How is Indonesian Presidential Election Represented in Online Newspapers?

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Abstract—**This study was aimed at picturing the tendency of political issue produced by eight Indonesian online newspapers. Computer-assisted critical discourse analysis (CACDA) was applied. Corpus based linguistics analysis was employed to unveil the frequency of words in 16 different articles as the representation of lexical tendency of journalist. In addition, descriptive study was utilized in uncovering the socio-cognitive context of the token conducted by the eight-online newspaper. The articles contained the issue related to Ulama, electability survey, the team of campaign, and enhancing image of the candidates. As the result, the most frequent word was represented by the word "Prabowo" with 72 words and 1.1759% appearances. From 72 words, the concordance of the words were dominated by the negative statements with 30 sentences. Further, the token was mostly represented in negative social context. Therefore, the tendency of online media toward Indonesian political issues is the representation of one figure of candidates negatively.**

Keywords—computer-assisted critical discourse analysis; Indonesian political issue; socio-cognitive; Indonesian online newspaper; representation

I. INTRODUCTION

Given that presidential election in Indonesia has been held in the following year, a lot of Indonesian people still need amount of information and report regarding strength and weakness of each candidate. This is clearly seen by some surveys that the proportion for candidate election remains unstable [1]. Seeing this, the voters need every single updated information, contributing to their consideration in determining the eligible candidate for the next five year. The related report from others will be helpful for them to record, collect, compare, then finally refer to One Name.

However, the information as claimed prominent to acquire is always directed to some negative issues of candidates since the Indonesian president election has been glaring in this end of year [1,2]. In Indonesian context, the candidates have been depicted as the solution in answering the issues. Particularly, they were labelled as the representative of Ulama and millennial who will presumably be sensitive in understanding and fighting for Muslim and young voters' right. Thus, those have brought the heater for the contest.

In managing the issues, as the persuasion to gain the voters, media is the important machine which set the voters perception since it can be categorised as the "government's vain". Fairclough and Fairclough argue that either positive or negative issue preserve government's power in gaining 'the market share' [3]. This vital role of media has been realised since both candidates preserving the representatives who are in charge in controlling media involving highlight or even weaken the issue due to the targeted readers. This tendency appears since the reporting of negative issues is a strategy to weaken the rivals.

In building voters' perspective, from the two mode of newspapers, online media is categorized as the proper mode since it is rapid and widely spread in driving readers' meaning-making [4]. One information can be made in such short time and sent in seconds. Further, the report is widely open accessed by readers and is easily shared to the social media line. As people tend to create their conclusion based on the social information they read or hear, online media is the sharp tool to control the readers' mind-set which is in line with the needs of political influence.

Due to the significance of media, necessarily the voters comprehend the tendency of media in composing and delivering the information through its representation. Particularly, the representation of media can be seen from the lexical choice that frequently applied in such topic of issues as a corpus linguistic [5,6]. This due to the fact that the word frequently given will attract the readers' thought [7-9].This means that the frequent word existed is the window in gaining idea and tendency of the media which build readers' perception.

Further, the way media in representing the information should be counted as in critical analysis of discourse in terms of critical discourse analysis study [10-12]. The critical discourse analysis is focused on how the language is formed from social relation and such specific social context [3]. This is due to the reason that the strategy is used to propose the intention meaning as the end line. The representation theory cannot provide the accurate picture of the world since it has just the role of representation in use, particularly in fading the knowledge or identity [13].

Regarding identity, the socio-cognitive in terms of multi-level analysis involves three different analysis [14]; micro, meso, and macro. First, micro is the range of analysis which uncover the local or semantic meaning. In addition, the textual context is also significantly needed to address since it has

support to the meaning of the frequent word. The argument is the collocation involved in a clause control the intended semantic meaning [15]. This means, the word before and after flavour the frequent word in delivering message to the readers. Second, meso is a practical analysis of discourse which contains of text production of media and consumption by the society as the readers. Third, the thematic meaning covers the whole meaning involved. This means the analysis should be based on the context of language in use.

Regarding the solution above, the combination of both theories, Computer-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis (CACDA) [5,6,8,16], 2008, is the newest trend in analysing the representation of media which set the software as the instrument. This can be used to address social issues in mass media discourse and their related sociocultural and cognitive aspects [17].

Numerous related corpus-based and discourse analysis studies have been conducted in couple of years which set media text as the object. 40% of the papers were published in the leading journal Discourse and Society based on media texts [18]. Specifically, in Indonesian context, representation in e-paper has been regarded by Haider [19], Hidayat [20], Ayatullah [21].

Different fields of corpus analysis have also been conducted involving lexicography [22], syntax [23], cognitive linguistics [24], and applied linguistics [25]. Further, CACDA has been applied by Waskita [1], Baker et al [6]. Thus, analysing the representation of political issue on specific context is still rare. In filling the gap, this study focused on analysing the Indonesian political issue through the newest blended framework Computer-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis (CACDA).

Both quantitative and qualitative were employed in this study. First, quantitative in terms of corpus based linguistics was applied in uncovering the most frequently word that appear in all articles. Second, qualitative in terms of descriptive study was utilized to reveal the socio-cognitive aspect of representation in picturing the information related to the political issues covering three aspects; micro, meso, and macro [14].

The framework of the Computer-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis (CACDA) has been modified into specific type where the word token is the centre of the meaning-making as illustrated below.
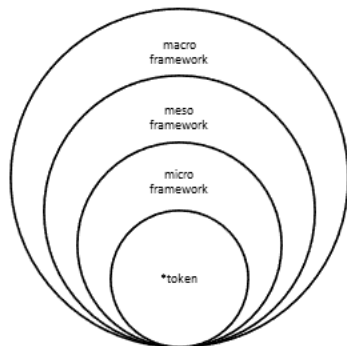

Fig. 1. Meaning-making framework (Adapted from Fairclough, 1989).

As the source of data, regarding the top newspaper site in Alexa Rank, a California-based subsidiary company of Amazon.com providing commercial web traffic data gathered via various toolbars and web browser extensions, 8 online newspapers were randomly chosen based on their frequent appearances on the indexed web page of Google involving Tempo.com, SindoNews.com, Kompas.com, DetikNews.com, CNN Indonesia, Viva, Media Indonesia, and Liputan6.com. Specifically, the data were limited to two updated articles from every single online newspaper in the range of 27-30 September 2018. This covered the theme of *the campaign team, the candidates' supporters, ulama and Muslim voters, electability and survey, campaign, and enhancing the candidates' image and the new Prabowo.*

TABLE I. DATA SOURCE

No.	Title	Topic	Online Newspaper	Date
1.	15 Menteri Jadi Timses Jokowi, Ini Kekhawatiran Gerindra	the campaign team	Liputan6.com	28 Sep 2018, 20:12 WIB
2.	Menteri Jadi Jurkam Jokowi, PKB: Bawaslu Silakan Awasi	the campaign team	Liputan6.com	28 Sep 2018, 18:14 WIB
3	Pengaruh Keluarga Eks Presiden di Pusaran Jokowi dan Prabowo	The candidates' supporters	Tim, CNN Indonesia	Saturday, 29/09/2018 05:08 WIB
4	Poros Prabowo-Sandi Sebut Etika Jokowi Rendah	The candidates' supporters	Tim, CNN Indonesia	Sabtu, 29/09/2018 05:39 WIB
5	PPP Tegaskan Mbah Moen Tetap Dukung Jokowi Meski Didatangi Prabowo	*Ulama (Muslim voters)*	Elza Astari Retaduari – detikNews	Sat, (29/9/2018)
6	Prabowo Sowan ke Mbah Moen, Golkar Yakin Suara NU Solid Dukung Jokowi	*Ulama (Muslim Voters)*	Faiq Hidayat – detikNews	Sat, (29/9/2018)
7	Tim Kampanye Jokowi-Ma'ruf 5.279 Orang, Prabowo-Sandiaga 94 Orang	the campaign team	Yoga Sukmana Kompas.com	28/09/2018, 09:50 WIB
8	Sekjen PDI-P Sebut Tim Prabowo Gunakan Jasa Konsultan Asing	the campaign team	Reza Jurnaliston Kompas.com	28/09/2018, 21:54 WIB
9	Survei Indikator: Elektabilitas Jokowi 24% Di Atas Prabowo	survey and electability	M Sholahadhin Azhar- Media Indonesia	Wed, 26 Sep 2018, 16:20 WIB

Table 1.Cont.

No.	Title	Topic	Online Newspaper	Date
10	Survei LSI: Jokowi Unggul di Facebook, Prabowo Unggul di Twitter dan Instagram	survey and electability	Thomas Harming Suwarta-Media Indonesia	Wed, 05 Sep 2018, 18:30 WIB
11	Makna di Balik Kaus #01 Pemberian Jokowi	campaign	Rakhmatulloh SINDONews	Thu, 27 September 2018 - 19:52 WIB
12	Relawan Prabowo-Sandi Diimbau Kedepankan Kampanye Santun	campaign	Saiful Munir SINDONews	Sun, 30 September 2018 - 06:32 WIB
13	Begini Cara Golkar Poles Ma'ruf Amin untuk Saingi Sandiaga	branding and building candidates image	Reporter: Friski Riana Editor: Ninis Chairunnisa Tempo.com	Sat, 29 September 2018 14:31 WIB
14	Survei: Sandiaga Unggul Empat Aspek Dibanding Ma'ruf Amin	branding and building candidates image	Reporter: Friski Riana Editor: Amirullah Tempo.com	Rabu, 26 September 2018 16:35 WIB
15	Prabowo dan AHY Hadiri Perayaan HUT RRC, Apresiasi Hubungan RI-China	international power	ViVa.com	Thursday, 27 September 2018	23:16 WIB
16	Timses Jokowi Sindir Prabowo Lagi Digoda China	international power	ViVa.com	Sunday, 30 September 2018	12:03 WIB

II. RESULTS

The data analysis of this study was started from the analysis of word frequency that appear in 16 (sixteen) articles from eight different online newspapers. The analysis was employed through the Monoconc Pro software that is depicted on the table below.

TABLE II. FREQUENCY AND LEXICAL LIST FROM 16 ARTICLES

Count	Frequency in percentage	Word
72	1.5776%	Prabowo
57	1.2489%	Jokowi
54	1.1832%	Itu
54	1.1832%	Ma'ruf
47	1.0189%	Presiden
41	0.8983%	Dalam
41	0.8983%	Persen
39	0.8545%	Dengan
38	0.8326%	Dari
37	0.8107%	Sandiaga
…	…	…

In accordance, the highest appearance was shown by the word "*Prabowo*" since this emerged for 72 times. The second and third domination were the word "*Jokowi*" with 57 and "*Ma'ruf*" with 54 words.

From the result above, those three dominant words were categorized and displayed as proper noun (Prabowo, Jokowi, and Ma'ruf). Evidently, those names were centered in every single article. This means, the name of the candidates becomes the priority to be discussed in Indonesian political issue.

A. Micro

As in qualitative analysis, the first analysis was from micro analysis related to the sentence context of the word "prabowo", it was set in three different categories of sentence context; positive, neutral, and negative. From 72 sentences, the appearance of the word "Prabowo" was dominated by the negative sentence context with 30 sentences, 41%. This is followed by the 22 neutral sentences with 31%, and 20 positive sentences with 28% as illustrated below.
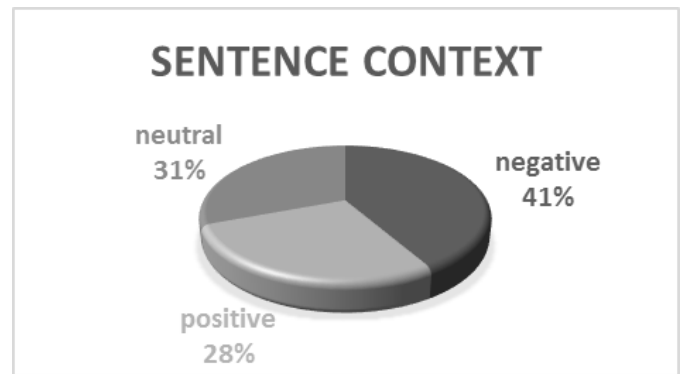

Fig. 2. Micro analysis percentage.

For instance, the word "Prabowo" in the sentence "*Pada Juli, Jokowi mendapat 59,9 persen suara dari responden, sementara [[Prabowo]] mendapat 32,1 persen*". This shows the comparative condition between candidates' survey. In this sentence, the priority word was "Jokowi" with its higher percentage response from respondent. This means, the electability of the word "Prabowo" was categorized as smaller than the opponent. Thus, the word Prabowo was in negative sentence context.

The neutral example was shown by the sentence "*Sebelumnya, Capres [[Prabowo]] Subianto sowan ke kediaman KH Maimoen Zubair atau yang akrab disapa Mbah Moen, Sabtu (29/9)*". This sentence represented the word "Prabowo" as the subject who did the social boundary. It is shown by the verb "sowan" (come) and the existence of the proper name "KH Maimoen Zubair" who is in the opponent circle. This means, the word "Prabowo" is placed in the neutral condition of the election campaign.

Put differently, the example of the positive were also represented by the sentence "*Selain keluarga Cendana, keluarga Presiden RI ke-6 Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) juga merapat ke [[Prabowo]]-Sandi*". From this sentence, the

positive sentence can be seen from the word "merapat" which means support to Prabowo was also given by the sixth Indonesian president.

From those samples, all of the representation were depicted by the name of the candidates as the topic. This can be seen from the three proper names as the highest number of word frequency in 16 articles from 8 different newspapers. The different is in the classification of the lexical meaning of the sentences involved. This is presumably influenced by the perspective of the authors since they have different interest and background knowledge in justifying the issue related to the topic and the proper name concerned.

B. Meso

Meso analysis resulted that the influence of media in delivering the text and the online newspaper. As its characteristics, the online media concerned were involved as the group of the highest readers' rate since those appeared in the first page of Google. Even though they are in the same line, they have different market readers. As the example, the market readers of detik.com, the 8th rank of popular website as a part of Trans Media, is approximately 16 million views per day. It does not only emerge on their official website, but it is also integrated with the social media column as in Twitter. This condition influences Indonesian readers in interpreting the issue, particularly political issue. They might be interested in reading the issue since it is easily accessed. Further, by the readers' intention in reading, they may share their reading to others, for instance retweeting the issue they think important to share.

The next influence is the existence of the owners' ideology. This plausibly intrigue the media position toward the issue since the owners have political tendency. This means that the position tended to create the issues which were argumentatively delivered rather than the report. This is seen from the tendency on which person who is interviewed or quoted related to the political issues.

As the example, one of the ideology of the media owner is represented by Surya Paloh (Media Indonesia). His ideology and power in directing the goal of political issue has similar concern with his position as the former man in the inner circle of one candidate. By this condition, the subjectivity of every single issue released can be categorised either naturally emerge from his ideology or presumably set based on the needs of the circle.

C. Macro

The third analysis, macro analysis, showed that the word "Prabowo" was set in such various context in accordance with the topics *the campaign team, the candidates' supporters, Ulama and Muslim voters, electability and survey, campaign, and enhancing the candidates' image and the new Prabowo.* Basically, in the topic of survey and electability, it was placed in negative context. This was resulted since the articles tended to represent another proper noun (Jokowi) has higher numbers of electability. This context was represented by the appearance of social media, embracing Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, as the parameters in predicting voters' consideration. The

articles plotted the word Prabowo as the winner in two social media involved, Twitter and Instagram. Naturally, this implied that the word Prabowo has higher number of voters. However, the articles flung the implication by the fact that though the word Prabowo win the survey in two different social media, both social media users are still lower than Facebook. This means, the articles represented "Prabowo" as the candidate who has less supporters.

Further, the evidence was also coming from the articles with *Ulama* as the topic. The articles reposted the condition of "prabowo" who came to Mbah Moen, the influenced person in one of big Muslim basis in Indonesia. The action of Prabowo to visit Mbah Moen implied a message that he is a part of big Muslim basis in Indonesia which plausibly attract Muslim voters. The articles, however, put the opponent perception and interpretation toward the action of Prabowo. They interpreted that in spite of Prabowo's coming, the support of Mbah Moen is still into Jokowi's side since they argue that the name of Jokowi's vice president candidate, Ma'ruf Amien, is the command of Mbah Moen. Thus, the articles set the message that what Prabowo did is either useless or meaningless.

Strongly related to the involvement of international consultant team of Prabowo and the survey, the image of "The New Probowo" was sounded. However, the opponent argued that the implication of that new self-image can be categorised meet the failure. It is due to the evidence of survey that it has not given significant changes or improvement toward their electability.

Further, the topic that shows the negative context was presented by the presence of Prabowo and Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (the first son of the sixth Indonesian President) in celebrating the independence day of China at one of hotel in Jakarta. This might be preserved as the reverse context since the phrase "anti-china" has been labelled to them. One of the opponent team, Inas (*Hanura Party*), indicated that Prabowo needs China's power. He was afraid of the political appointment built negative climate to the contestation.

From the six different topics of political issue, there are five negative context applied to picture the token. Further, there is only one neutral context in depicting the token. As the next point, there is no positive context that support the token. This means the context used by journalist in representing the token was dominated by negative context.

III. DISCUSSION

Lined up with results above, formerly, the finding showed that the most frequent word token was "Prabowo". Grammatically, Prabowo is the proper name of the candidates in Indonesian presidential election for 2019. This finding was in line with Waskita who analysed the representation of Indonesian president candidates in e-paper [1]. His study found that the dominant or frequent word token were Jokowi and Prabowo (the proper name). Further, Ayatullah also found the similar types of noun that is proper name [21]. The study of representation related to the corruption case of *Hambalang*, the athlete dormitory, found Anas Urbaningrum as the frequent word token in every mass media. This means, the red line of

the representation of the political related issue was dominated by mentioning the name of the figure in charge.

The trend towards the strategy in presenting the token particularly has different characteristics. Interestingly, Waskita found the concordance of the tokens in contentious were relatively different [1]. The representation of Jokowi was composed with such positive adjectives involving unpretentious, calm, anti-corruption, not radical, hard worker, have a big influence, nationalist and *Marhaenis*, reformist, and anti-mainstream. Put differently, the representation of Prabowo was fitted with such various adjectives covering ex-general, son in law of *Soeharto* (the authoritarian president who ruled for decades [26], kidnapper of students' activist, the cause of local-Chinese ethnic chaos, disliked by America, and ultranationalist. In comparison, the second token, Prabowo, has number of negative labels.

In regard with that, the representation of the word token in this study, Prabowo, was found has similar characteristic as in 2014 political news trend [1,26]. It was pictured that in the six different topics of political issue, five of them were negative and neutral for the rest. It means that the negative label of the token was still attached.

In consonance with the condition, formerly, Fowler argued that it must be caused by the power of the leader in controlling the other behaviour [27]. Hence, Fairclough stated that there are two concept of leader 1) the unequal position between tenors in discourse and (2) the unequal capacity in controlling how discourse is produced, distributed, and consumed in socio-cultural context [28]. Thus, it becomes reasonable since the condition of the token, which is categorised as a challenger, is in the minor power condition.

IV. CONCLUSION

To conclude, there are two results in this study. First, from 16 articles of 8 online newspapers published on 27-29 September 2018, the frequent word was "Prabowo". The word token appeared 72 times in 72 sentences with % as the frequency. Second, the appearance of the frequent word token was uncovered by three aspects of representation theory. As the basic sentence meaning, 1) the micro analysis of the frequent word depicted three categories of sentence; negative, neutral, and positive. The negative sentence context appeared with 30 sentences which are followed by 22 neutral sentences and 20 positive sentences. In other words, the token was mostly utilised in negative sentence meaning. In addition, 2) the meso analysis portrayed that the media took their political stance in a big portion since most of them used the purposive source who has similar tendency of their political thought. In regard with the broaden context of analysis, 3) the macro analysis, from different political topics showed that there are only two types of context in representing the token; five negative context and one neutral context. This means that, the domination of the political issue in 27-29 September 2018 was the negative issue of the token.

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