

Coverage Bias by Medcom and Media Indonesia toward Anies Baswedan in the 2024 Presidential Election

**Muhammad Fida Ul Haq¹,
Nurul Shobrina Imamah²,
Siti Gomo Attas³,
Novi Anoegrajekti⁴**

Universitas Negeri Jakarta,
Rawamangun, Jakarta

[muhammad.fida.ul@mhs.unj.ac.id¹](mailto:muhammad.fida.ul@mhs.unj.ac.id)

[shobrinanurul@gmail²](mailto:shobrinanurul@gmail.com)

[sitigomoattas@unj.ac.id³](mailto:sitigomoattas@unj.ac.id)

[novi_anoegrajekti@unj.ac.id⁴](mailto:novi_anoegrajekti@unj.ac.id)

ABSTRACT

Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is one of the discourse analysis methods that can be applied to examine a discourse or text, whether on a small or large scale. Fairclough's CDA emphasizes the process of text production, the dissemination of the text, and its socio-economic-cultural aspects. This approach dissects discourse from micro to macro dimensions, in line with the complexity of the issues at hand. The research aims to understand several news articles presented by Medcom and Media Indonesia regarding the activities of Anies Baswedan leading up to the 2024 presidential election. The research method applied is qualitative, utilizing text analysis with the transitivity of Systemic Linguistic Functional (SFL) approach. The results of the analysis indicate a tendency in the four news articles to present a positive image of Anies Baswedan.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, SFL, transitivity, clause, text.

INTRODUCTION

Mass media is the primary source of information for the public, according to Bungin (2006:72). Mass media has a significant influence in shaping public opinion, perceptions of political candidates, and the course of election campaigns. In the context of Indonesia, the 2024 presidential election is expected to be a crucial moment in the country's political history. Online media is a part of mass media and is the subject of the author's research. Romli (2012) explains that the basic essence of writing online news is actually similar to that of print media news. The comparison lies in the speed of news updates, easier accessibility for readers, and the presence of multimedia elements that enrich the content.

Shoemaker and Reese, as reviewed by Krisdinanto (2014), detail the concept of the hierarchy of influences on media content, discussing the various factors that shape media content. According to Shoemaker and Reese, media coverage is influenced by both external and internal factors. Internal factors include the interests of media owners, the role of journalists in seeking news, and the routine processes within media organizations. On the other hand, external factors include influences from the public, advertisers, and the government. Overall, media content is shaped by various pressures, both from within and outside the media organization.

According to Undang-Undang No. 23 Tahun 2003 regarding the election of the president and vice president of Indonesia, both print and electronic media must provide equal opportunities to all candidates to present their campaign themes and materials. This provision also emphasizes that electronic and print media must adhere to this principle. There must be equal opportunities given to candidate pairs to display advertisements in the presidential and vice-presidential elections as part of the campaign (as stipulated in paragraph 2). The influence of communication on the political system can be seen in various forms. For example, when the general public protests and this is covered by the mass media, it can encourage the government to repeal or amend certain regulations, force officials to resign, or even lead to significant political changes such as the fall of a regime.

Political communication is always present in daily life, according to Romli (2012). Communication is not limited to protest actions or the expression of aspirations alone. In the dynamics of political life, communication occurs in various forms such as speeches, meetings, negotiations, campaigns, interactions between institutions, parliamentary debates, and so on. All of these are part of political communication. Mass media is responsible for disseminating news and information to the public, often with a distinctive perspective. Information on social developments, important events, and significant issues can be accessed by the general public, political elites, and government officials through mass media.

According to Romli (2012), conceptually, there are several criteria that determine newsworthiness, often referred to as "news values," such as timeliness, significance, proximity, prominence, currency, and human interest. Editors, along with media owners, play a crucial role in deciding which events are newsworthy, who the key figures are, which aspects should be highlighted, and the depth of coverage related to the events (Wiryanto, 2000).

One figure who has captured public attention is Anies Baswedan, a politician with a long career in politics who once served as the Governor of Jakarta. His position as a potential candidate in the 2024 Presidential Election makes him a focal point for mass media.

Media bias, whether political or non-political, is an unavoidable phenomenon in journalism, according to Hutami & Sjafirah (2019). This

bias can influence public views of political figures and impact the election process (Chiang & Knight, 2011).

An analysis states that Anies Baswedan entered the political arena after gaining experience in social and educational fields. Previously, he was involved in the presidential candidate convention of the Democratic Party.

However, in 2014, Anies officially became part of the winning team for Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. After Jokowi-JK were successfully elected as President and Vice President that year, Anies was then appointed by Jokowi as the Minister of Education and Culture (Dzaky, 2019). In the following years, the Gerindra Party nominated Anies Baswedan as the candidate for Governor of DKI Jakarta. Anies, along with his running mate Sandiaga Salahuddin Uno, won the election for Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta in 2017, defeating the pair Basuki Tjahaja Purnama-Djarot Saiful Hidayat in a two-round regional head election in DKI Jakarta.

Anies Baswedan paired with the Chairman of PKB, Muhaimin Iskandar, to run as presidential and vice-presidential candidates in 2024. They are supported by the NasDem Party, PKS, and PKB.

In this context, two leading media outlets, Medcom and Media Indonesia, are the subjects of the study. These two media have a broad reach and significant influence in political news coverage in Indonesia. In the context of potential presidential candidates for 2024, Anies Baswedan, the main goal of this study is to identify and analyze the potential bias in reporting by Medcom and Media Indonesia towards Anies Baswedan during the election period.

This research limits the scope of the issue to political campaign reporting published by medcom.id and mediaindonesia.com. This reporting is related to the narratives presented about Anies Baswedan from October 1 to 15, 2023. The selection of these news items is based on the author's observations, which suggest the presence of bias elements reflected in the news texts.

In this research, the Critical Discourse Analysis method developed by Norman Fairclough is used. Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis focuses on language aspects. According to Fairclough, discourse is divided into three dimensions: text, discursive practice, and socio-cultural practice. According to Fairclough, text, as stated in Haryatmoko (2016:23), refers to various forms of communication, such as oral, written, visual, and their combinations, or any other linguistic forms (such as vocabulary, grammar, syntax, metaphor structure, and rhetoric). Fairclough also adds, as mentioned in Darma (2009:89-90), that textual analysis is conducted linguistically by considering aspects of vocabulary, semantics, and sentence structure. Fairclough also considers coherence and cohesion to understand how words or sentences are connected and form meaning. This text analysis will use the transitivity theory in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) by MAK Halliday. Transitivity, according to (Halliday in Wiratno, 2018: 225), is

one way language reflects human views of the world. The processes used in language reflect how humans think about actions, events, and states (Santoso, 2008). For example, material processes show physical actions performed by someone, mental processes show a person's internal state, and relational processes show relationships between two things. Written or spoken texts use transitivity to convey information or messages to readers or listeners. By understanding transitivity, we can better understand how language is used to reflect human views of the world.

Second, according to Fairclough (in Eriyanto, 2001; Haryatmoko, 2016), discourse practice focuses on how texts are created and consumed. The production of texts is related to the methods and procedures used in the editorial department to produce news. Additionally, this aspect involves the process that connects the production and use of texts; the focus is on how the author engages with discourse and genre by considering power relations.

Third, Fairclough (in Eriyanto, 2001; Haryatmoko, 2016) states that sociocultural social practice, also known as social practice, is based on the idea that the social context outside the media influences how discourse is delivered within the media. There is no direct relationship between this dimension and text production; however, this dimension refers to the processes of text production and comprehension. Social practice is usually related to networks, goals, and broader social cultural practices. In this aspect, there is recognition of the importance of intertextuality, where texts not only reflect but also shape social practices. Fairclough also divides social practice into three levels: situational, institutional, and social.

METHOD

The research method in this study includes CDA and SFL transitivity as the analytical tools. This research is presented through verbal explanation (description), hence a descriptive qualitative research approach is chosen. This descriptive method aims to collect, analyze, and present accurate and factual information. The type of study used is a descriptive qualitative study applying Fairclough's CDA model. The data coded from Medcom and Media Indonesia. Analysis through Fairclough (2010, as cited in Haryatmoko, 2016, p. 19-22) offers four steps of critical discourse analysis, which are:

1. First, focusing on a social anomaly. Social anomaly is interpreted as negative elements in the structure and function of society that are detrimental. These anomalies include phenomena such as poverty, disparity, discrimination, as well as restrictions on freedom and racism.
2. Second, explaining the recognition and resolution of challenges associated with addressing social anomalies. There are three stages at this level. First, this stage involves tracing the connection between discourse structure and other socio-political elements or between texts and events. Second, this stage includes the selection of texts and focus on relevant

analysis, grouping texts according to the research objectives. Third, at this stage, text analysis is carried out, including interdiscursive and linguistic as well as semiotic analysis. Text analysis uses the Systemic Functional Linguistics framework.

3. Third, the study aims to identify whether social structures produce phenomena of social disorder. When a social structure produces significant disorder, intervention in the system is necessary. This involves aligning existing reality with expected norms. This aspect is related to ideology: discourse always has an ideological tendency because it can contribute to supporting certain power or dominance.

4. Fourth, the next stage is to identify potential strategies for overcoming obstacles. At this stage, the potential in various social processes will be analyzed to find ways to overcome obstacles in addressing social disorder. Social life is a complexity of interconnected social practices, including economic, social, and cultural aspects. Therefore, social practice always has a semiotic dimension. In social practice, there are various activities, means of production, social interactions, cultural identities, values, awareness, and semiotic processes. At this stage, critical discourse analysis involves dialectical examination between semiosis and other elements in social practice. This semiotic process is explained by Fairclough in the three dimensions of critical discourse analysis.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The text analysis by Fairclough uses SFL theory. In SFL, Halliday's transitivity theory is one of the systems used to analyze ideational meaning. Ideational meaning refers to meaning related to human experiences, both physical and mental. Transitivity refers to the structure in language that depicts how experiences are interpreted as various types of processes involving participants and circumstances. It is a linguistic framework that maps the relationships between the subject, object, and the actions performed by the subject on the object. In other words, transitivity helps in understanding how an action is performed by or to specific people or things within a context. Processes are the core of clauses, and participants are the people, things, or concepts involved in those processes. Circumstances provide additional information about the processes or participants.

Halliday divides processes into six types of process, namely:

1. Material: action processes, such as "Budi reads a book."
2. Mental: mental processes, such as "Budi knows the answer."
3. Relational: relational processes, such as "Budi is Ani's brother."
4. Verbal: verbal processes, such as "Budi says, 'I love you.'"
5. Existential: existential processes, such as "There is a cat on the table."
6. Behavioral: behavioral processes, such as "Budi walks in the park."

By analyzing the transitivity of a clause, we can understand the ideational meaning contained within it. For example, the clause "Budi reads a book" indicates that Budi is performing the action of reading a book. The clause "Budi knows the answer" indicates that Budi has knowledge of the answer to a question. Halliday's transitivity theory has been used in various language studies, including linguistic, educational, and literary research. This theory is a useful tool for understanding how language is used to express human experiences.

In this study, the author selected two news texts from Medcom and two texts from Media Indonesia. The news from Medcom are titled "Anies Claims to Receive Positive Response During Campaign in West Java" and "Anies Baswedan Most Sensitive to Environmental Issues Compared to Prabowo and Ganjar." Meanwhile, the two news texts from Media Indonesia are "Anies Promises to Build Fish Processing Places for Fishermen" and "Anies-Muhaimin Most Eager to Propose Vice Presidential Candidate Debate." Here are the findings of the transitivity processes in these four news items.

1. Microstructural Analysis

Table 1: Transitivity Analysis

Process	News Headline 2: Anies Claimed to Get Positive Response During Campaign in West Java (Medcom). <i>Anies Mengaku Dapat Respon Positif Selama Kampanye di Jabar (Medcom).</i>	News Headline 3: Anies Baswedan Most Sensitive to Environmental Issues Compared to Prabowo and Ganjar (Medcom). <i>Anies Baswedan Paling Peka Isu Lingkungan Dibanding Prabowo dan Ganjar (Medcom)</i>	News Headline 4: Anies Promises to Build Fish Processing Facility for Fishermen (Media Indonesia). <i>Anies Janjikan Bangun Tempat Pengolahan Ikan untuk Para Nelayan (Media Indonesia)</i>	News Headline 5: Anies-Muhaimin Most Persistent in Proposing Vice Presidential Debate (Media Indonesia). <i>Anies-Muhaimin Paling Getol Usulkan Debat Cawapres (Media Indonesia)</i>
Material	3 (20%)	5 (31%)	6 (27%)	2 (14%)
Mental	1 (6.6%)	6 (37%)	4 (19%)	2 (14%)
Verbal	6 (40%)	4 (24%)	8 (36%)	10 (71%)
Relational	5 (33%)	2 (12%)	1 (4,5%)	0

Behavioral	0	0	0	0
Existential	0	0	3 (13%)	0
Clauses	15 (100%)	16 (100%)	22 (100%)	14 (100%)

Transitivity analysis in the first news text reveals six verbal processes that depict the communication dynamics within the news. One of these six verbal processes can be identified in the clause, "*Calon presiden (capres) Anies Baswedan mengaku mendapat respon yang positif dari masyarakat ketika berkampanye.*" Means "Presidential candidate Anies Baswedan admits to receiving positive responses from the community during the campaign." This process highlights Anies Baswedan's claim of receiving positive responses from the community during the campaign. Although this claim is presented as a fact in the news text, there is no concrete evidence or data supporting it, so the positive response from the community should be interpreted as a mere claim.

The importance of this claim is reinforced by the fact that no concrete evidence is presented in the text to support the positive response mentioned by Anies Baswedan. This information only creates a positive image of Anies without providing a strong basis to support his claim. This raises questions about the objectivity and credibility of the claims made in the news. With a focus on Anies's positive image, the news text tends to position Anies in a favorable light but lacks in providing testable or verifiable information.

Transitivity analysis highlights the critical aspects of information presentation in the first news text. The lack of concrete evidence to support Anies Baswedan's claim of positive responses from the community indicates that readers should be critical of the information presented in the news. Therefore, there is a need for deeper consideration of the sources and authenticity of the claims in forming a more accurate understanding of the topics discussed in the news text.

The second news text contains the most mental processes. This may reflect the complexity of the information or analysis presented in the news. In journalism, mental processes can involve interpretation, analysis, or evaluation of the facts presented.

An example in the clause "*Calon presiden (capres) nomor urut 1 Anies Baswedan dinilai sosok yang sangat peduli terhadap lingkungan.*" Means "Presidential candidate number 1 Anies Baswedan is considered a figure who cares deeply about the environment." Thus, this clause shows subjective opinions or assessments originating from the media, in this case, Medcom. Statements like these can influence readers' perceptions of Anies

Baswedan, highlighting the importance of balance and objectivity in reporting.

In discussing facts, no other sources are shown besides Anies Baswedan. This indicates the potential bias or imbalance of information in news presentation. Good journalism usually seeks diverse perspectives and involves various sources to provide a more complete and balanced picture.

The integrity of the reporting can be questioned because it only details that the facts or opinions come from one source, namely Anies Baswedan. This can raise questions about the objectivity and credibility of the news. Reporting that relies too much on one source can raise doubts about the truth or completeness of the information.

Similar to the first and second news, the third news contains mostly verbal processes. Verbal processes involve verbs that express actions or activities. This can reflect the activity in providing information, such as explanations, promises, or statements of action. With a focus on verbal processes, the text may be designed to attract readers' attention through dynamic and moving narratives. An example of news text showing verbal processes is in the clause "*Anies tidak hanya akan membangun tempat pengolahan ikan, namun juga memberikan pengelolaannya kepada koperasi nelayan setempat.*" Means "Anies will not only build a fish processing place, but also hand it over to local fishermen's cooperatives."

Media Indonesia reports Anies Baswedan's promises to fishermen. Promising various assistance to fishermen can create a positive image of Anies, especially if such actions are aimed at improving the welfare of fishermen communities. Providing assistance in the political context is often used as a strategy to build support and create a positive impression of a political candidate.

The positive image presented by Media Indonesia towards Anies Baswedan. In providing coverage of Anies's promises to fishermen, the media may indirectly contribute to building Anies's image as someone who cares about the interests of the community, especially fishermen groups. Such a positive image can have a significant impact on shaping public perceptions of a political figure.

The fourth news text also contains predominantly verbal processes, mentioning clarifications from Anies Baswedan's camp accused of wanting to cancel the vice-presidential candidate (cawapres) debate. This is shown in the following clause: "*Kubu Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) menepis tuduhan sebagai pihak yang menginginkan peniadaan debat calon wakil presiden (cawapres)*" means "The Anies Baswedan-Muhaimin Iskandar (AMIN) camp refutes allegations of wanting to cancel the vice-presidential candidate (cawapres) debate."

Media Indonesia reports on Anies Baswedan's camp being the most persistent in proposing the debate, as stated in the quote "*Pasangan nomor urut 1 itu paling getol mengusulkan debat antar cawapres tersebut*" means

"The number 1 pair is the most persistent in proposing a debate among vice presidential candidates."

2. Meso Structural Analysis

Media owned by Surya Paloh consists of two main entities, namely Media Indonesia and Medcom. The Media Indonesia Group was founded in 1985 by Surya Paloh. Since then, Media Indonesia has become one of the main pillars of the Media Group. Media Indonesia not only focuses on print but also expands its presence in electronic and digital media. Meanwhile, Medcom emerged in 2014. The media was previously known as *metrotvnews.com*. Surya Paloh, as the Chairman of the Nasdem Party endorsing Anies Baswedan, holds political views that influence the outcome of news coverage. This can be reflected in the selection of news, headlines, and the tone of reporting. The news already aired by Medcom and Media Indonesia appears to favor Anies Baswedan in line with Surya Paloh's support.

3. Macrostructural Analysis

The third dimension in media analysis, namely macrostructural analysis, is an approach that emphasizes that the social context outside the media significantly impacts the presentation of discourse in the media. Socio-cultural practices, both in situational, institutional, and social contexts, can influence how the media shapes and presents discourse. The situational level encompasses factors related to production and situational contexts, while the institutional level includes the internal and external influences of media institutions. Meanwhile, the social level refers to the macro context, such as the political, economic, and cultural structures in society.

In the news (1), (2), (3), and (4), there are similarities in portraying a positive image of Anies Baswedan. The focus of these news pieces is on Anies Baswedan and his activities leading up to the 2024 Presidential Election. This indicates a certain pattern in the reporting that may reflect specific strategies or narratives pursued by the media in building a positive image related to the figure. News in the media can play a significant role in influencing readers on how political discourse and the image of public figures are formed.

CONCLUSION

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a method of analysis that examines the use of spoken and written language as expressions of social practices. Social practices within the framework of CDA are closely related to events in reality and social structures. In this specific research, CDA is applied to uncover bias in the reporting about Anies Baswedan presented by Medcom and Media Indonesia. Media, as one of the elements of social practice, cannot

be separated from ideological practices, which means that media present news in various ways using certain constructions to influence readers.

Through the analysis of the four media reports, it is clearly evident that there is bias in the reporting implemented to make Anies Baswedan appear appealing to readers. This bias can be seen in the choice of headlines and the content of the news texts, consistently highlighting a positive image of Anies Baswedan. Therefore, CDA in this context becomes an effective analytical tool in exploring and identifying how media shapes specific narratives and images through the use of language and news presentation.

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