Jokowi and Prabowo's Image in Online News Articles: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract: The purpose of this research is to investigate how Indonesian presidential candidates are represented in *The Jakarta Post* and *Jakarta Globe* after the 2nd and the 4th presidential debate and to find out the hidden ideology based on the representation of each candidates in the news. The data were collected from eight articles taken from The Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe website published in February, March, and April 2019. In doing the analysis, the researchers employs van Leeuwen's (2008) socio-semantic approach as the analytical tool supported by transitivity system proposed by Halliday (2014) and online sentiment analysis. The result points out that both presidential candidates are represented in inclusion, specifically in activation and represented as active participants in the news article. However, the results reveal that Jokowi is represented through positive processes more than Prabowo in the news articles. The result further shows the values of both news outlets in regards to the presidential election. It is expected that the findings will contribute to give more insights into how Indonesian news outlet reporting each candidate, so that people can be more critical when reading news.

1 INTRODUCTION

The journalism industry has changed in the past decades due to the improvement of technology. People no longer need to buy printed newspaper in order to get the information, since it is available online. It seems like everything including latest issue, advertisement, up to job vacancy can be found with one click. Nevertheless, some aspects such as language role remain unchanged despite the rapid development of digital journalism. Concerning this, language is just as important online as it is offline. The text producer needs language in the process of communicating message and shaping people's perception towards certain issue. Moreover, the way they present the news is inseparable from the elite people's ideology who has control over the news outlet. Thus, in reporting particular event, for example, a newspaper appears to be subjective despite the objective claim coming from the news outlet. It is an inevitable thing as van Dijk in Al-Duleimi and Al-Ebadi (2016) points out that the ideologies of journalists in some way influence their opinions that reflected in the discourse structures of the articles. Due to this reason, readers can spot the difference of each news outlet in reporting the same event. One can hide the identity of the involved party, while the others expose the identity. On the other hand, one newspaper can report an issue using neutral words, while the others use more powerful words. The choice will once again depend on the purpose and the ideology of the institution behind the news outlets. In this way, the ideology of the newspaper can be seen from the content of the news that are published to public space.

In order to find the ideology of the news outlet reflected in their news, Critical Discourse Analysis can be used as the analysis tool. A number of CDA analysis have been conducted on various issues. Sivandi Nasab, Z. and Dowlatabadi, H.R. (2015) have analyzed how *Los Angeles Times* and *Tehran Times* reporting the nuclear program of Iran in its news articles. Through employing discursive micro and macro-strategies by van Dijk (2000), the result points out that *Los Angeles Times* tended to use the Authoritative, Explanation, Evidentiality and Counterfactual discursive strategies; while, *the*

Tehran Times employed the Actor Description, Hyperbole, Lexicalization, Repetition and Situation Description discursive strategies. The results indicate that *Tehran Times* depicted Iran's intention and politics positively, while *the Los Angeles Times* depicted Iran's in negative way. Another example is a study conducted by Al-Duleimi and Al-Ebadi (2016) on ideology of the news report with the Al-Jazeera reporters as the representative. The result of the study shows the ideology is reflected in the discourse features in which non-modalized propositions and modalized ones are used to emphasize negative actions of the government. On the other hand, Briones (2017) focuses on analyzing the external and internal level of two online news articles that report Moro Islamic Liberation Front's submission of its findings on the "Mamasapano Incident" based on Fairclough's framework. The result points out that the internal discourse features portray ideological and social distinctions among social actors such as the Philippine Senate, the SAF troopers, the MILF, the MILF fighters, and the civilians. On the other hand, the external social practices reveals some evaluative stance as exemplified by the adjectival phrases that included in the articles. In addition, the internal and external levelof the articles indicate power relations that exist between the Philippine government and the MILF.

The aforementioned studies have illustrated how different approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis are used in different studies concerning various issue included in the newspaper. Most of them are discussing political discourse. Political discourse itself as stated by van Dijk in Dunmire (2012) refers to the politician's text and talk within political context which covers broad range of issues including nuclear power policy and national policy on safety as have been analyzed in previous studies. Similarly, the current study aims to investigate the latest political issue reported in the news. Unlike the previous studies, the object that will be analyzed is the news concerning Indonesia presidential election. Presidential election itself is one of the most important events that is held by a democracy country. Considering its importance, various elements of the issue can be investigated. Yet, to fill the gap, the present study will be focusingon the involvement of social actors found in the selected articles based on Socio-semantic approach proposed by van Leeuwen (2008). Furthermore, the ideology of the news outlet will be covered later on.

Additionally, Socio-semantic approach is chosen since this approach has not been explored yet in the previous studies. Moreover, this approach is considered appropriate as the tool of analysis considering thefocus of the presidential election usually given to the candidates. However, to limit the data, the research only focuses on how the presidential candidates are represented by two Indonesian news outlets namely Jakarta Post and Jakarta Globe. In the analysis, the researchers employ descriptive qualitative method which concerns with analyzing phenomenon that can be found in daily lives as statedby Cresswell (2014).Also, transitivity system by Halliday (2014) and online sentiment analysis will be used in the interpretation after the data is investigated through Socio-semantic analysis. Before the analysis process, the researchers obtained the data from two online newspapers: *The Jakarta Post* and *Jakarta Globe*. In collecting the data, the researcher read and selecting the news article that are suitable for the research. Considering the focus of the analysis is to analyzing the representation of presidential candidates, the articles that are selected limited to the articles that published after the second and fourth presidential debate, since those are presidential debate between two presidential candidates without their respective running mates.

There are the total of 8 articles (4 articles taken from each news outlet) entitled "Jokowi Knocks Prabowo on His Extensive Land Ownership During Second Presidential Debate", "Jokowi and Prabowo Favor Image, Populist Jargon Over Detail in Second Debate", "Fourth Presidential Candidate Debate Marked by Slow Pace", and "Prabowo Reinvigorates Commitment to Pancasila; Jokowi: Let's Not Blaspheme Each Other" from *Jakarta Globe*. Meanwhile, other four articles taken from *the Jakarta Post* are "Jokowi endorses 'Dilan', Prabowo says he's 'Batak of Java' in rollercoaster debate", "Jokowi Stands His Ground", "Second Round of Presidential Debates Short of Great Ideas", and "Debate Invigorated by Prabowo's Fiery Attacks". Additionally, the articles published in February, March, and April2019. In obtaining the data, the whole content of the articles are read carefully before the content were further divided into clause or clause complexesand presented in the table to be further analyzed. Only clause and clause complexes that include Jokowi and Prabowo that will be analyzed using CDA approach, transitivity system, and online sentiment analysis.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Van Dijk (2008) argues that Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach, particularly a intergrative language approach that intentionally used to highlight the creation of power, dominance, and inequality through text in social and political context. Meanwhile, Bloomaert (2005) explores the definition of Critical Discourse Analysis by saying that CDA is an analysis model which aims to figure out inequality in cause by power in discourse. Moreover, Wodak (2002) mentions that the main issue of Critical Discourse Analysis is interaction between languages, power, and ideology that can be found in different types of discourses. Meanwhile, as mentioned by van Dijk (1988) in Wodak and Meyer (2009), Critical Discourse Analysis focused on uncovering identifying hidden opinions, agendas, and ideologies placed in text.

2.2.1 Socio-Semantic Approach

Socio-semantic Approach is one of Critical Discourse Analysis approaches introduced by van Leeuwen (2008). This approach mainly concerns with two different ways in presenting social actors as the element of social practices. The two strategies are known as inclusion and exclusion. Inclusion according to van Leeuwen (2008) is the strategy used by the text producer to include the social actors in the text, while exclusion is the strategy used to omit the existence of social actor in the text. There are two different strategies that can be used to cover or delete the track of social actors in text, namely backgrounding and suppression. Backgrounding means the strategy used when the purpose of the author is to erase all the direct mention only, but suppression is used when the entire presence of certain social actors will be excluded. On the other hand, inclusion strategy covers more strategies that are classified into different groups. Unless stated otherwise, the description of Socio-semantic approach below are taken from van Leeuwen's (2008) explanation concerning the approach.

2.2.1 Role Allocation

The first strategy in inclusion is called role allocation. According to van Leeuwen (2008) role allocation concern with the inclusion of social actor as an active or passive actor.

2.2.2 Genericization and specification

Genericization and specification deals with how social actors are represented n term of plural form or singular form.

2.2.3 Assimilation and Individualization

Assimilation strategy is used when the social actor is represented as a part of group, while individualization concern with the representation of social actor as an individual.

2.2.4 Association and Dissociation

The next strategy is association, which defined as groups consist of social actors, both general and ones that are never labeled as one unit in the text. Association uses parataxis and circumstances of the accompaniment.

2.2.5 Indetermination and Differentiation

Indetermination is the strategy used when including the social actors as unidentified and anonymous human being, individual, or group. On the contrary, to represent social actors in an indeterminate way, it is common to use indefinite pronouns, such as somebody in a sentence.

2.2.6 Nomination and Categorization

Nomination and categorization is the strategy that is used to include the social actors based on their identity (nomination) or their functions in society that they shares with others (categorization). Van Leeuwen argues that proper noun is the typical characteristic of nomination. There are three different kinds of proper nouns: formal, semiformal, and informal. Yet, in given situation, the label that is given besides the proper names can be considered belongs to nomination strategy, particularly under specific context where only one social actor exists with that name, for example "the Giant" in certain children stories. Additionally, van Leeuwen explains that nomination also includes honorification or the addition of standard titles, such as "Dr." along with the form of affiliation that show personal relations terms, such as "Auntie". Meanwhile, categorization consists of two different terms: functionalization and identification.

2.2.7 Personalization and Impersonalization

Personalizing social actors refers to the depiction of social actors as human being. Personalization involves the use of possessive pronouns or nouns and meanings related to human's features. By contrast, impersonating social actors means representing social actors by using abstract nouns through two different ways: abstraction and objectivation. Abstraction involves a quality assigned to social actors in the process of representing them in the text.

2.2.8 Overdetermination

The last strategy that can be used in representing the social actors that is included in Socio-Semantic Approach is called overdetermination. The term overdetermination is the strategy used by the writer to include social actors in several social practices. As stated by van Leeuwen, there are four different categories for overdetermination, namely inversion, symbolization, connotation, and distillation. Inversion refers to the situation where the social actors are mentionedin two opposite practices; symbolization refers to fictional social actors who stand for nonfictional social practices; connotation takes place when a distinctive determination (concerning identity or physical identification) stands for a classification or functionalization; and distillation is achieved through compounding generalization and abstraction.

2.3 Transitivity System

Transitivity system is used to investigate the processes that attached to the social actors. There are six types of processes according to Halliday (2014).

2.3.1 Material Processes

Material processes as mentioned by Halliday (2014) construct the process of doing and happening, usually physical action. Material processes, in other words, express the idea of someone engages in doing some actions or some entities doing something toward another entity. Thus, the main elements of material processes are process and participant.

2.3.2 Mental Processes

Mental processes describe the participant involved in conscious processing, including feeling, thinking,

and perceiving. Therefore, it is mainly questioning on what do you think/feel/know about X? Different from material processes, the involved participant in mental processes is not entirely acting upon in performing sense since they already possess feelings. Here, the participants are called as senser- a conscious being who is able to think, feel, and see phenomenon- and any kind of entity which is being sensed by the senser.

2.3.3 Behavioral Processes

Behavioral processes are defined as a type of processes that deal with human behavior, including their physiological and psychological actions. Hence, these processes share some characteristics of material processes and mental processes. For instance, both material and behavioral processes have conscious being as participant, yet, in the case of behavioral processes, the participants are called behaver. Moreover, in terms of processes, behavioral is more material-like even though it also includes mental and verbal types of processes, such as gossip and shiver.

2.3.4 Verbal Processes

Verbal processes associate itself with the act of signaling or saying including various modes of saying, such as reporting, quoting, denying, and many more. Verbal processes cover four different types of participants: first is sayer- the signal source; target is the addressee who acted upon verbally; receiver- the one to whom the verbal is addressee; and lastly verbiage/ range as the content of saying.

2.3.5 Relational Processes

While verbal processes deal with the verbal function of the sayer, relational processes deal with the process of having and being. Relational processes are classified into two different types: identifying processes and attributive processes. Identifying processes refer to processes that serve to characterize or to form an identity on the other hand, attributive processes designate a quality which usually expressed by adjective. The difference between both of them is that identifying processes may be reversed, while attributive clauses may not.

2.3.6 Existential Processes

Existential processes cover a number of verbs that indicate the existence of the participant. Similar to

behavioral processes, existential process typically requires one social actor, which is the existent. In existential processes, the word "there" is important to signify the process types, yet, it does not have representational function of the participant or the location.

It is important to mention that the strategy used in representing the social actor will depend on the author's decision. Therefore, in some cases there is certain strategy that is not included in mentioning the social actor, but in another case it is possible for the author to use two strategies that belong to the same category.

3 ANALYSIS

Data analysis points out the inclusion and exclusion strategy used by the news outlets to represent both candidates in the news after the second and the fourth presidential debates.

From the result of the analysis, both media outlets used inclusion strategy in representing the presidential candidates. That is to say, the presidential candidates are mostly represented actively as the actor of the activities. Yet, there is one example of exclusion strategy used by The Jakarta Post. As has been mentioned in the earlier chapter, exclusion strategy is used to omit the participation of the actor in the text as exemplified in the 4.1 excerpt taken from Jakarta Post below. Excerpt 4.1 "What you mean by unicorn is those online thingies, right?" (Jakarta Post)

In the example above, the projected wording pointed the existence of the verbal action. However, the sayer is not directly mentioned in the same clause complex, but in another sentence following the projected wording. Therefore, it is belong to backgrounding strategy. In contrast, the realization of inclusion strategy where the involvement of the social actors is mentioned in the articles can be found in in the excerpt 4.2 that obtained from Jakarta Globe. Excerpt 4.2 Presidential challenger Prabowo Subianto criticized this approach. (Jakarta Globe)

In Excerpt 4.2, the social actor which is marked by the underlined part is mentioned clearly in the text. Prabowo as the social actor in excerpt 4.2 is mentioned as an active participant of the verbal process (criticized). The active representation is showed through the grammatical participant roles as the subject of the sentence. After finding out the role of the social actor in the text, the next thing is analyzing whether the social actor refers to general

reference or specific reference. In excerpt 4.2, the active actor is represented specifically through concrete words(presidential challenger Prabowo Subianto) and refers to concrete individual who involve in the verbal process. Next is finding out whether the social actor represented as a part of a group or not through assimilation and individualization. In the data above, the reference is an individual named Prabowo Subianto, thus the social actor is represented through individualization. Not to mention, the identity of the social actor should be examined through nomination or categorization. As mentioned previously, nomination refers to the way the actor is represented through their unique identity, while categorization focuses on the function in society. From the data found in excerpt 4.2, the author mentioned the social actor by using proper noun, in this case his given name and surname. Considering name is quantity that differentiate one person from another individual, the representation is included to nomination strategy.

On the other hand, in terms of transitivity system, the process used in the articles is mainly verbal process, since the news reported the presidential debate. Yet, the bias of the news outlets can be seen from the verbal that is chosen to represented both presidential candidates. Excerpt 4.3 He criticized that infrastructure development was not efficient. (Jakarta Post) Excerpt 4.4 He argued it may take a long time for people... (Jakarta Post)

In terms of the transitivity system, it can be said that the verbal used in both excerpts are classified as verbal process. Yet, the degree of both verbal words are different. In order to know the degree of each verbal process, online sentiment analysis is used. Through online sentiment analysis, the researchers found out that in representing Jokowi, both news outlets used more stronger verbal (stronger word choice) such as argue compared to the way Prabowo is represented in the articles. The result further indicates the political tendency of each news outlet following the presidential election on April 2019. Concerning this, the political bias of the media is illustrated through the way the text producer employed inclusion strategy in representing both candidates along with verbal processes attached to the social actors. The result corresponds with the study conducted by Elejalde, Ferres, and Herder (2018) on the real and perceived bias in the mainstream media. The result of the study shows how media bias and favoritism towards certain political party are reflected through the vocabulary used and the entities mentioned by different news outlet. That is to say, in the

mainstream media, the choice of words is not something insignificant, but a powerful tool to control its narrative in order to influence the readers.

Moreover, the issue of media bias in political discourse is nothing new. In addition to the result of the study that indicates the bias towards candidate no 1, another study conducted by Sedláková, Lapčík, and Burešová (2019) also reveal similar result. The study points out the significant bias of Czech Radio towards Donald Trump in the post-election period of the US 2016 presidential election. However, the result of the present study contradicts the result of the study conducted by Prayudi and Hendariningrum (2016) on 2014 general election in Indonesia. The result shows that *the Jakarta Post* had taken no side in representing the candidates of the 2014 presidential election. Meanwhile, in 2019 presidential election, along with *Jakarta Globe,* the political stance of *the Jakarta Post* adheres to the left-wing political spectrum with their clear support given to Jokowi. Regarding this, the shift of political stance might be the result of the conflict between candidate no.2 and*the Jakarta Post* that happened during the 2014 general election. After Jokowi won the 2014 general election, government representations *in the Jakarta Post* tend to be righteous. Nevertheless, the result of the present study further confirms the notion that journalistic is subjective and its ideology is inseparable from the elite's people's power and influence.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study is to find out how *Jakarta Globe* and *The Jakarta Post* represented Jokowi and Prabowo in their news articles along with their ideology concerning the representation. From the analysis, it can be said that both Jokowi and Prabowo are mostly represented through inclusion, particularly as the actor of the process. Moreover, in terms of transitivity system, the verbal words that are used to represent both candidates have different degree. Jokowi is associated with more stronger verbal expression compared to Prabowo in both news outlets articles. That is to say, the image of Jokowi is appeared to be more stronger and positive compared to his opponent. Regarding this, the ideology related to the political position can be seen clearly. Both news outlets show more favor towards Jokowi rather than Prabowo.

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