation that tries to preserve and strengthen the bourgeoisie's position at the top.

Table 1. Media Oligarchs in Indonesian Politics

| Politician | Media | Political Party/Participation |
|---------------------|---|--|
| Surya Paloh | Media Indonesia, Metro TV | NasDem (Party Leader), Former Board of Advisory of Golkar party |
| Harry Tanoesoedibjo | Koran Sindo, Global TV, Inews, Okezone.com, MNC TV, RCTI, | Perindo (Party Leader), Hanura (Co-founder with Wiranto, a former general and a coordinating minister political, legal and security affairs) |
| Erick Thohir | JakTV, Harian Republika, Republika.co.id, ANTV | National campaign team leader of Jokowi |
| Aburizal Bakrie | Vivanews.com, TVone. | Golkar (a former party leader) |

We believe that this study is extremely valuable because politically engaged research is required to analyse the misuse of power in news production, especially now that the erosion of media independence in the public realm has become a major issue. In other words, the authors advocate for a more critical and politically involved examination of the media in Indonesia in order to reveal instances of power abuse and encourage better transparency and accountability in the political and media institutions.

The 2019 Presidential Election

The presidential election in Indonesia in 2019 was a significant political event that drew global attention and sparked intense debate both domestically and internationally (Sa'diyah & Widagdo, 2020; Toha et al., 2021). The election marked a watershed moment in Indonesian history, as it was the country's fourth direct presidential election since the fall of the authoritarian regime in 1998. The election featured two prominent candidates: incumbent President Joko Widodo (popularly known as Jokowi) and his long-time rival, Prabowo Subianto.

The 2019 election was one of the most closely fought in Indonesian history. The rivalry between the two candidates was fierce and frequently divisive, with each candidate presenting opposing visions and strategies for the country's future (Arifianto, 2019). A variety of complex issues dominated the election, including economic growth, national security, corruption, and social justice. The debates between the two candidates and their supporters were heated, reflecting the country's deep divisions and tensions (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2019).

The international community was closely watching the election, with many observers emphasizing Indonesia's democracy's importance to the region and the world (Arifianto, 2019; Toha et al., 2021). The election was an indicator for Indonesia's commitment to democratic values and principles, and the world was watching to see if the country could navigate the challenges of a highly competitive and polarized political environment successfully (Arifianto, 2019; Warburton, 2020).

Furthermore, the 2019 Indonesia presidential election was a watershed moment in the country's history, with far-reaching consequences for the country's future. The election highlighted the complexities and challenges of democracy in a diverse and rapidly changing society, as well as the value of open and constructive dialogue among citizens, politicians, and the media. Furthermore, the 2019 presidential election was inextricably linked to media coverage. The media had a significant impact on shaping public opinion and influencing voter behaviour. However, the media's biases and political party affiliations raised questions about media impartiality and the role of the media in democratic processes.

Method

This study employs three methods: analysing Media Indonesia's bias and agenda in their news reporting on the Indonesian presidential election; comparing the news reporting styles of different media outlets, specifically CNN Indonesia and Media Indonesia; and analysing how the author of the CNN Indonesia article makes connections between the text and other texts, specifically by referencing a study conducted by The Economist Intelligence Unit.

To begin, a content analysis is used to systematically analyse the content of Media Indonesia's news coverage of the Indonesian presidential election in order to identify patterns, themes, and biases (Krippendorff, 2018). Identifying the frequency of specific words and phrases, the tone of the articles, and the overall framing of the news reporting are all part of this method. The goal of this method is to provide a systematic understanding of how Media Indonesia constructs and presents election-related information, as well as to identify any potential biases or agendas in their news reporting.

Second, a comparative analysis is used to compare different media outlets' news reporting styles, specifically CNN Indonesia and Media Indonesia. This method entails identifying similarities and differences between two or more objects of analysis, in this case, the two media outlets' news reporting styles (Waisbord, 2014). The goal of this method is to provide an understanding of how different media outlets report on the same events, as well as to identify any patterns or themes that may exist across media outlets.

Finally, the intertextuality analysis is used to examine how the author of the CNN Indonesia article connects the text to other texts, specifically by citing a study conducted by The Economist Intelligence Unit. Analysing how a text refers to, quotes, or alludes to other texts is part of this method (Meinhof & Smith, 2000). The goal of this method is to provide an understanding of how the author of the CNN Indonesia article uses external sources to support their argument, as well as to identify any potential biases or agendas in the author's use of these external sources.

Overall, the combination of these three methods provides a comprehensive approach to analyzing Media Indonesia's bias and agenda in their news reporting on the Indonesian presidential election, comparing different media outlets' news

reporting styles, and analysing how the author of the CNN Indonesia article makes connections between the text and other texts.

Results and Discussion

As it is essential to determine "what concepts and issues are emphasized" and "what concepts and issues are downplayed" in the text, this will have a significant impact on the analysis, particularly in terms of framing. This paper analyzes a different interpretation of a specific media text based on its production, dissemination, and consumption sociocultural system, these factors represent both advantages and disadvantages, but they appeared to be the most objective and neutral method to describe a particular phenomenon.

In the context of the two newspapers, Media Indonesia and The Jakarta Post, it is possible to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the article titles to determine the extent to which they convey the author's intent and the extent to which they do not. This analysis can shed light on the potential use of language and rhetoric to influence readers' or voters' perceptions of the issues and personalities at hand. In Media Indonesia, the title "*Jokowi Unggul Karena Gagasannya*" or "Jokowi Excels Because of His Ideas" suggests that the writer's perspective on Jokowi's persona relies heavily on the words "*unggul*" (excels) and "*gagasan*" (ideas). The choice of this language is intended to create an immediate impact on readers/voters by implying that Jokowi is superior to his opponent in terms of initiatives and ideas. The use of such language also aims to convey a positive image of Jokowi and to reinforce the writer's support for him.

However, what is left unsaid is that a purportedly objective news source should avoid any form of bias or partiality by using neutral language. In this instance, the title in Media Indonesia attempts to paint a biased picture of the two presidential candidates, with the author supporting Jokowi and seeking to discredit Prabowo's reputation. The use of such biased language has the potential to influence the readers' or voters' perceptions of the candidates and their decisions.

In the field of media studies, analyzing the language and rhetoric employed by the news media is a crucial component of comprehending how information is presented to the public. This type of analysis reveals the possible agendas or intentions of media outlets as well as their potential effects on public discourse. In order to identify possible biases and partiality, promote transparency and accountability in journalism, and maintain the public's trust in the media, it is essential to conduct a critical analysis of the language used in media titles.

The title of an article on CNN Indonesia's news platform, "*Adu Gagasan Jokowi vs Prabowo Soal Pelayanan Publik*", illustrates a relatively objective approach to framing compared to Media Indonesia. By including both candidates' names in the same sentence, the author deliberately avoids creating a biased production and presents a more neutral language. This title reflects the news outlet's commitment to presenting a balanced and unbiased account of events.

It should be noted, however, that the dissemination of framing practices in newspapers can result in a variety of societal interpretations. Even a relatively neutral title, such as the one on CNN Indonesia's website, can influence public perceptions of political candidates and issues. According to Li (2009), this process can also affect the cognitive orientation of citizens toward the subject. In order to ensure that their reporting is accurate and fair, and that they do not undermine the democratic process, it is crucial for news organizations to maintain vigilance and ethics in their framing practices. The use of identification and reference in news reporting can have a significant impact on the public's perception of political candidates. In a Media Indonesia news article, Jokowi was mentioned 11 times more than his opponent Prabowo, with Jokowi appearing 11 times and Prabowo only four. This reporting bias suggests that Media Indonesia favors Jokowi over Prabowo. CNN Indonesia, on the other hand, appears to be more balanced in their reporting, mentioning Jokowi six times and Prabowo five times.

This observation implies that how people are referred to in the news can influence how they are perceived in the public sphere. According to Richardson (2006), identification and reference can have a significant impact on public opinion, with the repetition of specific words or phrases influencing how individuals are perceived. In Media Indonesia, for example, Jokowi is associated with words like *keberhasilan* (success), *peningkatan* (improvement), *mengubah* (changing), and *gebrakan* (innovation). These glowing endorsements imply that Jokowi is a capable leader, an innovative thinker, and a viable presidential candidate. Prabowo, on the other hand, has been labeled with negative adjectives, similes, and metaphors such as *eksklusif* (exclusive), *pemimpin satu kelompok hanya* (leader of only one group), and *boomerang*, which may influence the public's perception of him negatively. Hence, the words and phrases used in these news articles can have a big impact on how people perceive political candidates. The selective use of positive or negative language in news coverage can create bias and shape public discourse.

In the sentence "Jokowi is dominant in numerous surveys and foreign media," the news article in Media Indonesia employs presupposition patterns. The author's use of phrases like "many surveys" and "foreign media" assumes Jokowi's popularity as an unavoidable fact. The author acknowledged Indonesians' tendency to regard "many surveys" and "foreign media" as respectable, convincing, and collectively alluring, and used this presupposition to establish a specific belief in an implicit assumption created within the text, the truth of which is assumed in discourse (S. Richardson, 2006).

It is important to note, however, that not all surveys and foreign media are reliable, and even if they are, they may have a hidden political or economic agenda to support Jokowi's campaign. As a result, this type of information production can be viewed as a form of self-promotion, designed to persuade readers that Jokowi is a remarkable individual in the eyes of foreign media, or that his popularity is insurmountable in comparison to his opponent. This partisan rhetoric has the potential to significantly influence voter preferences for candidates.

The presuppositions used in news discourse must be examined and critically evaluated because they can shape public opinion and perception of individuals and events. Readers may unknowingly adopt biased viewpoints and beliefs if they accept presuppositions without questioning their validity or exploring alternative perspectives. In this regard, news media outlets bear a significant responsibility to provide objective, factual, and balanced reporting in order to promote informed and rational public decision-making.

CNN Indonesia, in comparison to Media Indonesia, provides a more balanced view of the presidential candidates,

employing a comparative approach to describe their views on good governance and public service. To convey the candidates' statements, the author primarily uses paraphrasing, avoiding the use of modified attributes such as negative/positive adjectives to sway the reader's opinion. A content analysis also shows that neither candidate's name is associated with any specific predicative nouns/pronouns, similes, or metaphors.

In contrast, the article demonstrates Media Indonesia's biased content. The author mentions Jokowi's name eleven times more than Prabowo's, indicating a preference for covering Jokowi more frequently. Jokowi is frequently depicted using positive verbs and adjectives such as *keberhasilan*, *peningkatan*, *mengubah*, and *gebrakan*, which implicitly encourages readers to see him as a suitable president, capable leader, and innovative individual. Prabowo, on the other hand, is labeled with negative adjectives, similes, and metaphors like *eksklusif*, *pemimpin satu kelompok hanya*, and *boomerang*, which undermine his legitimacy as opposition leader.

In the article, the author of Media Indonesia also employs presupposition patterns, assuming Jokowi's popularity by using phrases like "many surveys" and "foreign media." This strategy is intended to instill a specific belief in the minds of the readers, the truth of which is assumed in discourse. However, not all polls and foreign media are reliable, and they may have hidden political or economic agendas to help Jokowi's campaign. This type of information production is viewed as a form of self-promotion, with the goal of convincing readers that Jokowi is a remarkable individual in the eyes of foreign media, or that his popularity is insurmountable in comparison to his opponent. This partisan rhetoric has the potential to significantly influence voter preferences for candidates. Furthermore, the use of intertextuality by Media Indonesia to support its argument is biased. While citing a March 2019 study conducted by The Economist Intelligence Unit titled "Jokowi remains ahead in the latest polls" is acceptable research-based evidence to present (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2019).

In summary, the evidence suggests that Media Indonesia's news outlet has a higher proportion of positive news coverage of Jokowi with a positive persona, while also having a higher proportion of cynical attitudes aimed at undermining Prabowo's legitimacy as opposition leader. As a result, it appears that Media Indonesia did not sufficiently favor the incumbent candidate in their news coverage.

Conclusions

The significance of news is, of course, to encourage reflection on the information produced. Aside from its critical role in providing facts and information to the community, news is an important medium for fighting for social justice and universal truth. Furthermore, news may play a unique role in igniting the critical reflection required for social action. In the 2019 Indonesian presidential election, the media oligarchy of the incumbent candidate has distorted public perception. In Indonesia, the oligarchical media apparatus portrays Jokowi as their "puppet." The mainstream media owned by oligarchs helped Jokowi become a media phenomenon. In 2014 election, Jokowi's media-savvy campaign strategy garnered attention, and the similar campaign occurred in the 2019 presidential election. In 2014, he was introduced by mainstream media as the actual representative of the people, thereby elevating his profile. As a result of his political influence in the government, an increasing number of oligarchs and media moguls are joining him and seizing control of the media.

If the political system remains unaltered, the majority of Indonesian media outlets will continue to provide biased information to the public, making positive, presupposition-consistent inferences about the incumbent and negative, presupposition-consistent inferences about the opposition. This may prohibit individuals from drawing their own conclusions regarding the facts and the status of the country. Consequently, this may cause tensions among citizens, divide people into two distinct group and may result in a *divide at impera* (Hayat & Nurhakki, 2022). Due to reciprocal political practice, wealth, and power, the media-owners of these oligarchs may have eclipsed the government's dominance and participated in policymaking. In order to combat this form of oligarchic rule, more free press or nonpartisan news channels are required.

References

- Arifianto, A. R. (2019). What the 2019 election says about Indonesian democracy. *Asia Policy*, 26(4), 46–53.
- Aspinall, E., & Mietzner, M. (2019). Southeast Asia's troubling elections: Nondemocratic pluralism in Indonesia. *Journal of Democracy*, 30(4), 104–118.
- Bouvier, G., & Machin, D. (2018). Critical discourse analysis and the challenges and opportunities of social media. *Review of Communication*, 18(3), 178–192.
- Faisal, A. R. (2017). *Implementasi Pendidikan Literasi Media oleh Remotivi (Studi Deskriptif Implementasi Pendidikan Literasi Media oleh Remotivi)*.
- Farkas, J., & Schou, J. (2018). Fake news as a floating signifier: Hegemony, antagonism and the politics of falsehood. *Javnost-The Public*, 25(3), 298–314.
- Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2013). The political economy of oligarchy and the reorganization of power in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 96, 35–57.
- Hänggli, R. (2012). Key factors in frame building: How strategic political actors shape news media coverage. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(3), 300–317.
- Hubner, A. (2021). How did we get here? A framing and source analysis of early COVID-19 media coverage. *Communication Research Reports*, 38(2), 112–120.
- Ida, R. (2011). Reorganisation of media power in post-authoritarian Indonesia. *Politics and the Media in Twenty-First Century Indonesia*. London: Routledge.
- Kellner, D. (2003). *Media culture: Cultural studies, identity and politics between the modern and the post-modern*. Routledge.
- Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Sage publications.
- Li, J. (2009). Intertextuality and national identity: discourse of national conflicts in daily newspapers in the United States and China. *Discourse & Society*, 20(1), 85–121.

- Listiorini, D., Asteria, D., & Sarwono, B. (2019). Moral panics on lgbt issues: evidence from indonesian tv programme. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi*, 3(3), 355–371.
- Masterman, L. (2018). The Media Education Revolution and Teacher Education. In *Handbook of Teacher Training in Europe* (pp. 136–152). Routledge.
- McChesney, R. W., & Pickard, V. (2017). News media as political institutions. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*, 263–274.
- Meinhof, U. H., & Smith, J. (2000). *Intertextuality and the media: From genre to everyday life*. Manchester University Press.
- Mourão, R. R., & Robertson, C. T. (2019). Fake news as discursive integration: An analysis of sites that publish false, misleading, hyperpartisan and sensational information. *Journalism Studies*, 20(14), 2077–2095.
- Pavelka, J. (2015). Strategy and Manipulation Tools of Crisis Communication in Printed Media. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 191, 2161–2168.
- Phelan, S. (2017). Critical discourse analysis and media studies. In *The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies* (pp. 285–297). Routledge.
- Power, T. P. (2018). Jokowi's authoritarian turn and Indonesia's democratic decline. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 54(3), 307–338.
- Pratama, C. S. P. (2017). *Cyberpolitics Remotivi Pada Kampanye Pemilihan Presiden Tahun 2014 (Kampanye Dan Strategi Remotivi Melawan Media Televisi)*. Universitas Jenderal Soedirman.
- Richardson, J. E. (2017). *Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Richardson, S. (2006). Over-investment of free cash flow. *Review of Accounting Studies*, 11, 159–189.
- Rudianto, R. (2021). Presidential Election and the Battle of Online Media Discourse in Indonesia. *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute-Journal (BIRCI-Journal)*, 4(1), 441–449.
- Sa'diyah, C., & Widagdo, B. (2020). Indonesia's Capital Market Reaction Election Events. *Sentralisasi*, 9(2), 97–107.
- Sabir, T. A. (2022). *Strategi Literasi Media Baru dalam Mengedukasi Masyarakat Mengenai Kekerasan Seksual (Studi Kasus pada Channel Youtube Remotivi)*. Universitas Hasanuddin.
- Samudera, M. A. (2019). *ANALISIS RESEPSI AUDIENCE TERHADAP TAYANGAN VIDEO YOUTUBE REMOTIVI (Studi Pada Video Youtube Remotivi yang Berjudul "Politik Tapi Entertainment")*. Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Yogyakarta.
- Sari, P. P. N., Adnyani, N. L. P. S., & Paramarta, I. M. S. (2021). Conversation analysis: Turn taking on Indonesia Lawyer Club talk show. *Lingua Scientia*, 28(1), 47–57.
- Schudson, M. (2002). The news media as political institutions. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 5(1), 249–269.
- Strömbäck, J., Tsfati, Y., Boomgaarden, H., Damstra, A., Lindgren, E., Vliegenthart, R., & Lindholm, T. (2020). News media trust and its impact on media use: Toward a framework for future research. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 44(2), 139–156.
- Tapsell, R. (2015). Indonesia's media oligarchy and the "Jokowi phenomenon." *Indonesia*, 99, 29–50.
- Tapsell, R. (2017). *Media power in Indonesia: Oligarchs, citizens and the digital revolution*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Toha, R. J., Gueorguiev, D. D., & Sinpeng, A. (2021). The normalization of intolerance: The 2019 presidential election in Indonesia. *Electoral Studies*, 74, 102391.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2002). Media contents: The interdisciplinary study of news as discourse. In *A handbook of qualitative methodologies for mass communication research* (pp. 108–120). Routledge.
- Vosoughi, S., Roy, D., & Aral, S. (2018). The spread of true and false news online. *Science*, 359(6380), 1146–1151.
- Waisbord, S. (2014). *Media sociology: A reappraisal*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Warburton, E. (2020). Deepening Polarization and Democratic Decline in Indonesia. *Political Polarization in South and Southeast Asia: Old Division, New Dangers*, Eds. Thomas Carothers and Andrew O'Donohue, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 25–40.
- Winters, J. A. (2013). Oligarchy and democracy in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 96, 11–33.