Trends in media coverage in president Joko Widodo's final term

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Abstract Media ownership by specific groups or individuals can influence the news narrative. Media may not always be neutral due to ownership factors causing bias, especially when conflicting political interests are involved. This study aims to determine the influence of ownership on news content, particularly Media Indonesia's coverage leading up to the end of President Joko Widodo's term. The study used quantitative content analysis to assess the tone of news coverage regarding the Five Presidential Work Priorities (2019-2024), as published in Media Indonesia's e-paper from 1 March 2023, to 29 February 2024. The results indicate a tendency for Media Indonesia to report negatively on Joko Widodo as his term ends. The critical coverage of President Joko Widodo's performance in Media Indonesia, a newspaper owned by Surya Paloh, is directly linked to the escalating political tensions leading up to the 2024 Election. These tensions involve both President Joko Widodo and Surya Paloh, highlighting the complex interplay of political interests and power dynamics as the election approaches.

Keywords: media coverage; media ownership; quantitative content analysis

INTRODUCTION

Media ownership is a critical factor influencing media reporting. When media is owned by specific groups or individuals, it can significantly influence the way news is presented and framed (Karman, 2014, pp. 72-73). This influence extends to the economic, political, and ideological interests of media owners, which can impact how they manage and convey information to the public. The control of communication channels and the authority over public narratives are integral components of media ownership.

Several studies on media ownership and reporting such as research that examines how media ownership influences the reporting of corruption in Uganda, focusing on the 2005 Global Fund corruption case. The study compares two major newspapers: *Daily Monitor* (privately owned) and *New Vision* (government-owned). The findings indicate that, although there are marginal differences in the way these media report corruption, ownership significantly affects the media's capacity for investigative journalism. Key challenges include restrictive press laws and limited resources for independent investigations (Walulya, 2008). Another study explores how media ownership affects the coverage of international conflicts. Using data from over 500,000 articles on military operations in Libya, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Kosovo, it found that media owned by the same parent company tend to produce similar content regarding scope, focus, and diversity.

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However, market pressures can mitigate these homogenising effects, pushing media outlets to tailor their coverage to local audience preferences (Baum & Zhukov, 2018). While other research investigates the impact of media ownership on the orientation toward public service news in the United States, France, and Sweden. It finds that media owned by public or community-oriented entities tend to consistently provide public service-oriented news, unlike commercial media, which shows more significant variability in the type of content they offer. Economic pressures and market dynamics play a significant role in shaping the nature of the news presented by privately-owned media (Benson, Neff, & Hesserus, 2018). Another study conducted by Agarwal et.al., (2022) discussed the impact of media ownership concentration on political reporting. With ownership concentrated in a few large companies, political coverage often reflects the interests and biases of media owners. This can influence news presentation, agenda setting, and framing of an issue. The study highlighted the tension between editorial independence and owner influence, which can limit the diversity of perspectives in public political discourse.

Other studies include an article titled 'How Much Does Ownership Matter', highlighting that media ownership influences the type of news coverage. In the case study on Terri Schiavo's media coverage, independently owned newspapers were found to more frequently cover controversial and diverse viewpoints compared to media owned by large conglomerates (Rohlinger & Proffitt, 2016). This is because corporate-owned outlets tend to avoid controversy to protect advertising revenues and avoid upsetting shareholders. While the research on 'Media Ownership Transparency in Europe', discusses the critical role of ownership transparency in supporting democracy. Transparency allows the public to know who controls the media and understand potential biases in news coverage. The document emphasises that media ownership transparency is essential for promoting media pluralism and reducing the influence of strong political or economic interests (Smith, Klimkiewicz, & Ostling, 2021). Stetka (2013) examines how commercial pressures affect media in Central and Eastern Europe. Media ownership is closely linked to economic pressures, especially after the 2008-2009 financial crisis. Declining advertising revenues forced many media companies to cut staff and reduce investment in investigative journalism, leading to a decrease in the quality and diversity of news. Overall, there is a clear relationship between media ownership and news content. Large conglomerate ownership tends to limit pluralism and reduce coverage of controversial issues, while ownership transparency is crucial for maintaining media independence and public trust. Media ownership by certain groups or individuals can influence the narratives used to convey news (Karman, 2014). A research study by Kurniasari and Aji (2015) titled 'Media Ownership and Framing' revealed that various factors influence media content and does not necessarily reflect the actual reality. The study specifically looked at news coverage of Joko Widodo as a Presidential Candidate in the Sindo Newspaper, highlighting the negative portrayal and criticism of Jokowi's leadership. This demonstrates how media content can be shaped by ownership factors. The economic, political, and ideological interests held by media owners can be seen in the way they manage and convey information to the public. Having access to communication channels and authority over public narratives are two aspects of media ownership.

Media ownership encompasses the control or ownership of various media platforms, including print, television, radio, and digital media, by individuals, groups, companies, or governments (Fathurokhmah, 2021, p. 69; Uzuegbunam, 2020). This control grants the owners considerable power in shaping the content, viewpoint, and dissemination of information to the public (Kurniasari & Aji, 2015, p. 100). It is important to recognise that media ownership extends beyond direct ownership, involving intricate relationships and influences between media owners and their political, economic, and social interests.

In Indonesia, multiple prominent media conglomerates maintain close relationships with political and business leaders, frequently influencing the nature of news disseminated to the public (Khumairoh, 2021, p. 73). This interconnectedness can potentially give rise to conflicts of interest between the media's priorities and the public's interests in fair and unbiased news coverage. However, positive developments have also occurred in the media industry in Indonesia. For example, the emergence of independent and community-based media, such as Tempo media, has helped people obtain diverse and critical information (Susanto, 2021). Consequently, gaining insight into the intricacies of media ownership in Indonesia is essential to fully grasp the dynamics of information flow within Indonesian society.

In various instances, the media has evolved into a strategic tool wielded by its proprietors to advance their specific political agendas, transforming it into more than just a conduit for information. Instead of solely focusing on managing the media industry, owners now utilise it as a means to pursue political influence and power (Aziz, 2018, p. 209-226). Notably, the chairman of the Nasdem Party, who has ownership of the news portal Media Indonesia, is widely recognised for maintaining intimate connections with the political sphere. Media Indonesia is a well-known print media in Indonesia that has achieved significant recognition through the 2023 Indonesia Print Awards (IPMA). The publication is recognised as the 'Silver Winner' in the categories of 'The Best of National Newspaper' and 'The Best of Travel and Sport Photography' (Hanum, 2023). In addition to its print presence, Media Indonesia has expanded its reach by establishing a digital platform to cater to a wider audience and address the increasing demand for information.

In the race-up to the 2024 Election, there was a noteworthy shift in the content of news coverage presented by Media Indonesia. This transformation was heavily influenced by the ownership of these media outlets. Notably, Surya Paloh, the proprietor of Media Indonesia, publicly endorsed the presidential candidacy of Anies Baswedan and the vice-presidential candidacy of Muhaimin Iskandar, as reported by Media Indonesia on October 19, 2023. Media Indonesia portrayed Anies Baswedan as a frontrunner promoting transformative change, as evidenced by Figure 1 in their report.

Figure 1. Media Indonesia unequivocally endorses Anies Baswedan as the Presidential Candidate for 2024
Source: Mediaindonesia.com (2023)

This change in support has noteworthy implications for the presentation of news by Media Indonesia, a media outlet with ties to Surya Paloh. It had been widely acknowledged that Surya Paloh, who serves as the Chairman of the Nasdem Party and is the proprietor of Media Indonesia, had endorsed Jokowi in both the first (2014–2019) and second (2019-2024) presidential elections. However, his position shifted towards the end of President Jokowi's term (Ayu, 2023). While still in support of Jokowi, Media Indonesia portrayed him as a resolute and astute leader (as evident in Figure 2).

Figure 2. Media Indonesia Support for Joko Widodo as President
Source: Mediaindonesia.com (2021)

There has been a shift in the tone of delivering news since October 2022, when the Chairman of the Nasdem Party began promoting a new name, Anies Baswedan, as a candidate for the 2024 Presidential Election (Dirgantara & Rastika, 2022). Additionally, in October 2023, it was reported that Gibran Rakabuming Raka, President Jokowi's eldest son, had officially registered as Prabowo Subianto's vice president (Dirgantara & Prabowo, 2023), despite the Nasdem Party's desire for Gibran to be Anies Baswedan's running mate (Dirgantara & Meiliana, 2022). In January 2024, it was announced that President Jokowi would resign from the *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* (PDIP) (Mawardi, 2024). During Jokowi's presidency, the Nasdem Party and PDIP had a close relationship, and Media Indonesia depicted Jokowi as greedy and power-hungry during this time (Figure 3).

Figure 3. News Portraying Joko Widodo in a Negative Light as President
Source: Mediaindonesia.com (2023)

The text examines the shift in Media Indonesia's reporting as President Joko Widodo's term ends. Researchers are delving into the content of the news coverage to discern any potential bias towards the interests of the media owner, Surya Paloh. The analysis is centred on the news coverage of Jokowi during the specified period in Media Indonesia's electronic print media from 1 March 2023 to 29 February 2024. In particular, the study scrutinises the headlines, leads, bodies, and news tails to comprehend how information is structured and presented to the audience. According to Putri and Rasyid (2022, p. 1521), the news title serves to introduce the issue to be discussed, the lead kick-starts the news content, the body encompasses all the event-based information, and the news tail completes the narrative.

Undoubtedly, media proprietors wield considerable sway in shaping the overarching narrative of news in newspapers. This influential control allows media owners to select viewpoints that serve their own interests or the interests of associated groups or institutions (Fathurokhmah, 2021). Based on the explanation provided, the problem formulation in this study revolves around the impact of media ownership on news content. This study seeks to investigate the inclination of Indonesian media reporting as President Joko Widodo's term draws to a close. This will involve conducting a detailed content analysis of the President's top priorities and initiatives during the final year of his term in office.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this study is quantitative, specifically utilising the content analysis method. Content analysis is a systematic and objective research method used to analyse the content of textual or media sources (Leuven, Heinrich & Deprez, 2015; Clement & Foster, 2007). It involves categorising and measuring specific elements within communication to identify patterns or trends (Neuman, 2011; An & Gower, 2009). The purpose of this study is to offer an impartial and comprehensive analysis of the evolving trends in Indonesian media coverage pertaining to President Joko Widodo's work priorities as his term has drawn to a close. By applying this method, the results of the analysis aim to reflect the overall tone and trend of Media Indonesia news coverage towards the conclusion of President Joko Widodo's term. The President's work priorities for 2019-2024 encompass accelerating and sustaining infrastructure development, fostering human resources (HR), attracting widespread investment for job creation, implementing bureaucratic reform, and focusing on targeted APBN (State Budget) (Menpan, 2019).

The tone of the news refers to the way or attitude conveyed in the news, allowing for the classification of news as negative, neutral, or positive based on the tone or attitude demonstrated towards a particular subject or topic in the news (Setiawan, Caroline, & Akbar, 2020, p. 155). Negative reporting refers to the practice of presenting information in a way that includes unsupportive statements such as criticism, belittlement, and rejection. This type of reporting can have a detrimental impact on the subject or entity being reported on, as it often focuses on highlighting their flaws or shortcomings rather than providing a balanced perspective. Neutral news aims to present information in a balanced and unbiased manner, avoiding taking a specific stance on the subject matter. This type of reporting strives to provide equal weight to different perspectives and viewpoints, allowing the audience to form their own opinions based on the presented facts. Positive news encompasses statements that provide support, such as expressions of praise, flattery, and agreement (Wormwood et al., 2019; Nijkrake et al., 2014; Barcelos et al., 2018; Bleich et al., 2022).

The study employed the rigorous quantitative content analysis method. The content analysis method typically involves systematic steps designed to identify, categorise, and analyse specific characteristics within texts or media. The general stages of content analysis are: Defining research objectives– the study begins by formulating its research goals. Researchers decide on the specific aspects they want to analyse, such as the type of sources, news frames, or quality of information representation (An & Gower, 2009; Clement & Foster, 2007; Neuman, 2011; Saraiya & Tsui, 2006). The second step is sample selection– researchers select a sample of news or texts to analyse based on predefined criteria (Leuven et al., 2015; Neuman, 2011; Saraiya & Tsui, 2006) then, developing coding categories is a crucial step in content analysis is developing a clear coding or categorisation scheme to identify specific elements of the text (Neuman, 2011). For instance, in the study on news crises, the researchers developed coding categories for five news frames (attribution of responsibility, human interest, conflict, morality, and economics)(An & Gower, 2009). Researchers often use previous theories or professional guidelines to establish these categories, as seen in the schizophrenia reporting study, which used journalism guidelines (Clement & Foster, 2007). The coding categories in this study can be accessed in the appendix. The next step is coding and analysis– once the coding categories are developed, researchers begin analysing the texts or articles by systematically coding each relevant element. Two or more coders usually do coding to ensure inter-coder reliability (Neuman, 2011). For example, in the news crisis study, 247 articles were analysed using 15 questions representing the five news frames (An & Gower, 2009).

The fifth step in the content analysis method is data analysis and interpretation: The coded data is then analysed to identify patterns or trends (Neuman, 2011). For instance, researchers may identify the most commonly used news frames or analyse how representations changed over time (An & Gower, 2009; Clement & Foster, 2007). In some studies, statistical analysis is performed to examine relationships between variables (e.g., how the type of crisis affects the use of certain news frames) and the final stage is reporting the findings, which includes interpreting the patterns discovered and discussing the implications of these findings (Neuman, 2011). In the schizophrenia reporting study (Clement & Foster, 2007), researchers reported that the quality of reporting did not significantly improve over time, while the crisis news study (An & Gower, 2009) found that the attribution of responsibility frame was the most dominant. Each of these stages follows systematic scientific principles to ensure the reliability and validity of the analysis results.

The focus of the research lies in dissecting the media coverage provided by Media Indonesia as President Joko Widodo's term draws to a close. Specifically, the study delves into the portrayal of the 'Five Presidential Work Priorities for 2019-2024' without allowing for subjective interpretation. The analysis is centred on the 'Selekta' page, a section designed to present a condensed summary of pivotal news across diverse sectors. This page serves as a valuable resource for time-pressed readers seeking to stay abreast of important developments. Encompassing an array of topics including politics, economics, social dynamics, sports, and culture, the news pieces will be subject to scrutiny through content analysis. This method involves a meticulous examination of the terminology, phrases, sentences, and overall structure within the headlines, lead paragraphs, body content, and concluding paragraphs featured on the 'Selekta' page of Media Indonesia. The 'Selekta' section in the Media Indonesia newspaper features news highlights that are considered important, interesting, or valuable to readers.

Researchers discovered numerous news articles on that page that discussed President Joko Widodo's performance in comparison to other columns or pages in Media Indonesia.

Therefore, this research project aimed at comprehensively analysing all the news articles featured on the 'Selekta' page pertaining to the final year of President Joko Widodo's term. Specifically, the study focused on news items from the period following the split between President Joko Widodo and Surya Paloh, which occurred due to differences in support for the 2024 Presidential Election (March 1, 2023 – February 29, 2024). A total of 297 news items have been identified to be included in this study. The data collection process will involve utilising documentation techniques, specifically by capturing screenshots of the news articles published in the SLIME application to align with the predetermined analysis unit. Two intercoder were involved in this study to validate the measuring instrument. The first intercoder is an experience and has an impressive background as a journalist at Kompas, one of Indonesia's most prominent media organisations, where he worked for over a decade. Although he is no longer active in journalism, his expertise and reputation in the field are still highly valued, and he is frequently sought after to provide training to aspiring journalists. The second intercoder is a distinguished alumna who graduated with honours from the University of Indonesia's Indonesian Literature Department. He is an expert in the study of the Indonesian language and literature. During his time at Universitas Indonesia, he gained a comprehensive understanding of various aspects of the language, such as linguistics, philology, and the development and use of the Indonesian language in different social, cultural, and educational contexts. As an outstanding student, he was known for his excellent academic abilities, dedication to research, and sharp analytical skills. Graduated as a cum laude, This distinction reflects his hard work and consistent achievement of exceptional grades, surpassing academic standards.

The processing of the research data involved the utilisation of descriptive statistical analysis techniques. This encompassed the computation of measures of central tendency such as the mean, median, and mode to distinguish between negative, neutral, and positive news indicators. Following this, the data was organised into tabular form using frequency and percentage tabulation, which allowed for the determination of the frequency of occurrence for various categories. Furthermore, the researcher carried out a meticulous coding process aimed at categorising the news, employing a comprehensive code sheet with items serving as parameters to classify the news into distinct research indicators. Additionally, the overall mean score (OMS) was determined to derive the average value of the total input scores in the content analysis. The overall mean is the mean of all observations, as opposed to the mean of individual groups. In ANOVA, for example, this is the mean of all observations across factor levels, as opposed to the means of individual levels. The overall mean score is calculated using the following formula: the sum of all scores divided by the total number of scores. Furthermore, the calculation results are used to measure the news category, whether it is negative, neutral or positive.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Intercoder Reliability Check
The research team performed an intercoder reliability check to ensure the accuracy and dependability of the data collected and analysed. This study conducted the intercoder reliability check using Cohen's Kappa value, a statistical measure of inter-rater agreement. From a pool of 297 news items, the researcher selected 30 news items consisting of the headline, lead, body, and tail elements from each news category, which can be found in Appendix. After evaluating each headline, lead, body, and tail element for each news category based on the five work priorities of President Joko Widodo, the researcher carried out a reliability test using Cohen's Kappa value to assess the consistency of coding across different raters. The results of the intercoder reliability check calculation indicate that all the data have a Cohen's Kappa value of over 0.80, specifically 0.89. This suggests that there is an almost perfect and reliable agreement with the intercoder.

Media Indonesia News in Infrastructure Category
The analysis of Media Indonesian news in the infrastructure category shows the following results for the average, median, and mode of the four news elements (title, head, body, and tail): The average value in the headline 1.61, indicating a tendency towards a negative position, the

average value in the lead and body is 1.71, placing it in a neutral position, and the average value in the news tail is 1.84, also indicating a neutral position. The median value in the headline is 1.00, again pointing to a negative position, the median value in the lead and body is 1.50, showing a negative position, while in the tail, the median value is 2.00, indicating a neutral position. The mode value, which is the value that appears most frequently, is 1.00 in the headline, lead, and body, indicating a tendency towards a negative position. However, in the news tail, the mode value is 2.00, suggesting a neutral position (See Table 1).

Table 1. Central Tendency of News in Infrastructure Category

No.	Central Tendency	News Elements			
		Headline	Lead	Body	Tail
1	Mean	1,61	1,71	1,71	1,84
2	Median	1,00	1,50	1,50	2,00
3	Mode	1,00	1,00	1,00	2,00

Source: Authors' Own Creation (2024)

The details of the news tone for the infrastructure category can be seen in Table 2. Out of a total of 38 news articles, 55% (21 headlines) have a negative tone, 29% (11 headlines) have a neutral tone, and 16% (6 headlines) have a positive tone. Looking at the leads, 50% (19 leads) of the total news show a negative tone, 29% (11 leads) show a neutral tone, and 21% (8 leads) show a positive tone. The distribution of tones in the lead is consistent with the tone in the body of the news. In the tail of the news, 37% (14 news articles) show a negative tone, 42% (16 news articles) show a neutral tone, and 21% (8 news articles) show a positive tone.

Table 2. Media Indonesia Reporting in Infrastructure Category

Tone	News Elements							
	Headline		Lead		Body		Tail	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Negative	21	55%	19	50%	19	50%	14	37%
Neutral	11	29%	11	29%	11	29%	16	42%
Positive	6	16%	8	21%	8	21%	8	21%

Source: Authors' Own Creation (2024)

Media Indonesia News in Human Resources Category

In analysing the HR category, the following data was observed: The average, median, and mode values indicate a clear pattern regarding the sentiment of Media Indonesia's reporting. The average value for the headline and lead is 1.69, indicating a tendency towards negativity in the reporting. Similarly, the average value for the body of the news at 1.68 also leans towards negative sentiment, particularly when reporting on the President's performance. Notably, the average value for the tail of the news is 1.84, representing a position of neutrality. The median and mode values for the headline, lead, and body, all at 2.00, also signify a neutral stance. For further insights, a detailed breakdown of the calculations can be found in Table 3.

Table 3. Central Tendency of News in Human Resources Category

No.	Central Tendency	News Elements			
		Headline	Lead	Body	Tail
1	Mean	1,69	1,69	1,68	1,80
2	Median	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00
3	Mode	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00

Source: Authors' Own Creation (2024)

Table 4. Media Indonesia Reporting Human Resources Category

Tone	News Elements							
	Headline		Lead		Body		Tail	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Negative	28	40%	28	40%	30	42%	20	28%
Neutral	37	52%	37	52%	34	48%	45	63%
Positive	6	8%	6	8%	7	10%	6	9%

Source: Authors' Own Creation (2024)

Out of the 71 news items categorised under HR, the analysis of their content reveals interesting insights. In the headline and lead, 28 of them (40%) convey a negative tone, while 37 (52%) maintain a neutral tone, and 6 (8%) express a positive tone. Similarly, for the body of the news, 30 items (42%) project a negative tone, 34 (48%) maintain a neutral tone, and 7 (10%) carry a

positive tone. Lastly, in the tail of the news, 20 items (28%) tend to show a negative tone, 45 (63%) maintain a neutral tone, and 6 (9%) exhibit a positive tone.

Media Indonesia News in Investor Category

The mean scores for the headline, lead, body, and tail of Media Indonesia news in the investor category indicate a neutral position. The mean scores are as follows: headline 1.97, lead 2.06, body 2.16, and tail 2.35. The median score for the investor category news is 2.00, indicating a neutral position. The mode score for the headline is 1.00, suggesting a tendency towards negative news in the investor category. On the other hand, the mode scores for the lead, body, and tail of the investor category news are 3.00, indicating a positive position (See Table 5).

Table 5. Central Tendency of News in Investor Category

No.	Central Tendency	News Elements			
		Headline	Lead	Body	Tail
1	Mean	1,97	2,06	2,16	2,35
2	Median	2,00	2,00	2,00	2,00
3	Mode	1,00	3,00	3,00	3,00

Source: Authors' Own Creation (2024)

According to the data, there are a total of 31 news articles in the investor category specifically covering the performance of the president. Among the news headlines, 11 (36%) reflect a negative tone, indicating a critical view of the president's performance. Meanwhile, 10 (32%) news headlines maintain a neutral stance, and 10 (32%) reflect a positive tone, suggesting favourable coverage of the president's performance. When looking at the leads of these news articles, a similar trend is observed. 10 (32%) headlines convey a negative tone, 9 (29%) maintain a neutral tone, and 12 (39%) present a positive tone, showcasing a variety of perspectives within the news coverage. Furthermore, delving into the body of the news articles reveals more nuanced insights. Here, 9 (29%) instances exhibit a negative tone, 8 (26%) maintain neutrality, while 14 (45%) convey a positive perspective, indicating a mix of critical and favourable coverage. Even in the tail of the news articles, there is a range of tones. 4 (13%) news articles present a negative view, 12 (39%) maintain a neutral stance, and 15 (48%) reflect a positive tone, demonstrating various sentiments toward the president's performance (See Table 6).

Table 6. Media Indonesia Reporting Investor Category

Tone	News Elements							
	Headline		Lead		Body		Tail	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Negative	11	36%	10	32%	9	29%	4	13%
Neutral	10	32%	9	29%	8	26%	12	39%
Positive	10	32%	12	39%	14	45%	15	48%

Source: Authors' Own Creation (2024)

Media Indonesia News in Bureaucracy Category

Researchers observed that across news articles in the bureaucracy category, the sentiment scores for the headline, lead, body, and news tail tend to indicate a predominantly negative tone. The mean sentiment score for the headline, lead, and body is 1.15, while for the news tail, it is 1.43. The median sentiment score for all sections of the news is 1.00, further emphasising the prevailing negative sentiment. Additionally, the mode of the sentiment scores, which is also 1.00, underscores the consistent negative trend in this category.

Table 7. Central Tendency of News in Bureaucracy Category

No.	Central Tendency	News Elements			
		Headline	Lead	Body	Tail
1	Mean	1,15	1,15	1,15	1,43
2	Median	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00
3	Mode	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00

Source: Authors' Own Creation (2024)

According to reports from Media Indonesia, a total of 72 articles evaluated the president's performance in the bureaucracy category. Of these, 61 articles (85%) featured negative headlines, while 11 (15%) had neutral headlines. None of the articles had positive headlines. When looking at the leads of these news articles, a similar trend is observed. 62 (86%) leads were

negative, 9 (13%) were neutral, and 1 (1%) was positive. The body of the news articles also reflected this trend, with 62 (86%) articles having a negative tone, 9 (13%) having a neutral tone, and only 1 (1%) having a positive tone. In the tail of the news, 42 articles (59%) had a negative tone, 29 articles (40%) had a neutral tone, and 1 article (1%) had a positive tone.

Table 8. Media Indonesia Reporting Bureaucracy Category

Tone	News Elements							
	Headline		Lead		Body		Tail	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Negative	61	85%	62	86%	62	86%	42	59%
Neutral	11	15%	9	13%	9	13%	29	40%
Positive	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%	1	1%

Source: Authors' Own Creation (2024)

Media Indonesia News in State Budget (APBN) Category

In the provided data table (Table 9), a comprehensive analysis of the mean, median, and mode of four distinct news elements (namely headline, lead, body, and tail) within the APBN category was conducted. The findings indicate a consistent trend in Media Indonesia's reporting, portraying the president's performance in the APBN category in a predominantly negative light. Specifically, the average value for the news title is 1.34, the news headline is 1.41, the news body is 1.35, and the news tail is 1.56. Furthermore, the median and mode for each news element were identified to be 1.00.

Table 9. Central Tendency of News in APBN Category

No.	Central Tendency	News Elements			
		Headline	Lead	Body	Tail
1	Mean	1,34	1,41	1,35	1,56
2	Median	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00
3	Mode	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00

Source: Authors' Own Creation (2024)

In Media Indonesia's reporting on the APBN category, a total of 85 news articles were examined. The analysis revealed that 63 news headlines (74%) exhibited a negative tone, while 15 news headlines (18%) appeared neutral, and seven news headlines (8%) conveyed a positive tone. When scrutinising the news leads, 60 articles (70%) conveyed a negative tone, 15 articles (18%) were neutral, and ten articles (12%) exhibited a positive tone. Furthermore, within the news body, 63 out of 85 articles (74%) portrayed a negative tone, 14 articles (17%) were neutral, and eight articles (9%) presented a positive tone. Finally, in the news tails, 43 articles (51%) displayed a negative tone, 36 articles (42%) were neutral, and six articles (7%) portrayed a positive tone (See Table 10).

Table 10. Media Indonesia Reporting APBN Category

Tone	News Elements							
	Headline		Lead		Body		Tail	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Negative	63	74%	60	70%	63	74%	43	51%
Neutral	15	18%	15	18%	14	17%	36	42%
Positive	7	8%	10	12%	8	9%	6	7%

Source: Authors' Own Creation (2024)

Table 11. The Tendency of the Tone of Media Indonesia News Reporting

News Category	News Tone			Total News	Mean Score
	Negative	Neutral	Positive		
Infrastructure	14	10	5	29	1,69
HR	16	30	5	51	1,79
Investor	4	5	10	19	2,32
Bureaucracy	42	6	0	48	1,13
APBN	39	11	5	55	1,39
Total	**115**	**62**	**25**	**202**	**8,32**
	57%	**31%**	**12%**	**100%**	
	Overall Mean Score				**1,61**
	Interpretation				**Negative**

Source: Authors' Own Creation (2024)

Media Indonesia News Trends Towards the End of President Joko Widodo's Term
The overall mean score is utilised to gauge how Media Indonesia reports on President Joko Widodo's performance with regard to the Five Presidential Work Priorities spanning from 2019 to 2024. This assessment covers the period from 1 March 2023, to 29 February 2024, as depicted in Table 11. It is based on a total of 202 news items that consistently cover the president's performance from the headline through to the tail of the news.

The analysis of news content based on categories revealed that 57% of the news stories tended to be negative. In the infrastructure category, there were a total of 29 news stories, with 14 being classified as negative, 10 as neutral, and only 5 as positive. When it comes to the HR category, out of 51 news stories, 16 leaned towards negative, 30 were categorised as neutral, and 5 were positive. As for the investor category, 19 news stories were analysed, with 4 being negative, 5 neutral, and 10 positive. In the bureaucracy category, 48 news stories were reviewed, where 42 were identified as negative, 6 as neutral, and none as positive. Finally, in the APBN category, a total of 55 news stories were examined, with 39 being negative, 11 neutral, and 5 positive.

In the comprehensive evaluation of Media Indonesia's news coverage pertaining to President Joko Widodo in the year leading up to the end of his term, the data clearly indicates a predominant trend of negative reporting during the period from March 1, 2023, to February 29, 2024. Consequently, the study's alternative hypothesis, suggesting that Media Indonesia exhibits a bias towards negative reporting about President Joko Widodo, particularly at a rate exceeding 50% (57% or higher), has been substantiated, leading to the rejection of the null hypothesis.

Discussion
The analysis of news tone in media monitoring plays a pivotal role in gauging the public's or target audience's perception of a particular topic. It involves examining the way or demeanour manifested in a news report, allowing it to be classified as either negative, neutral, or positive based on the tone or demeanour exhibited towards a subject or issue in the news (Setiawan et al., 2020, p. 155). From a journalistic standpoint, good news is characterised by its completeness and adherence to a proper structure, encompassing a headline, lead, body, and news tail (CNN Indonesia, 2023).

In the research, the author carefully examined the tones used in news reports for four specific elements. Through this analysis, the researcher uncovered instances of inconsistent tone in the news coverage. Upon examining the data, the researcher identified a recurring pattern in the reporting by journalists at Media Indonesia regarding President Joko Widodo's performance nearing the end of his presidential term. This pattern involved negative reporting in the headline, lead, and body of the news articles, but a shift to a neutral tone in the concluding section. For example, an article dated 24 January 2024 was titled *Pejabat Diingatkan Fokus Urus Rakyat* (Officials Reminded to Focus on Taking Care of the People)'. This article highlighted the performance of President Joko Widodo's cabinet ministers, portraying it as inconsistent with public expectations. While the headline, lead, and body of the article conveyed a negative tone towards the minister, the news concluded (news tail) with a direct response from the concerned minister, resulting in a neutral tone. The opportunity extended to President Joko Widodo's cabinet ministers to address negative issues related to their performance can be interpreted as Media Indonesia's commitment to upholding fair journalistic standards by presenting both sides of the story, ultimately leading to a neutral tone in the conclusion of the news reports (news tail). The priority categories of the President's performance for 2019-2024 have been closely analysed by Media Indonesia, revealing intriguing insights. Notably, the APBN garners the lion's share of media coverage. However, the bureaucracy category stands out with its propensity for negative news. Media Indonesia extensively covers instances of corruption within President Joko Widodo's cabinet and sheds light on the intricate administrative processes of the government in this category. These revelations cast doubt on the trustworthiness and efficacy of the cabinet.

The complexities within the bureaucracy make it the most frequently discussed in a negative context, fuelled by the public's fervent desire for a streamlined bureaucratic structure. While the bureaucracy category takes the lead in negative reporting, the APBN, HR, and infrastructure categories also face significant scrutiny. Conversely, the investor category enjoys a predominantly positive spotlight.

Media monitoring plays a crucial role in optimising the performance of public relations by scrutinising and analysing negative sentiments within news reports (Ruggiero & Vos, 2014; Bekkers et al., 2013; Loukis, et al., 2016; Fuchs & Trottier, 2015). Public relations professionals actively engage in monitoring a wide range of media sources to gain a comprehensive understanding of the public perception of various topics. The tone of the news observed through media monitoring activities can encompass a spectrum of emotions, ranging from negativity and neutrality to positivity (Wormwood et al., 2019; Nijkrake et al., 2014; Barcelos et al., 2018; Barcelos et al., 2019). The goal is to understand these tones and utilise this knowledge to acquire strategic decision-making processes. For example, should the monitoring activities uncover negative sentiments towards an organisation in the news, the public relations team can promptly address the issues. Moreover, media monitoring allows organisations to respond swiftly to negative news by issuing official statements or taking corrective actions to mitigate its adverse effects. Conversely, positive news within a report can serve as a powerful tool in enhancing public trust and confidence in the organisation (Barakat et al, 2018).

In the realm of government affairs, the Press Media and Information Bureau, acting as the primary public relations arm for the president, assumes the crucial task of meticulously scrutinising media coverage concerning the president's image and reputation. Through the meticulous analysis of news sentiment, the Bureau aims to detect potential crises at their inception, paving the way for the formulation of comprehensive strategies to engage with and oversee relations with the media (Setiadarma, 2022, p. 131). The Bureau endeavours to devise proactive communication plans, address any adverse news, convene media briefings to enhance public perceptions, and persistently evaluate the efficacy of the communication strategy in place. By adhering to this approach, the Bureau seeks to proficiently manage its associations with the media and safeguard the dissemination of balanced and accurate portrayals of the President.

From the perspective of the political economy of media, there exists a connection between economic power, technology, and media. Media serves as a tool for economic and cultural control wielded by influential figures within the global capitalist framework. The fundamental concepts of the political economy of media include the relationship between media, power, and economic interests. In the media context, it highlights how economic structures and media ownership affect content and information distribution, and how power relations between the state, media corporations, and society shape the media landscape. The political economy of media explores who controls the media and how this control influences access to and content consumed by the public (Mansell, 2004; Graham, 2007). Media ownership structures—especially with global media consolidation—contribute to uneven information distribution, supporting the economic and political interests of larger and more powerful entities (Mansell, 2004; Graham, 2007; Dart, 2014). As Graham (2007) explains, centralised media ownership structures can limit the pluralism of information (Graham, 2007). New media, such as those about social media, and political economy theory is applied to examine how social media is used as a tool to consolidate economic power, for example, by selling user data to advertisers (Dart, 2014; Rigi & Prey, 2015).

Social media business models demonstrate how economic value is extracted from user activities through data collection and advertising, reinforcing economic control by large tech companies. New media not only delivers content but also becomes an instrument of digital capitalism. The concentration of power and capital in the digital media industry shows how new media extends global capitalist practices, where large corporations control information distribution and the economic resources that flow from it (Rigi & Prey, 2015; Dart, 2014). Media serves as a channel for information and a commodified product controlled by a few large companies. These companies create access limitations through subscription or advertising-based business models, where user data is traded for economic gain (Rigi & Prey, 2015; McCluskey & Swinnen, 2004). This aligns with Dallas Smythe's analysis of the *audience commodity*, explaining that mass media audiences are commodified and sold to advertisers for profit (McCluskey & Swinnen, 2004).

The Political Economy of Media provides valuable insight into how economic and political forces shape the nature and tone of news coverage (Darmanto, 2020, p. 205). This theory underscores the significant role of media ownership, emphasising how entities with specific political or economic interests can influence reporting biases. Consequently, news presentations may lack impartiality as media outlets may prioritise positive or negative aspects of events or individuals based on the agenda of their owners. When it comes to disseminating news about President

Joko Widodo, it should be noted that media outlets owned or affiliated with political interests that oppose the government often tend to portray the news in a negative light. This observation serves to underscore the notion that the media, rather than being a mere reflection of reality, actively filters and shapes issues. The ownership of media organisations associated with specific political interests wields substantial influence over how news is both produced and presented, potentially allowing the perspectives and agendas of the owners to colour the coverage (Rahman, Asyahidda, Rouf, Hufad, 2019, p. 555). Consequently, understanding the substantial impact of media ownership on the content and tone of news becomes an imperative consideration for public relations practitioners seeking to effectively manage the public image and reputation of the individuals or organisations under their representation (Barakat et al., 2018; Ahmad et al., 2016, Bleich et al., 2022).

In media ownership, Surya Paloh strategically employs his authority as a media proprietor to advance his political objectives. There is discernible evidence that Media Indonesia consistently portrays President Joko Widodo's performance in a critical manner. This pattern of coverage indicates that Media Indonesia may be actively spotlighting President Widodo's deficiencies, potentially laying the groundwork for Anies Baswedan's future presidential campaign in 2024. This scenario aligns with the principles of the Theory of Political Economy of Media, which elucidates how media ownership can mould the nature and tone of news dissemination (Darmanto, 2020, p. 205). As both the owner of Media Indonesia and a prominent political figure, Surya Paloh wields significant leverage in shaping media narratives to serve his political motives. By accentuating President Widodo's inadequacies through his media channels, Surya Paloh not only sways public sentiment but also endeavours to redirect public focus towards Anies Baswedan as a more viable option for the impending presidential elections. Meanwhile, it has been reported that Gibran Rakabumi Raka, who is President Joko Widodo's first son, has been chosen as a vice-presidential candidate, running alongside Prabowo Subianto. This decision is backed by Joko Widodo's supporting party. It is not unexpected that negative reports about President Joko Widodo's performance, which appeared in Media Indonesia (owned by Surya Paloh), are related to the political divisions emerging in the lead-up to the 2024 Election, involving both Joko Widodo and Surya Paloh.

The owners of media outlets can use them to promote their political agenda, increase their power, and bolster their position in politics (Rahman et al., 2019, p. 555). Media ownership tied to specific political interests often results in biassed reporting. This implies that reporting is not always impartial, but rather influenced by the media owner's objectives. Biassed reporting, mainly when it is negative towards the government, can shape public perception of the Joko Widodo government, leading to a less supportive view of its performance. The media wields significant influence in shaping public opinion by emphasising specific issues. The negative issues raised by Media Indonesia could potentially impact public satisfaction with President Joko Widodo's performance throughout his two terms in office. Consistent negative narratives from the media tend to make the public more critical and distrustful of government actions, potentially prompting policy changes. Therefore, comprehending media ownership and its impact on the tone of reporting is crucial for public relations professionals in managing the image and reputation of the individuals or organisations they represent.

CONCLUSION

The unfavourable portrayal of President Joko Widodo's leadership in Surya Paloh's Media Indonesia is closely tied to the deepening political rifts emerging in the lead-up to the 2024 Election, pitting Joko Widodo against Surya Paloh. As President Joko Widodo's term in office draws to a close, the Media Indonesian has been portraying Jokowi in an increasingly negative light. This reporting shift could tarnish the president's and the government's public image. The prevailing negative coverage of President Joko Widodo in the Media Indonesia may significantly impact his standing among the populace. Therefore, it is imperative to effectively manage the repercussions of this adverse reporting by employing comprehensive media monitoring and crafting strategic responses. The Presidential Press Media and Information Bureau views media monitoring as a pivotal activity, essential for comprehending the overall tone of media coverage of the president, enabling appropriate action. Drawing from the theoretical framework of the Political Economy of Media, it is evident that political and economic factors have a significant influence on the presentation of news in the media. In the specific case of negative reporting on

President Joko Widodo, the theory underscores the non-neutral nature of media coverage and underscores how media ownership and conflicting political interests might lead to biassed reporting. Media ownership plays a crucial role in shaping the direction and nature of news coverage, particularly in the context of politics. Concentrated ownership tends to reduce the diversity of perspectives and increases homogenisation in reporting. Media owned by government entities or large private corporations often face pressure to align with the interests of their owners, impacting editorial independence. On the other hand, community-oriented or public-owned media tend to maintain a stronger focus on issues relevant to public service and society at large. The study has limitations because it only examines one type of media, specifically online news outlets, and only on the Selekta page, which is known for its critical stance towards the government. Therefore, further research is needed to determine whether the political interests of media owners who are opposed to the government will affect the way the media presents news, particularly in terms of framing, bias, and editorial decisions.

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APPENDIX

can   be   accessed   on   URL: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1ryVfZPv8CMmmnCAkkAf30K8zh0D_W-6T/view?usp=share_link