Representing social action in Indonesian: A case of Indonesian presidential race

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ABSTRACT

A large body of research on social action representation revolves around how social actors are discursively represented in a variety of media; nevertheless, very few discourse studies have investigated the Indonesian news media portrayal of an Indonesian politician in a number of social events. This research sought to fill in this gap by examining the representation of a prominent Indonesian political figure, i.e. Prabowo Subianto from the lens of two mainstream online Indonesia news media, i.e. Kompas and Republika. More specifically, the prime focus is on outlining types of social action and their grammatical and rhetorical realization in Indonesian discourse. Leeuwen's (2005; 2008) social semiotics was adopted as the framework of analysis. Ten online news reports—five from each media—focusing on Prabowo were purposively selected on the basis of five key political incidents where Prabowo was engaged. Comparison of two media in their reporting of the events is of special interest, for the representation of the same individual in his socio-political actions can be more apparent and hence media tendencies can be easily identified. Findings reveal that both media have non-neutral, partial tendencies. Their language products entail sympathy and defense of Prabowo, albeit the journalistic code of ethics. More specifically, Republika tends to side with Prabowo's campaign; while Kompas tends to oppose it. In the form of values, orientation, and tendencies, both media have an ideological tendency to defend or to offend the subject, Prabowo, as is clearly reflected through the distinctive discursive strategies they choose. Implicationally, these results corroborate the long-standing premise that media's values or ideological stances to a certain extent appear to be a factor in portraying an individual and his/her action in the society, which in turn may influence public perceptions.

Keywords: exclusion; inclusion; Kompas; Leeuwen; Prabowo; Republika; social semiotic approach;

INTRODUCTION

Prabowo Subianto (hereafter Prabowo) has in the last decade drawn special attention throughout Indonesia largely because he ran for a presidential seat back in 2014. Prabowo was nominated as the presidential candidate by the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Indonesian: Partai Gerakan Indonesia Raya, Gerindra), one of the major political parties in Indonesia. His nomination evoked a heated national debate, for it transpired as he was associated with past alleged military crimes in East Timor and has always been labeled as remnant of the Soeharto New Order era (Tan, 2015). Furthermore, immediately after the official announcement of the results of the presidential race whereby the President-elect was Joko Widodo (Jokowi), Prabowo did not immediately concede; he instead claimed victory challenging the outcomes and opted for 'a trial', albeit unchanging decisions of the election

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outcome, in which case Jokowi was officially declared the President (Lamb, 2014). The then presidential election was most probably construed one of the most controversial presidential elections Indonesian history has ever witnessed.

2019 presidential election of Indonesia has ignited much attention among the general public including scholars (inter alia Arifianto, 2019; Arifianto & Chen, 2019; Chen, 2019; Hasyim, 2019; Sebastian, 2019; Susila, Dean, Yusof, Lanti, 2019; Setyawan, & Wajdi, 2019; Wanto & Sebastian, 2019), especially because Prabowo went for 'a rematch' with the incumbent, and he did not receive the same amount of elite and financial support as he did in 2014 (Arifianto, 2019). The escalating political tension between the two camps has commenced from the moment Prabowo declared his will for a rerun. Of empirical interest, in this case, is how Prabowo is depicted linguistically by Indonesian news media in his way for a presidential seat.

Duplicating what Leeuwen (1995) does in explicating how Australian government's policy of immigration is viewed through the lens of an Australian new media, the present paper looks at a media representation of a different political discourse in the Indonesian context. It has been public knowledge that although mass media as the producers of news reports are obliged to present realities objectively (Cohen-Almagor, 2008), neutrality is illusory in news reporting, for news media will always constitute certain ideology (van Djik, 2013). Media contains and gains 'power' to decide what and how the news is to be delivered to people (van Dijk, 1996). Media's power is considered symbolic and persuasive; thus, it primarily has the potential to control the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their action (van Dijk, 1996). It also stands as subliminal-sources of redefining, manipulating or creating ideologies of different types (Baker, Gabrielatos, Khosravinik, Krzyżanowski, McEnery, & Wodak, 2008). Therefore, news as part of media holds a vitally important role to play in constructing what people think is real, interesting, beautiful, and moral (Matheson, 2005). In other words, news media have the power to change the point of view or ideology of a society (Trčková, 2011).

The ways ideologies proliferate through media are of empirical interest, for one can flesh out how certain social groups (attempt to) intervene and invade others through language. Among the frameworks that can dissect such delicate issues can is Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA). CDA is neither a single method nor a specific theory to analyze texts; instead it is an established paradigm in linguistics, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The concern of CDA is not the investigation of a linguistic unit per se, instead of in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In other words, CDA adopts a broader scope of elements into the analysis such as

various social aspects and social backgrounds. CDA is commonly applied in investigating multifaceted phenomena in the societies (Reisigl, & Wodak, 2001). Among the numerous frameworks under CDA, van Leeuwen's Socio-semantic approach (2005; 2008) suits this study very well, considering this study deals with the representation of a certain figure in certain texts. In line with that, van Leeuwen (2008) states that texts should be studied as representation as well as interactions (strategic or otherwise).

It is in the interest of this research to investigate how two predominant online Indonesian news media, i.e. Kompas and Republika, linguistically depict Prabowo's socio-political actions in his presidential candidacy. Online news reports were the source of the data for two primary reasons: (i) they represent the newspaper's opinions; hence a reflex of its ideology (van Djik, 1988); and (ii) such data are readily available and accessible. Among the numerous discourse analytical approaches that can be used to investigate this issue is Leeuwen's (2005; 2008) socio-semantics. By employing this approach, this research explores how discursive strategies, especially inclusion and exclusion, are employed by the two mass media in (re)presenting Prabowo.

Social Semiotic Approach

Discourse, in particular media discourse, involving two opposing forces can be examined using a variety of perspectives and approaches. Caldas-Coulthard and Iedema (2016, p. 2) assert that discourse, as a lingual unit, has unique characteristics relating to the texts that build it. Discourse must also be related to aspects outside the text itself, such as context and co-text. By looking at these matters, this study adopts a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework, for it can explore and elaborate discourse holistically, in addition to touching aspects beyond discourse that can influence the contours of the discourse-building texts (cf. Carta & Wodak, 2015).

In particular, in van Leeuwen's (2008) perspective, discourse can be seen as a lingual unit that functions as a realization of the semiosis form of language production. This study utilizes the CDA framework from van Leeuwen (2005; 2008) with the consideration that what the news reports is basically not merely a reflex of denotative meanings, but also of connotative meanings. In the news, there are various symbols that can only be explained in ways that include not only language and social approaches, but also symbolic approaches (van Leeuwen, 2005; 2008).

Throughout the history of CDA, van Leeuwen has tried several times to refine the idea of discourse studies from a symbolic perspective (cf. van Leeuwen, 2005; 2008; 2015). However, the key ideas of this framework is never far removed from the nature of CDA itself as a tool that can be used to unravel the power, access, and dominance in texts that represent stakeholders involved in the discourse.

A CDA framework, according to Said and Kasanga

(2016, p. 71), contended that any CDA framework is essentially an effective tool to uncover the deepest aspects of discourse, including van Leeuwen's framework. In the course of the history of CDA, Leeuwen's framework has been proven to reveal implicit matters in the texts of discourse building. One of them can be seen in Anwar, Ullah, Ahmad, and Ali (2015) which shows how this disaster is very effective in exploring ideological symbols in the speech of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Pakistan.

Van Leeuwen's (2005) idea basically divides the linguistic symbol in the text into two major parts, namely inclusion and exclusion. Inclusion is an effort to represent a group involved in discourse as part of a larger group, while exclusion is the opposite; it is an attempt to exclude a group in discourse.

To date there have been a growing number of studies that employ Leeuwen's social semiotic approach in revealing social representation in a variety of media (inter alia Fahmi, 2016; Hilda, 2015; Mahadian, 2015; Sahid, 2014; Sunarsih, 2018; Wijaya, 2018; Zahida, 2013). Mahadian (2015), for instance, examines how the Chinese ethnic group is portrayed on stand-up comedy, whereas Sahid (2014) looks at online comments on a governor candidate of 2012 on Kompas. Wijaya (2018), in particular, compares Kompas and Republika in their reporting the massive demonstration of defending Islam in Jakarta back in 2016. Of particular interest here is their finding that reveals how Republika and Kompas took side in a distinct way with the protest group.

Nevertheless, studies that specifically adopt Leeuwen's (2005; 2008) socio-semantics in dismantling ideological tendencies of two Indonesia media in portraying a prominent political actor in his/her socio-political actions in a number series of social events are rather sparse. Given that particular reason, through the lens of socio-semantics, the paper fills the void by specifically lookings at how inclusion and exclusion strategies are utilized by the two mass media under examination in presenting Prabowo. In particular, it seeks to address the following questions: (i) How is Prabowo Subianto as the current Indonesian presidential candidate during his presidential candidacy represented through inclusion and exclusion strategies in the selected news reports?; and (ii) What does the representation signify?

METHODS

This study employed a qualitative approach considering that the nature of the qualitative approach is "to understand how meanings are (re)constructed" (Merriam, 2009, p. 13). We adopted Leeuwen's (2005; 2008) social semiotic framework to analyze the data. Specifically, the analysis centered on two key features of Leeuwen's framework, i.e. inclusion, a discursive strategy where a social actor is included into a discourse; and exclusion where a social actor is excluded from discourse. The choice of these two strategies on the part of (news) writers or language producers in general may point to certain tendencies or partialities.

Data came from Republika (www.republika.co.id) and Kompas (www.kompas.com) online sites. Of the primary reason why these two media were chosen is the purported distinctive media's standpoint; Republika is perceived as pro-Islam (presumably in support to Prabowo), whilst Kompas is more nationalist-pluralist (purportedly a government channel), although it is worth noting that they constantly strive to provide a fair and balanced coverage of any political group (Sikumbang, 2015).

A number of key events around the race were identified and five events deemed the milestones in the discourse of the presidential race involving Prabowo Subianto were selected. Therefore, this study took five samples from each media based on the five milestones. To be precise, Table 1 exhibits the text selection.

Table 1. Selected news articles on Prabowo in five political events

No.	Date	Events	News Headlines	
			Republika	Kompas
1	March 22, 2018	Prabowo's speech mentioning Indonesia will no longer exist in 2030	*Prabowo: Pidato 2030 Indonesia Bubar Atas Kajian Intelijen*	*Prabowo Ungkap Pidatonya soal Indonesia Bubar Tahun 2030 atas Kajian Ahli Intelijen*
2	April 11, 2018	Prabowo Presidential Declaration	*Gerindra Resmi Calonkan Prabowo Sebagai Capres*	*Gerindra Beri Mandat Prabowo Maju sebagai Capres*
3	May 1, 2018	Prabowo's speech in Labor's Day	*Ribuan Buruh Hadiri Deklarasi Dukungan ke Prabowo di Istora*	*Didukung Ribuan Buruh KSPI, Prabowo Merasa Dapat Kehormatan Tertinggi*
4	June 22, 2018	Prabowo attendance in West Java Gubernatorial race debate	*Prabowo Hadiri Debat Ketiga Pilgub Jawa Barat*	*Prabowo Hadiri Debat Pilkada Jabar 2018*
5	July 31, 2018	Vice Presidential Picks	*Prabowo Pilih Sandiaga Uno untuk Maju Pilpres 2019*	*Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno Dideklarasi Jadi Capres-Cawapres 2019*

First, in a 1-minute 13-second video uploaded by Gerindra's official account on Twitter, Prabowo Subianto made a speech about the possibility of Indonesia disbanding in 2030. The video then sparked a controversy amid the warming political temperature ahead of the presidential candidate registration. Various circles, both from the government and the opposition, also commented on the speech. For this reason, the Prabowo's

speech was considered as one of the milestones in the pre-campaign towards the presidential race.

Second, the event when Gerindra officially nominates Prabowo is inevitably an important event in the fabric of this discourse. On April 11, 2018, Gerindra officially declared the nomination of Prabowo candidacy. Gerindra's statement, of course, brushed aside all the growing speculations amid the opposition party's attitude in the face of the 2019 presidential election.

Third, it should be noted that issues related to workers, and in many aspects inclusive of farmers, are an important part of political attitudes in Indonesia. This is evidenced by frequent demonstrations by workers related to the wage system. On the commemoration of International Labor Day, 1 May 2018, Prabowo presented in the midst of the mass of KSPI (Confederation of Indonesian Worker Unions). In the event, KSPI declared their support to Prabowo's candidacy. This event is certainly a significant fuel in Prabowo's candidacy.

Fourth, West Java is one of the most important provinces in Indonesia with a population of nearly thirty million and as a buffer for the capital city of Jakarta. Prabowo's movements in the West Java gubernatorial election are certainly an important part of his candidacy. On Friday, June 22, 2018, Prabowo attended the third round of the debate series in the West Java governor election campaign.

Fifth, the most important part of this discourse after the declaration of Prabowo's candidacy, the election of a vice presidential candidate who will accompany Prabowo is clearly a milestone that limits the time span before the registration of presidential and vice presidential candidates. Surprisingly, and against the predictions of many people, on Thursday, August 9, 2018, the leaders of three political parties, namely PKS, PAN, and Gerindra, have decided and mandated Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno to advance as presidential and vice presidential candidates for 2019-2024 service period. The election of Sandiaga Uno, the then Deputy Governor of Jakarta, as the vice presidential candidate is a surprise. In various predictions that appeared before, Sandiaga's name was not taken into account.

In conducting the study of unmasking the media's ideologies on social actors (in this case, Prabowo), van Leeuwen's theory of socio-semantics (2005; 2008) is deemed suitable since it serves as a direct passage to the representation of social actor by providing the categorization that allows and (at the same time) eases the analysis to discover the intention behind the inclusion and exclusion of the social actors.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS
Prior to the analysis, social happenings in the Indonesian presidential race were carefully observed and relevant data from the chosen were marked. It is beyond the objective of the present research to count and find the amount of language phenomena in each text, or the total number. Instead, this study analyzed all sentences, the whole language products of both media, and marked some specific important products to be featured in each part of the analysis. It also synchronized the features of analysis in this study with qualitative research characters.

a. Exclusion
Exclusion is a scheme that is vital in discourse analysis. In van Leeuwen's perspective (2008), exclusion is defined as the process of forming language products by not involving actor/subject in a discourse. The removal of the social actor has specific purposes. The idea is that newsreaders need to criticize the display of an actor/a subject in the texts, whether or not there is an actor with certain discourse strategies missing in the text. There are several strategies for the issue, which are illustrated in the following parts.

1. Passivization
The role of actors in discourse is altered by the use of passive sentences, which structurally conceals the real role played by an actor in an event. This is a common strategy news media employ to report certain events. Based on the results of the analysis, the two media did not robustly employ passivisation to depict Prabowo in Texts 2, 3 and 4. However, in Texts 1 and 5 in each media, the use of passivisation is apparent. In Text 1, Kompas presents the following sentence to portray the coverage of Prabowo's clarification about his speech claiming that Indonesia will no longer exist in 2030.

Kompas portrays Prabowo's clarification by using the passive sentence to emphasize his statement as the topic of the sentence. This is of more interest when comparing Kompas' strategy to Republika's, which prefers to use an active sentence to display the same event as follows.

(1)

...pernyataannya...	***didasarkan***	*pada*	*scenario writing*	*pihak*	*asing.*
His statement	Based	on	scenario writing	party	foreign

"His statement **is based on** foreign party's scenario writing"
(Kompas, Text 1)

(2)

...pidatonya	***mengutip***	*prediksi*	*para ahli*	*di*	*luar negeri.*
His speech	Quote	prediction	experts	in	abroad/foreign

"His speech **quotes** foreign experts' prediction"
(Republika, Text 1)

Comparing (1) and (2) uncovers the two distinct choices the two media picked in reporting the same event. While Republika clearly states that Prabowo 'only quotes' the experts, Kompas uses deletion by using the passive sentence. The same is true in the news of Event 5, the determination of prospective Prabowo's running mate. In Text 5 as seen in (3), Kompas puts the beginning of the narrative of the declaration of the Prabowo and Sandiaga's nomination with a passive sentence.

On the other hand, Republika writes an active sentence to represent the same event in Text 5 as can be seen in (4).

As previously explained, passivization tends to disguise actors from an event. It is worthy of investigation that Kompas decides to use this scheme as exemplified in (1) and (2). In (3), especially, there appears to be a significant actor removal, the side who made the declaration. Kompas tends to put Prabowo as a passive actor who did nothing behind Sandiaga's candidacy. This is different from the active sentence that Republika opts to use, entailing 'the power' of Prabowo. Republika seems to bolster Prabowo Subianto's position as 'the authority holder' who has a decisive say on the selection of Sandiaga Uno, who will accompany him in the 2019 Presidential Election. In contrast, Kompas attempts to put forward 'powerless' Prabowo as the main actor in this discourse because 'he was only declared'.

2. Nominalization

Like passivization, nominalization serves to disguise actors, but in a different way by altering a process (a verb) into a product (a noun). Interestingly, both media do not use this strategy that points to exclusion of any sort. Across the five events analyzed in this study, it does not appear that the use of nominalization schemes significantly shows the exclusion process. Examples (5-6) illustrate this point.

(3)

Prabowo Subianto	dan	Sandiaga Uno	**dideklarasikan**	sebagai	calon	presiden	dan	calon
	and		**Is declared**	as	candidate	president	and	candidate
wakil	presiden	yang	akan	bertarung	dalam	Pilpres 2019.		
vice	president	Which	will	Battle	in	Presidential Election 2019		

"Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno have been declared as the candidates of President and Vice President that will contest in the Presidential election 2019"
(Kompas, Text 5)

(4)

Calon	presiden	Prabowo Subianto	telah	menunjuk	Sandiaga Uno	sebagai
Candidate	president		have	appoint		as

pendampingnya	untuk	maju	pemilihan	presiden	atau	Pilpres 2019.
his companion	to	forward	election	president	of	Presidential Election 2019

"Presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto appointed Sandiaga Uno to be his companion in the incoming presidential election."
(Republika, Text 5)

(5)

...**pencalonan**	Prabowo	sebagai	capres	tersebut	dilakukan	setelah	melalui
nomination		as	President (to be)	the	Done	after	through
proses	panjang	dengan	menyerap	aspirasi	rakyat	dari	berbagai	daerah.
process	long	with	absorb	aspire	people	From	various	regions

"…Prabowo's **nomination** as a presidential candidate was carried out after a long process by absorbing people's aspirations from various regions."
(Republika, Text 2)

(6)

Namun,	hingga	saat	ini	belum	ada	kepastian	mengenai	deklarasi
but	until	moment	this	not yet	exist	determination	regarding	declaration

pencapresan	yang	dilakukan	Prabowo	dalam	Rakornas	Partai Gerindra.
nomination	which	done		in	National coordination meeting	Gerindra Party

"However, until now there has been no **certainty** regarding the **declaration** of presidential candidacy made by Prabowo in the Gerindra National Coordination Meeting."
(Kompas, Text 2)

Both examples do show nominalization used by the two media. Nevertheless, nominalization is presented in clear reference schemes. For example, the word 'nomination' used by Republika in (5) refers to the process of Prabowo nomination by Gerindra and its allied parties. Likewise, the words 'nomination' and 'declaration' in Kompas' example in (6) refer to clear processes. Thus, despite the apparent use of

nominalisation across the texts in question, no findings point to the exclusion process exhibited in the two media.

b. Inclusion

Inclusion of events or groups other than those reported, according to Van Leuween (2008), is a marker that demonstrates how an actor, a group, or an event is represented in a discourse through a number of strategies. This study identified five strategies in the texts under investigation as follows:

(1) differentiation-indifferentiation;
(2) objectification-abstraction;
(3) nomination-categorization;
(4) nomination-identification; and

(5) assimilation-individualization.

The following are detailed explications from each strategy.

1. Differentiation-indifferentiation

Differentiation-indifferentiation is a strategy to make a group or an actor cornered or present another entity, a group or an actor, in a discourse that is considered better. This gives rise to certain prejudices by making boundaries between "our" and "their" side. Examples (7-8) provide pieces of evidence for how Republika (7) and Kompas (8) utilize this strategy.

(7)

Ketua Umum	*Partai Gerindra*	*Prabowo Subianto*	*menghadiri*	*debat*	*publik*	*ketiga*
Chairperson	Gerindra Party		attend	debate	public	Third

pasangan	*calon*	*Gubernur*	*Jawa Barat (Jabar),*
pair	candidate	Governor	West Java

di	*Grand Ballroom Sudirman,*	*Kota Bandung,*	*Jumat (22/6).*
In		Bandung City	Friday (22/6)

Prabowo Subianto	***hadir***	***menggunakan***	***pakaian***	***khasnya,***	***safari***	***coklat.***
	present	using	clothes	trademark	safari	Brown

"Gerindra Party Chairperson Prabowo Subianto attended the third public debate of West Java Governor candidates in the Sudirman Grand Ballroom, Bandung City, Friday (6/22). **Prabowo Subianto was present using his trademark clothing, brown safari.**"
(Republika, Text 4)

(8)

Ketua Umum	*Partai Gerindra,*	*Prabowo Subianto*	*hadir*	*dalam*	*debat*	*publik*
Chairperson	Gerindra Party		present	in	debate	Public

ketiga	*Pilkada*	*Jabar*	*2018*	*yang*	*digelar*
third	Regional Election	West Java		which	Held

di	*Grand Ballroom Sudirman,*	*Jalan Sudirman,*	*Kota Bandung,*	*Jumat (22/6/2018).*
in			Bandung City	Friday (22/6/2018).

"Gerindra Party Chairperson, Prabowo Subianto, was present at the third public debate in the 2018 West Java Regional Election which was held at the Sudirman Grand Ballroom, Jalan Sudirman, Bandung City, Friday (06/22/2018)."
(Kompas, Text 4)

In examples (7) and (8), the two media show different ways of representing Prabowo in Event 4. As can be seen, Republika used a differentiation strategy by presenting a particular type of clothes worn by Prabowo while attending the debate. Meanwhile, Kompas pursued an indifference strategy in reporting the same event.

The different choices the two media made in the use of this strategy suggest that Republika tends to distinguish Prabowo compared to Kompas. In a critical perspective, it can be seen that Republika has a propensity to see Prabowo in a capacity as a special person. This is noteworthy because after the passivation aspect in the exclusion part both examples (7) and (8) highlight the tendency that Republika has a positive attitude in reporting Prabowo Subianto.

2. Objectivation-Abstraction

This discourse scheme relates to the question of whether information about an event or social actor is displayed by giving a clear language or an abstraction. In the two examples below (9-10), the two media attempt to provide a non-abstract picture of Prabowo objectively. Even so, it is clear that one of them tries to abstract the surrounding situation that may affect the readers' perception. To be more specific, (9) and (10) below indicate how the two media report the press release by Ahmad Muzani, the Secretary-General of Gerindra, in Event 1. The bold part shows how both media performed an abstraction in their own unique way.

(9)

Sekretaris Jenderal (Sekjen)	*Partai Gerindra*	*Ahmad Muzani*	*mengatakan,*	*pencalonan*	*Prabowo*
Secretary-General	Gerindra Party		state	Nomination	

sebagai	*capres*	*tersebut*	*dilakukan*	*setelah*	*melalui*
As	Presidential candidate		done	after	Through

proses	***panjang***	***dengan***	***menyerap***	***aspirasi***	***rakyat***	***dari***	***berbagai***	***daerah****.*
process	long	by	absorbing	aspiration	people	from	various	Regions

"The Secretary-General of Gerindra Party Ahmad Muzani said Prabowo's presidential candidacy was carried out after going through a long process **by absorbing the aspirations of the people from various regions.**"
(Republika, Text 2)

(10)

Sekjen	*Partai Gerindra*	*Ahmad Muzani*	*menyatakan,*	***sebanyak***	***34***	***ketua***
Secretary-General	Gerindra Party		say	as many as		chairman

dewan pimpinan daerah (DPD)	***tingkat***	***provinsi***	***dan***	***529***	***ketua***
provincial leadership boards	level	province	and		chairman

dewan pimpinan cabang (DPC)	***tingkat***	***kabupaten****,*
district leadership board	level	Regency

menginginkan	*Prabowo*	*maju*	*sebagai*	*capres.*
want		forward	as	Presidential candidate

"Gerindra Party Secretary-General Ahmad Muzani said, as many as **34 chairmen of the provincial leadership boards (DPD) at the provincial level and 529 heads of the leadership boards (DPC) at the regency level** wanted Prabowo to become a presidential candidate."
(Kompas, Text 2)

As seen in (9) and (10), both media adopted two different strategies. Kompas used an objectivation strategy, while Republika used an abstraction strategy. It should be noted that the abstraction strategy adopted by Republika may mislead the readers because the choice of the word people (*rakyat*) as an abstract form of the leaders of the Gerindra branches may lead to a wide range of perceptions.

The same phenomenon is attested in the news of Event 3. Reporting Prabowo's presence at a KSPI member workers' meeting, both media equally utilized abstraction strategies, but the choice of words made the abstract quality of the two media different, as can be seen in the following examples (11) and (12).

(11)

Ketua Umum	*Gerindra*	*Prabowo Subianto*	*merasa*	*mendapatkan*	*kehormatan*
Chairperson			feel	have	Honor

tertinggi	*karena*	*dipercaya*	*oleh*	***ribuan***	*buruh*
highest	because	trusted	by	**thousand**	Worker

untuk	*maju*	*sebagai*	*calon*	*presiden*	*pada*	*Pilpres 2019.*
to	forward	as	candidate	president	in	presidential election 2019

"Gerindra Chairperson Prabowo Subianto felt he had the highest honor because he is trusted by **thousands of workers** to advance as presidential candidates in the 2019 Presidential Election."
(Kompas, Text 3)

(12)

Belasan	***ribu***	*buruh*	*yang*	*tergabung*	*dalam*	*Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Indonesia (KSPI)*
dozen	**thousand**	worker	which	gather	in	Indonesian Worker Union Confederation

memadati	*area*	*dalam*	*dan*	*lu*	*Istora Senayan*	*Jakarta,*	*Selasa (1/5).*
crowd	Area	in	and	out	Istora Senayan	Jakarta,	Tuesday (1/5).

Dozens of thousands of workers who are members of the Indonesian Worker Union Confederation (KSPI) presented inside and outside Istora Senayan Jakarta, Tuesday (1/5).
(Republika, Text 3)

Republika's decision to use a specific wording that indicates 'large numbers' merits a scrutiny. In Indonesian, dozens of thousands (*belasan ribu*) will certainly give a different psychological impact on the readers, compared to the choice of a thousand (*ribuan*) that Kompas made. Again, this further suggests that

Republika evinces a tendency to project Prabowo as a figure supported by many people, by emphasizing a large number.

3. Nomination - Categorization

In news, social actors often appear together with their categories. This category can be in the form of various types, showing a person's important characteristics, whether religion, social status, physical form, and so on. Kompas, in this regard, exhibited no choices of words and sentences indicating the use of this strategy with significant effects. On the contrary, Republika used this strategy to voice its tendencies as is apparent in (13).

(13)

Pihak	*panitia*	*mengatakan*	*acara*	*inti*	*di*	*Istora Senayan*	*adalah*	*dukungan*
Party	organizer	say	event	main	in		is	support

massa	*buruh*	*KSPI*	*kepada*	*Prabowo Subianto*
mass	labor		To	

sebagai	**presiden**	*pada*	*pemilihan presiden (pilpres) 2019.*
As	**the president**	in	Presidential election 2019

The committee says the main event at Istora Senayan is the KSPI workers-mass support to Prabowo Subianto as **president** in the presidential election (pilpres) 2019.
(Republika Text 3)

From the example above, it appears that Republika already labeled Prabowo as the president, not a presidential candidate. This choice is by no means accidental. Underlyingly, the media possesses certain objectives to meet; one of which is presumably to influence the readers to believe something.

(14)

Mantan	**danjen**	**Kopassus**	*itu*	*mengaku,...*
Ex	General Commander	that		admit

"**The former General Commander of Kopassus** admitted,..."
(Republika, Text 1)

(15)

Ketua Umum	**Partai Gerindra**	*Prabowo Subianto*	*menegaskan,...*
Chairman	Gerindra Party		confirm

"**The Chairperson of Gerindra Party** Prabowo Subianto confirmed, ..."
(Kompas, Text 1)

In the two examples above (14-15), it can be seen how the two media discriminate Prabowo's social roles in their texts. While Republika refers to the role of Prabowo in the past, as a general commander of Kopasus (Indonesian elite military corps), Kompas tends to stick to Prabowo's current role as the chairman of Gerindra.

From a critical point of view, it can be interpreted that both media have specific purposes and objectives in their schemes. Whereas Republika tends to show Prabowo's important role in the past military career: as a soldier, Kompas emphasizes Prabowo's current role as a politician, a chairman of an active political party.

4. Nomination - Identification

In this scheme, there are two propositions, whereby the second proposition functions as an explanation or description of the first proposition. The following exemplify this point.

5. Assimilation - Individualization

This discourse scheme questions the clarity of the category of social actors who are the subject of news. The following two examples show how Kompas and Republika mentioned the parties present at the official announcement of Prabowo and Sandiaga's duet nomination in Event 5.

(16)

Kemudian sejumlah tokoh juga hadir, **Amien Rais, Sudirman Said, Fuad Bawazier, Rachmawati Soekarnoputri**, dan tokoh lainnya.

"Then a number of figures were also present, **Amien Rais, Sudirman Said, Fuad Bawazier, Rachmawati Soekarnoputri**, and other figures."
(Republika, Text 5)

(17)
Jumpa pers tersebut dihadiri elite Partai Gerindra, PKS, PAN, **dan para pendukung**.

"The press conference was attended by Gerindra Party elites, PKS, PAN, **and supporters**."
(Kompas, Text 5)

In the two examples above, both the media refer to the presence of some Prabowo's supporter-figures. While Republika performed the individualization strategy by mentioning some respected figures, Kompas used the assimilation strategy by simply mentioning 'supporters' (*para pendukung*). The strategy used by Republika seems to emphasize that a certain number of eminent political figures support Prabowo. Conversely, Kompas does not consider the presence of the figures.

c. Prabowo Subianto as the Social Actor
Analysis in the previous section indicates the exclusion and inclusion strategies are used throughout the texts concerning Prabowo's candidacy. This section clarifies what has been discussed in the data analysis related to the process of exclusion and inclusion. In this section, the focus is on pursuing an analysis on Prabowo, as the social actor, and actions contained in the texts.

The discourse of Prabowo's candidacy in Republika's and Kompas' news, as well as in other media, in essence, is a part of a larger discourse that developed in the society. Thus, a study of discourse in media needs to include a review of the literature and other materials to see the process of production and reproduction of discourse, as well as to see how the discourse is raised again in the news. In the perspective of CDA, an analysis of the social conditions of the people places three important things. In van Dijk's (1998, pp. 26-27) they include power, domination, and access. In the view of van Leeuwen's (2005, p. 109), the coverage mainly lies in legitimation and authorization. This study has found several exclusion and exclusion schemes in the narrative of the both media's news coverage. Some of the findings that have been elaborated in the previous sections have shown some indications regarding Prabowo's representation as the main actor in this discourse.

First, the legitimation aspect can be seen in some findings illustrated in passivization and nominalization of the exclusion schemes. For instance, example (1) and (2) principally show the coverage Prabowo's claim. In this case, Republika clearly legitimized Prabowo's speech by using an active sentence that the speech is based on experts' opinion. Conversely, Kompas portrayed the phenomenon in an ordinary view; it did not emphasize the source of Prabowo's quote. Instead, Kompas used the concept of deletion by using passive sentences. A similar phenomenon can be found in the comparison of examples (3) and (4), where Republika legitimized Prabowo's 'power', compared to Kompas that placed Prabowo in a passive position.

Second, the inclusion schemes exposed authorization by some marks made by both media. The five schemes found in this study, (1) differentiation-indifferentiation, (2) objectification-abstraction, (3) nomination- categorization, (4) nomination- identification, and (5) assimilation-individualization, dismantle how the two media news are associated with Prabowo Subianto. Examples (7) and (8) especially imply that Republika has a tendency to authorize Prabowo, compared to Kompas. As previously mentioned, in a critical perspective, it can be seen that Republika has a propensity to perceive Prabowo as a special person.

The organization of legitimation and authorization performed by each media reflects the tendencies in viewing Prabowo Subianto as the social actor of the discourse. Republika puts larger legitimation and authorization to the figure of Prabowo in their news. On the other hand, Kompas tends to play down Prabowo.

CONCLUSION
Based on the data and analysis in the previous section, a number of crucial conclusions regarding the representation of Prabowo Subianto during the presidential race in two media, Republika and Kompas can be drawn. First, this study concludes that both media have non-neutral tendencies. Although it is their obligation to carry out the journalistic code of ethics, their language products show sympathy and defense of the subject, in this case Prabowo Subianto, within their news related to certain events. The different choices of language products can be interpreted as a form of semiosis of language production, which is related to the purpose of the media with the subject of the news, as stated by van Leeuwen (2008). In this case, the Republika tends to side with Prabowo's campaign; and Kompas tends to oppose.

Second, the coverage of Kompas and Republika related to the Prabowo's campaign in Indonesian presidential race shows that both media have a hidden agenda related to their non-neutral reporting. In the form of values, orientation, and tendencies, both media have an ideological tendency to defend or to offend the subject, Prabowo Subianto. This is evidently reflected in the news texts that they report. The tendency of each media is obvious in their ways of representing Prabowo through a variety of discourse strategies in their news texts.

As an implication, these above results amplify a long-held premise that, to some extent, media's values, tendencies or ideological stances appear to be an underlying factor in portraying an individual and his/her action in the society in a certain way, which in turn may influence public perceptions.

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