KEPUTUSAN DEKAN
FAKULTAS KOMUNIKASI & DESAIN KREATIF
UNIVERSITAS BUDI LUHUR

Nomor : K/UBL/FKDK/000/078/09/22

TENTANG
KEWAJIBAN DOSEN MELAKSANAKAN TRIDARMA PERGURUAN TINGGI
PROGRAM STUDI MAGISTER ILMU KOMUNIKASI
FAKULTAS KOMUNIKASI & DESAIN KREATIF UNIVERSITAS BUDI LUHUR
SEMESTER GASAL TAHUN AKADEMIK 2022/203

Menimbang : a) Bahwa untuk meningkatkan kinerja Dosen dalam melaksanakan Tridarma Perguruan Tinggi di Fakultas Komunikasi & Desain Kreatif Universitas Budi Luhur.

b) Bahwa dipandang perlu meningkatkan fungsi Dosen dalam pengembangan keilmuan dan karya nyata dalam kehidupan masyarakat.

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2) Undang-Undang Nomor 20/Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional (Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia/Tahun 2003 Nomor 78, Tambahan Lembaran Negara Republik Indonesia Nomor 4301);

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Kedua : Mewajibkan setiap dosen tetap Fakultas Komunikasi & Desain Kreatif untuk terlibat dalam kegiatan pengabdian masyarakat minimal satu kegiatan dalam satu semester.

Ketiga : Mewajibkan setiap dosen Fakultas Komunikasi & Desain Kreatif untuk mengajar sesuai dengan jadwal dan mata kuliah yang telah ditetapkan Ketua Program Studi.

Kempat : Dalam melaksanakan Tridarma Perguruan Tinggi setiap dosen berkewajiban membuat laporan kepada Ketua Program Studi terkait dan bertanggung jawab kepada Dekan Fakultas Komunikasi & Desain Kreatif Universitas Budi Luhur.

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Pada Tanggal : 21 September 2022
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S2
sinta
Science and Technology Index

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Journal of Communication

DAFTAR ISI (TABLE OF CONTENT)

Construction of Reporting on the 2024 Female Presidential Candidates on Tirto.id, Tempo.co, and Kompas.com

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ABSTRACT

In the middle of a patriarchal culture, several females pushed the competition map for the 2024 presidential candidate which was dominated by males. However, the votes were insignificant and only a few names appeared in the survey results. Apart from the 30% affirmative action, the role of the media in promoting gender mainstreaming in politics is needed because news about female presidential candidates is still relatively rare. Therefore, this research aims to reveal the news of the 2024 female presidential candidate survey results presented by tirto. id, tempo.co, and kompas.com. This was conducted using the framing analysis method of the Robert Matthew Entman model consisting of two dimensions, namely issue selection, and aspect highlight, as well as four framing elements, including problem definition, sources, moral decisions, and problem-solving. The result showed several interesting points. First, all the media analyzed presented news about females' inability and resources based on the results of various surveys. Second, all news presented an interpretive journalism model that reads and interprets survey data by experts. Third, although they try to deny the patriarchal ideology, the majority present male commentators who review female political communication. This means that ideology still surrounds the three online media studied.

***Keywords:** Female presidential candidates, news, online media, framing analysis*

ABSTRAK

Di tengah kultur patriarkhi, beberapa perempuan menyeruak peta persaingan capres 2004 yang didominasi capres laki-laki. Meski begitu suaranya tidak signifikan, hanya beberapa nama saja yang muncul dihasil survei. Selain *affirmative action* 30 persen, peran media mendorong pengarusutamaan gender di bidang politik sangat dibutuhkan. Saat ini pemberitaan tentang capres perempuan relatif jarang. Padahal melalui pemberitaan yang masif dan kontinyu, capres perempuan akan diperhitungkan. Di tengah capres perempuan yang jarang diberitakan, penelitian ini menemukan signifikansinya. Bahwa capres perempuan jarang diberitakan dibandingkan capres laki-laki. Penelitianbertujuan menguak berita hasil survei capres perempuan 2024 yang disajikan tirto.id, tempo.co, dan kompas.com. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode analisis framing model Robert Matthew Entman yang memiliki dua dimensi (seleksi isu dan penonjolan aspek) serta empat elemen framing (Pendefinisain masalah, sumber masalah, keputusan moral, dan penyelesaian masalah). Sebagai kesimpulan, penelitian ini menemukan beberapa poin menarik. Pertama, semua media yang diteliti menyajikan berita tentang kekurangmampuan dan sumber daya perempuan yang minim berbasis hasil berbagai survei. Kedua, semua berita menyajikan model jurnalisme interpretatif yang membaca dan menafsirkan data hasil survei oleh para ahlinya. Ketiga, meski mencoba menyangkal ideologi patriarkhi, tetapi mayoritas berita menyajikan komentator laki-laki yang mengulas komunikasi politik perempuan. Artinya, ideologi patriarkhi masih menyelimuti ketiga media online yang diteliti.

Kata Kunci: Capres perempuan, berita, media online, analisis framing

INTRODUCTION

According to the Old and New Order eras, females' formal political leadership in Indonesia is still a myth. Wahyudi (2018) stated that this ideology is true due to the marginalization of the female gender in this part of the world and the deeply rooted Patriarchal culture. Moreover, the doctrine of "males as priests" is dominant because females are reluctant to elect their gender (Putri, 2021; Pankaj Kumar, 2017). Despite being the majority, most females are blind to political discourse, hence, their role and position in the area of policymakers are minimal.

The research by Audra Jovani et al. (2020) at the Center for Asia-Pacific reported that there are several barriers to females' political participation. Examples are the patriarchal culture associated with the political system (Irma & Hasanah, 2014) and the wrong understanding of religious doctrine as in the study of female journals (Pengkajian et al., 2012; Mayasari et al., 2014). However, the 1998 reforms, which enabled Megawati Soekarnoputri to serve as vice president from 1999 to 2001 and President from 2001 to 2004, proved that formal female leadership in Indonesia is no longer a myth. Democracy has provided the widest possible space for females to contest with males to occupy public positions in the executive and legislative branches. On the other hand, the myth's increasingly hardened symbols of masculinity of male politicians (Hasyim, 2017).

Margaret et al. (2018) reported that the biggest factors driving the involvement of females in various spheres are mass and social media. These factors are the key to changing their fate in the political realm, hence, a state policy is needed for proper utilization (Prihantoro et al., 2018; Fadli, 2018).

Prihatini (2019) and Rasyidin & Aruni (2016) stated that most females are reluctant to enter politics because the system prioritizes males. The small number of female seats in parliament shows that gender quota policies are ineffective. Law Number 7 of 2017 on General Elections, Article 173 paragraph (2) letter E, which assigns 30% to this gender, has not been achieved. Priandi & Roisah (2019) and Perludem Anggraini (2018) stated that this 30% affirmative action is very important (Hamid, 2012).

Weaknesses in females' political communication have no maximum effect on their issues and activities. Melanie Mormel and Erwin Schweisshelm (2019) found that female candidates were likely to be elected to parliament due to their level of fame or close relationship with the political elite and not based on their "political ability". Dessy Trisilowaty and Pengkajian et al. (2012) called this phenomenon the "celebrity factor".

Rachmah Ida (2013) stated female leadership lacked media support, therefore, there is a limited discourse on social media (Ulfa et al., 2020). The preliminary study by Rachmah Ida (2013) in Indonesia showed that the amount of news coverage and media on females involved in politics is still stereotypical. Presently, their audience has only been passive, resulting the active involvement of their voices cannot be achieved (Barus, 2015). Amalia (2019) reported that females are more likely to be supporters of presidential candidates rather than contestants.

In this framing context, research on news construction for 2024 female candidates from data on search engines, such as Google using the keyword "female presidential candidates", is few. This is in contrast to the keyword "male presidential candidates," which is abundant. Sri Mulyani, Tri Rismaharini, Puan Maharani, and Khofifah Indar Parawangsa are the only names often mentioned. This number is small when compared to their male counterpart.

Based on the facts above, the research on female presidential candidates news is very strategic. It will reveal the interests and ideology of the media. That in addition to the factor of minimal resources to become presidential candidates, it can also be caused by lack of coverage in the media. This is where the media's bias against female presidential candidates emerges.

Every news text has a certain ideology without neutral, non-ideological, and uninteresting context because it is a selection and reconstruction of a reality (Burton, 2008). Journalism in politics places news as a product of ideological struggle, which can give legitimacy to another ideology (Abrar, 2011). The news builds journalists' social relations with the community, which is usually biased and difficult to avoid. News does not exist in a vacuum, and it is always in a social context and a particular battle because there is no completely objective media text. This is in accordance with Siregar's (2019) research on the framing of the 2019 presidential candidates when researching Tempo and Republika News, where both media sided with the presidential candidate, Jokowi-Maruf Amin. Wibowo (2019) stated that data found on detik.com and IDN Times.com sided with the Jokowi-Maruf Amin.

Institutions and media owners also interfere with the thoughts and attitudes of journalists and editors (Mufid, 2009). Their interest is not only in the discourse presented but also in framing due to the ideological, political, and business considerations (Tebba, 2005). Rayhan and Putri (2020) reported that media framing realized through language expresses ideas with sentences, narrations, and headlines to clarify the emphasis on certain issues.

The background above indicates that female presidential candidates are not yet popular because they are not systematically discussed through the media. In Indoensia until now no

research has been conducted on female presidential candidates in 2024. This is because every news item on all media has a particular interest, especially in political new texts. Therefore, this research aims to uncover hidden objects and subjects in the news text in Tirto.id, Tempo.co, and Kompas.com through framing analysis with the theme of reporting on the 2024 female presidential candidate.

The selection of the three media above is based on their track record and historical background as media that have a reputation for quality journalism. Tirto.id is an online media that officially broadcasts news on August 3, 2016. One of the breakthroughs or genres built by tirto.id is the use of infographics in every news story.

Tempo.co is one of the media that is part of the Tempo Group. The quality of the Tempo Group has been unquestionable since it was first published on March 6, 1971. The Tempo Group is very well known for its investigative journalism genre. Meanwhile, Kompas.com is one of the online media under the auspices of Kompas Gramedia. It is one of the leading media companies in Indonesia and a very long time ago which was founded on June 28, 1965.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a qualitative content analysis and the method used to determine the reality framed by the media is the framing analysis.. It is significantly influenced by sociological and psychological theories (Eriyanto, 2001). Furthermore, it is one of the alternative qualitative content analysis models that can reveal the secret behind differences and media contradictions in revealing facts. The Robert Matthew Entman model was used to select and highlight the issues (Qodari, 2000; Sobur, 2006; Iskandar, 2021)).

Issue Selection	This is the selection of facts to be displayed in the news, such as the issues that need to be raised.
Aspect Highlight	This is related to the writing of facts, including the aspects to be highlighted, such as words, sentences, pictures, photos, illustrations, graphics, etc.

Table 1. Issue Selection and Aspect Highlight

Entman shared framing device into four elements. The first element is, problem definition, what is the event seen as?. The second element is problem Source, what or who is the cause of the problem, what did the incident appear to be caused by, what is considered to be the

cause of a problem? who (actor) is considered as the cause of the problem?. The third element is moral decision, what moral values   are presented to explain problem? what moral values   are used for legitimize or delegitimize some action?. And the fourth one is Problem-solving, proposing a solution to the problem. What solutions are offered for solve problems/issues? what path offered and must be taken to overcome problem?
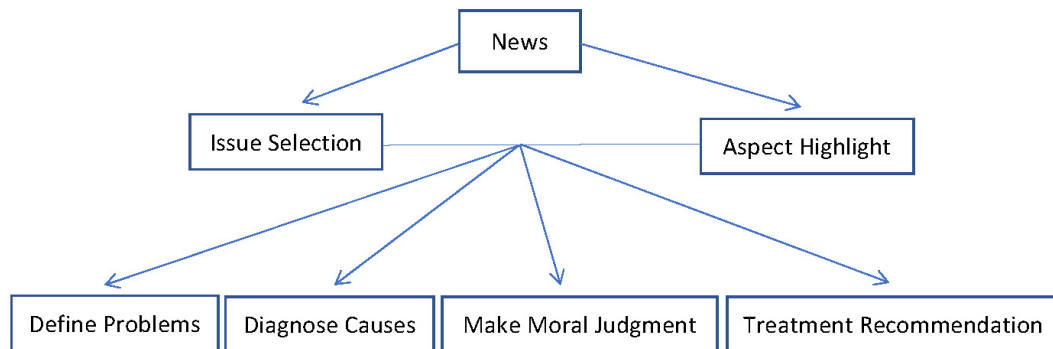
Figure 1. Framing Entman Analysis Step

In determining the research objective, the following criteria were analyzed; Fulfill the construction completeness of 5W+1H, have two research results on female presidential candidates, equipped with expert opinion as a hallmark of interpretive journalism and fulfill the two-dimensional and four Entmans framing elements.

Based on observations through the Google search engine on Friday, June 3, 2022, some news items met the criteria.

Table 2. Research Object

No	Media Name	News Title and Link
1	Tirto.id	https://tirto.id/mengapa-elektabilitas-tokoh-perempuan-rendah-dalam-survei-pilpres-go4w. Last accessed, Friday, June 3, 2022, at 06.16 A.M
2	Tempo.co	(https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1469122/perempuan-di-survei-capres-2024-elektabilitas-risma-ungguli-puan-maharani. Last accessed, Friday, June 3, 2022, at 06.24 A.M
3	Kompas.com	https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/02/24/18160241/punya-segudang-jabatan-mengapa-elektabilitas-puan-rendah?page=all. Last accessed Friday, June 3, 2022, at 06.29 A.M

DISCUSSION

Following the pattern of Entman's framing analysis, the results and discussion according to the number of news items that have been selected are presented in Table 3. There are two tables for analyzing one news, namely the Entman framing dimension and the elements, such as problem definition, sources, moral decisions, and solution. The data were further dissected and analyzed with theories relevant to the research object. Analysis of news texts and explanations of other relevant sources are shown in Table 3.

Analysis Tirto.id News

Table 3. Issue Selection and Aspect Highlight of Tirto.id

News Title: *Why is the Electability of Female Leaders Low in the Presidential Election Survey*	
Issue Selection	The electability of female presidential candidates is low.
Aspect Highlight	1. Photo of Finance Minister Sri Mulyanai and the Speaker Puan Maharani at a press conference
	2. The term patriarchy and communication with the public are the central themes in this news
	3. KedaiKOPI and SMRC survey results

Table 4. Framing Entman Analysis of Tirto.id

News Title: *Why is the Electability of Female Leaders Low in the Presidential Election Survey*	
Entman Framing Element	**News Text**
Define Problems	Female political resources are low and scarce
Diagnose Causes	1. Female political culture has not been formed for a long time
	2. The patriarchal culture is still present in Indonesia
	3. Society has not fully accepted females as presidential candidates
	4. The pragmatism of political parties in selecting presidential candidates
Make Moral Judgment	Increasing female involvement in politics should be assisted by affirmation of 30% action by the Election Law
Treatment Recommendation	Female presidential candidates should have the courage to appear in mass and social media by building engagement with public issues.

Similar to other survey results, the well known 2024 presidential candidates are Prabowo Subianto, Anies Baswedan, and Ganjar Pranowo. This is in addition to the four female candidates, namely former Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Susi Pudjiastuti, East Java Governor Khofifah Indar Parawansa, Minister of Social Affairs Tri Rismaharini, and Chair of the Indonesian House of Representatives Puan Maharani.

Due to the significant value of females in the 2024 to 2029 President and Vice President Election, all media must publish this survey's results. News value measures the appropriateness of an event worthy of being broadcasted (Iskandar et al., 2022). However, the value of news being broadcasted has significantly changed along with the digital era in journalism, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. News Values Change

No	Old News Values	New News Values
1	Novelty	Online Immediacy
2	Threats to the Social and Moral Orders	Interactivity
3	Elitism and Prominence	Participation (Community)
4	Conflict and Controversy	
5	Dramatization and Personalization	
6	Visuals	
7	The Big Story of the Moment	

Source: (Perloff, 2020)

In writing down the results of the KedaiKOPI and the SMRC surveys, tirto.id selected the angle and title about the low electability of female presidential candidates in 2024. This was carried out using the question "Why is the electability of female figures low in the presidential election survey?". The interpretive journalism technique by Kovach and Rosentiel (2010) was used for further analysis of the survey results. Apart from quoting from survey institutions, an expert from a female political observer, namely the Deputy Executive Director of the Center for the Political Studies University of Indonesia, Hurriyah was also interviewed.

Tempo.co News Analysis

In contrast to tirto.id, tempo.co selected the competition angle between the two PDIP 2024 female presidential candidates, Tri Rismaharini and Puan Maharani. A researcher from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Firman Noor, was also selected as an observer who provided analysis using the LSI and Charta Politica surveys.

Table 6. Issue Selection and Aspect Highlights of Tempo.co

News Title: Female in the 2024 Presidential Candidate Survey; Risma Outperforms Puan Maharani Electability	
Issue Selection	The survey agency's version of the contest for female presidential candidates
Aspect Highlight	1. Photo of Puan Maharani after the inauguration of the Chair of the DPR
	2. The term "Political Party Pragmatism"
	3. LSI and Charta Politica survey results

Table 7. Framing Entman Analysis of Tempo.co

News Title: *Female in the 2024 Presidential Candidate Survey; Risma Outperforms Puan Maharani Electability*	
Entman Framing Element	**News Text**
Define Problems	The pragmatism of political parties that will select the presidential candidate with the highest electability according to the survey version
Diagnose Causes	1. Independent candidates are not allowed
	2. Inadequate movement
	3. Lack of money
Make Moral Judgment	The presidential candidate with the loudest voice at the grassroots should continue strengthening the support base
Treatment Recommendation	The power of political parties is a determining factor

The difference in point of view of tirto.id and tempo.co emphasizes the independence of the media (Dudi Iskandar. 2017). Each media editor has full autonomy in determining the news to be published. Likewise, with the objectivity of the news, objectivity is a choice according to the media agenda (Eriyanto, 2018). The media also has the right to create and direct news to a certain destination, that is why none is neutral (Iskandar et al., 2022). Objectivity does not mean equality in choosing facts rather it is a method for its verification to the public (Kovach & Rosentiel, 2007).

Therefore, a distinction should be made between the independent, neutral, and objective pillars of journalism. This is to prevent those who do not understand the three values from equating them because they differ from the journalistic theory perspective. Several pillars of journalism have changed along with its development, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Journalism Pillar Change

No	Old Journalism Pillars	New Journalism Pillars
1	Objectivity	Authenticity
2	Verification	Transparency
3	Professional Autonomy	Collaboration

Source: (Bossio, 2017)

In writing down the results of the KedaiKOPI and the SMRC surveys, tirto.id selected the angle and title about the low electability of female presidential candidates in 2024. This was carried out using the question "Why is the electability of female figures low in the presidential election survey?". The interpretive journalism technique by Kovach and Rosentiel (2010) was used for further analysis of the survey results. Apart from quoting from survey institutions, an expert from a female political observer, namely the Deputy Executive Director of the Center for the Political Studies University of Indonesia, Hurriyah was also interviewed.

Kompas.com News Analysis

According to kompas.com, female presidential candidates in 2024 were based on the results of the Kompas Research and Development survey and Grassroots Strategic Consulting. The company selected the chairman of the DPR, Puan Maharani. and questioned why Mrs. Puan has a myriad of positions with low electability. The choice of kompas.com to discuss Puan was very rational because it has historical ties to the PDI, now known as PDI-P (Iskandar, 2018).

The characteristic of interpretive journalism was realized by interviewing the Executive Director of Charta Politica Yunarto Wijaya to comment on the survey results that served as the background for this news. One thing that stands out from this news is that kompas.com wrote the "blue blood breed" Puan, which refers to President Soekarno, and Megawati Soekarnoputri (fifth President) ideology.

Table 9. Issue Selection and Aspect Highlight of Kompas.com

News Title: *Have Myriad Positions, Why Is Puan Electability Low?*	
Issue Selection	The survey version of the electability of female presidential candidates
Aspect Highlight	1. Photo of Puan Maharani Surrounded by PDI-P Cadres
	2. The term 'blue blood' breeds for Mrs. Maharani
	3. Results of the Kompas R&D survey and Grassroots Strategic Consulting

Table 10. Entman Framing Analysis kompas.com

News Title: *Have Myriad Positions, Why Is Puan Electability Low?*	
Framing Entman Element	**News Text**
Define Problems	The average electability of female presidential candidates, including Puan Maharani, who has a myriad of public positions, is low
Diagnose Causes	1. Puan Maharani blue blood breed
	2. Millennial voters are different from traditional
Make Moral Judgment	Creating an identity accepted by voters, specifically millennials
Treatment Recommendation	Build branding and image
	Have differences with other presidential candidates

Only kompas.com raised Puan's point of view in the context of the 2004 female presidential candidate, while Tirto.id and tempo.co selected to avoid this perspective. However, both are more focused on increasing female political resources in general political contestation.

Comparison of Framing Dimensions and Elements

Generally, all research objects write and deliver news according to each media's vision, mission, and strategy. Nasution (2015) stated that the editors of the three media produced news independently, as indicated by the various contents. This independence is important because it is one of the pillars of journalism.

Similarly, all media under study apply the principle of objectivity in different degrees and verifications. Tirto.id creates long posts to measure the speed of online news sites (Kovach & Rosentiel, 2007). The completeness of all news elements is measured using 5W+1H. Tempo.co selected political pragmatism to analyze reports on female presidential candidates from the survey. Meanwhile, Kompas prioritized data verification of Puan Maharani with the number of positions held. The choice of data objectivity is understandable because of the media background, which has the ideological closeness of Kompas and PDIP. The comparison of research results using Entman framing analysis is briefly analyzed in Table 12.

Table 11. Comparison of Issue Selection and Aspect Highlight

Framing/Media Dimension	Tirto.id	Tempo.co	Kompas.com
Issue Selection	The survey version of the low electability problem for female presidential candidates	The survey agency's version of the female presidential candidate contestants	The survey version of the electability problem for female presidential candidates
Aspect Highlight	1. Photo of Minister of Finance Sri Mulyani and Speaker of the House of Representatives Puan Maharani at a press conference 2. The term patriarchy and communication with the public are the central themes in this news	1. Photo of Puan Maharani wearing a red dress surrounded by female DPR members wearing the same color of clothes after the Speaker of the DPR's inauguration. 2. The pragmatism of political parties	1. Photo of Puan Maharani Surrounded by PDI-P Cadres 2. The term 'blue blood' breed for Puan Maharani

Table 12. Four Elements of Framing Entman Comparison

Framing Entman /Media Elements	Tirto.id	Tempo.co	Kompas.com
Define Problems	Female political resources are low and rare	The pragmatism of political parties that will select the presidential candidate with the highest electability according to the survey version	The average electability of female presidential candidates is low, including Puan Maharani, who has a myriad of public positions
Diagnose Causes	1. Female political culture has not been formed for a long time	1. Independent candidates are not allowed	Puan Maharani blue blood breed Millennial voters

	2. The image of patriarchy still lingers in Indonesia 3. Society has not fully accepted females as presidential candidates 4. The pragmatism of political parties in choosing presidential candidates	2. Lack of movement 3. Candidates need much money	are different from traditional voters
Make Moral Judgment	The affirmation of the 30 percent quotas should increase female involvement in politics by the Election Law.	The presidential candidate with the loudest voice at the grassroots should continue strengthening the support base.	Creating an identity acceptable to voters, specifically millennials
Treatment Recommendation	Female presidential candidates should have the courage to expose themselves on mass and social media by building engagement with public issues.	The power of political parties is the determining factor	1. Building branding and image 2. Having differences with other competitors

Regardless of the framing of tirto.id, tempo.co, and kompas.com about female presidential candidates in 2024, the news construction of female presidential candidates is actually very strategic. This means that this research is not only related to a set of journalism rules (text, values, and ethics) in the three media studied, but also concerns the political affairs of women in this country at a macro level. A news construction cannot be separated from the practice of editorial discourse and the socio-culture that surrounds it. In short, the construction of reporting on women presidential candidates in the media is a representation of the macro conditions of the media, nation and state. Because in media theory, news is a mirror of reality. Where news is presented to the public as a representation of reality, and that reality is rewritten and transformed through news.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, several interesting points were obtained after evaluating and discussing the objects using Robert Matthew Entman's framing analysis method and contemporary journalistic theory. First, all the media studied presented news on females' lack of ability and resources based on the results of various surveys. Second, all news presents an

interpretive journalism model that reads and interprets survey data by experts. Third, despite trying to deny the patriarchal ideology, most news reports featured male commentators who reviewed female political communications. This means that patriarchal ideology still surrounds the three online media studied.

In the future, research on female presidential candidates can be expanded. Other research can be done with specific themes and other research methods. For example, research on female presidential candidates uses semiotic analysis and critical discourse analysis. Field research can also be carried out such as using ethnographic methods or case studies.

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