Presentation of Social Actor on the Claim of 2019 Presidential Election Winner in Indonesia

Abdul Rahman[1], & Ma'mun Murod Al-Barbasy[2]
[1]Faculty of Communication Mercu Buana University, Indonesia
[2]Faculty of Social and Political Science Muhammadiyah University Jakarta, **Indonesia**
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Abstract

In the 2019 Indonesian Legislative General Election and Presidential Election, two parties in competition, Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno, have claimed their victory. The victory of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin was based on the results that had been issued by several independent polling agencies, while the victory of Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno was claimed by the department of internal survey agency within their campaign team as the National Board of Victory (BPN, Badan Pemenangan Nasional). This situation caught the public attention quite massively at that time. One of the national newspapers, Kompas, even made a special report on the claim of victories between the two pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidate. In relation to the statement, the study aims at analysing and describing the strategy of presenting the social actors through the process of exclusion and inclusion within the claims of victory. In conducting the study, the researchers rely on the use of constructivism paradigm with primary data sources in the form of five news items and secondary data sources in the form of books, online news items, and relevant journal articles and reports. In gathering these data, the researchers have implemented the documentation study and also the literature study. In the meantime, for analysing the data, the researchers have implemented the Leeuwen's discourse analysis model that consists of exclusion and inclusion. Thus, the results of the study show that: 1) there are passivation, nominalization, and substitution of clauses within the news items; and (2) the inclusion process is carried out through the strategy of determination, abstraction, assimilation, association, and differentiation.

Keyword: Critical discourse analysis, news, elections, construction of social reality, media political economy, Kompas Daily

1. Introduction

The 2019 Indonesian Legislative Election and President Election was held simultaneously on April 17th, 2019. During the administration of the election, the part that had caught the wide public attention was the results of the presidential election, which were attained from the quick count results from several independent polling agencies officially registered in the General Elections Commission. These quick count results were later published by numerous national mass media. Based on the quick count results from nine independent polling agencies namely

Litbang Kompas, Indo Barometer, Charta Politika, Poltracking Indonesia, Indikator Politik Indonesia, SMRC, LSDI Denny JA, CSIS, Cyrus Network, and Median, the pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin had won the 2019 Presidential Election with percentage approximately 53 to 55% against the pair Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. However, these results were not official since the General Elections Commission recapitulated the votes on a gradual basis at the national level. Afterward, the Commission should define the official results by May 22nd, 2019, as the deadline for the announcement of the national vote recapitulation (Gatra, 2019).

Completely different than the quick count results, after the end of the voting on April 17th, 2019, the pair Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno claimed themselves as the winner of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election with the total percentage of victory 62%. Through the press conference that had been held with the high-ranking officials from the National Board of Victory (BPN, Badan Pemenangan Nasional) for Prabowo-Sandi, the claim of their victory was based on the internal calculation of their own board. The declaration of victory was held again by the pair Prabowo Soebianto-Sandiaga Uno on April 18th, 2019, in the evening. In other words, the pair Prabowo Soebianto-Sandiaga Uno had declared their victory twice despite the fact that the quick count results from several independent polling agency had indicated that the pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin had been the victor of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. Then, in order to get even with the pair Prabowo Soebianto-Sandiaga Uno, the National Campaign Team, the team that held the massive campaign activities and rallies for gathering supports toward the pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin, took similar action: they decided that the pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin had been the official winner of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. According to Moeldoko, the Vice Chief of the National Campaign team, this claim was based by the quick count results that had been issued by 12 scientifically credible quick count agencies. This claim had been considered as the appreciation of both the supporters and the public to the pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. The mutual claim between both parties started to cause the polemic over the national mass media and it even continued to the claim of fraud within the election. Unfortunately, this claim of fraud rolled down to the society, stirring a massive commotion among the national news media.

In turn, almost all national mass media had referred to the mutual claim between both pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidate, resulting the political-laden news items. According to McQuail (2005, p.18), media provides the space for debate and becomes a set of channels for politicians, candidates, political parties, interest groups, and public; at the same time, media also become the means of publicity and influence for the political actors. In addition, instead of providing information, media serves as the autonomous actor within the political process. The power of media becomes the social strength that appears in the public domain (Coudry & Curran, 2003, p.4). Media indeed has the power in influencing the public opinion; consequently, media hold an important role in legitimating power on the behalf of the public interest (Vania : 2021).

Media has the capacity to channel the flow of information, knowledge, and visualization toward phenomena and realities. Furthermore, media holds certain kind of power to influence the social structure and to intervene the conflict of interest. Therefore, sometimes media are criticized because they are vulnerable to the manipulation by the dominant groups, as having

been stated by Yuksel (2013, p.65): a set of opportunities and obstacles for the active role of the media depend on the political system, the media, and the economy in which the media takes participation in the attainment of power, strategy, and strong motivation. Thus, media becomes the tool of power domination in which the political system also play the role in influencing the media policy.

Referencing Terri L Towner 4 (2013: 528)the using of media mass is a positive predictor from political participationn, and how media map has changed , internet plays the role that is biggen and prominent in politic. The part of observer gives big internet role as a tool that can help the democracy proses to give expos to the sociaty of political information (Budianto 2020). This reality has caused the presence of power dominance in turning media into the tool for legitimating the power such as the one that has been found in the claim of victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. Such claim has shown the huge role that the media can play in the legitimation of power. According to the political economic view of the media, the presence of power is shown in the form of the capacity that regulates the media performance from both the power that has the direct political interest within the government structure and the opposition and the other entity that has the capacity to control the society. Sudibyo (2000, p.120) suggests that the political economic approach of the media is assumed to be influenced by the external power of the media caretakers. The media caretakers are not considered as active entities but, instead, the media caretakers are limited by numerous structures that urge them to deliver news in certain ways. As a consequence, media caretakers are considered unable to voice their personal approach. On the contrary, is it the external power of the media that defines what should be performed and what should be delivered.

Power dominance is also cynically targeted to the other role of the media. In this occasion, power dominance is able to turn media into the tool that establishes reality. News in mass media is produced not only for portraying the reality but also serving as the results of the construction itself. Therefore, mass media are considered as the agent of construction that defines reality. Through numerous instruments under disposal, media take participation in shaping the reality that has been presented into the news. The facts that have been contained in the news have seemed to be filtered since mass media are considered to be able to construct the social reality, as having been suggested by Eriyanto (2008, p.36): mass media is not merely a tool that delivers messages but also a subject that constructs reality complete with its view, bias, and partiality. There is a strong factor that mass media tends to absorb the readers into certain events through the use of the language that can lead the readers' opinion to the desire of the given newspaper. Thus, it can be implied that the readers have been provided with the pathway that has been arranged since language is a very strong tool in shaping the public opinion.

In this regard, mass media become the shaper of the reality. As a result, reality is not shaped as it is but, instead, reality is shaped, arranged, and selected in order to display the priority of the news that has been delivered. Once again, through numerous instruments under disposal, media takes participation in shaping the reality that has been displayed in the news. The facts that have been contained in the news are already filtered, as having been suggested by Chomsky (2006, p.5): the facts over the mass media are merely the results of reconstructions and manipulations by the editors in chief. Although these editors in chief have worked by

implementing the techniques of precision, still people are unable to state that what they have written have the tendency upon the real facts.

The disclosure through the critical discourse analysis is able to portray that media can be interpreted through the critical discourse analysis. The fundamental understanding of the critical discourse analysis is that discourse cannot be understood merely as an object of language study because the context of language in the critical discourse analysis is used for the sake of the ideological objective and practice, as having been suggested by Eriyanto (2008, p.6) with regards to the position of language in critical discourse analysis: language in critical view is understood as the representation that plays role in shaping certain subjects, certain discourse themes, and even certain strategies within. Fairclough & Wodak (in Eriyanto, 2008, p.7) mention that critical discourse analysis deals with how language ca cause the existing social groups to fight for their own ideology.

Critical discourse analysis strives to show which context that represent social actors as the agent and as the patient; however, the sociological agency of the actor is not always manifested by the linguistic agency and the grammatical role of the agency. The sociological agency can also be realized in numerous ways such as the use of possessive pronoun or preposition (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.23). Social actors can be well represented both in terms of unique identity and of function that they share with other people. Once again, it is always interesting to investigate which social actors that have been categorized and which social actors that have been nominated within the discourse (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.40).

Back to the case of the claim over the victory within the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election, the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association and the G-Communications released the results of their research toward the news items from three print media and three online media namely Kompas, Republika, Jawa Pos, Detik.com, Kompas.com, and Antaranews.com. The research, which had been conducted throughout March 2019, analysed the contents of 1,681 news items in relation to the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election toward the six media and these contents were organized into three topics namely: Candidate Pair Number 01, Candidate Pair Number 02, and General. Qualitatively, the contents of the news items about the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election within the six media had been neutral (Prabowo, 2019). This is the reason why the researchers decided to investigate the news items of Kompas and compare these news items to those of Republika and Jawa Pos, which had been inclined to the political attitude of the owners.

There is a good example over the case that can be found from the history of Indonesia alone. In 1964, President Soekarno urged the Catholic Party to establish print media in the form of newspaper and it explained why most of the journalists from Intisari weekly magazine had been recruited. Then, some of the Catholic leading figures held a meeting with several representatives from the hierarchical elements of the Bishops' Conference of Indonesia Supreme Council (MAWI, Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia), the Catholic Party (Partai Katolik), the Association of Indonesian Catholic Students (PMKRI, Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Katolik Republik Indonesia), the Youth of Catholic (Pemuda Katolik), and the Women of Catholic (Wanita Katolik). In this meeting, it was agreed that Bentara Rakyat Foundation would be established and later the Foundation would issue a newspaper entitled Bentara

Rakyat. Based on the feedback from President Soekarno, the name of Bentara Rakyat was changed into Kompas. Unfortunately, due to the September 30th, 1965, incident, some newspapers, including Kompas, were banned based on the Decree of the Regional War Executor (Pepelrada, Pelaksana Perang Daerah) because it was worried that these newspapers would take side with the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI, Partai Komunis Indonesia). Over the course of the time, from January 21st until February 5th, 1978, Kompas was banned again for the second time. Eventually, Kompas was in operation again in 1982 but at this time Kompas had already been under Kompas Media Nusantara Company.

Nowadays, Kompas is available in print media and also in digital newspaper that can be accessed through kompas.id. Kompas has claimed that it has over 2 million readers with the greatest number of circulation 530,000 exemplar everyday throughout all provinces in Indonesia. The vision of Kompas is "To Become an Institution that Enlightens the Development of the Democratic and Dignified Indonesian Society and to Uphold the Principles and the Values of Humanity." Throughout the history in the press industry, with its vision Kompas takes participation in developing the new society of Indonesia based on Pancasila through the principles of transcendental humanism (unity in diversity) by respecting individuals and society under the values of justice and prosperity.

The background of Kompas and the principles of democracy that Kompas has been holding onto at least become one of the assumptions that makes the company associated with political support. In the present times, the issues of both religion and ideology have been a hot issue especially around the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. Despite the situation, according to Eriyanto (2008, p.23) media with its critical view shows the dominance over who controls the media, why media has been controlled, what the benefits that can be harnessed from controlling the media area, and which group that becomes the object of control. The social actors that are portrayed in the critical view will be associated with the interest of dominance in which politics have been the existing means for the dominance.

Because of this situation, the researchers would like to implement the critical discourse analysis in order to be more able to understand the role of the social actors that have been portrayed in the news items as part of the process of power dominance by the media. Theo Van Leeuwen has introduced a model of discourse analysis for detecting and researching how the position of an individual or a group has been marginalized in a discourse. In addition, this model of discourse analysis is useful for describing how the dominant group has taken control in interpreting an event and its meaning while the dominated group has inclined to continually serve as the object of meaning under poor description. In this regard, one of the important agents in defining a group is media. Through the news items that have been continuously delivered, media indirectly shapes the awareness and the understanding inside the mind of the public with regards to a topic. The discourse that has been shaped by the media is possible to legitimate an object or a group and to delegitimate and even to marginalize another group.

The model that Theo Van Leeuwen has proposed is an analytical model that can be used for viewing how an event and the related social actors are portrayed in the media and also how a group that does not have any access become the party that has always been continuously marginalized. In using the model of discourse analysis by Van Leeuwen, there are two centres

of attentions namely exclusion and inclusion (Eriyanto, 2008, p.172). Exclusion deals with whether in a news items there are groups or actors that will be excluded and the strategies that can be put into use for this purpose. Exclusion is indirectly able to alter the public understanding toward an issue and legitimate the position of certain understanding. On the contrary, inclusion deals with the question about how each party or each group has been portrayed in the news items. Both of the exclusion and the inclusion make use of the discourse strategy. By using certain words, sentences, information, and sentence structures, each group is presented in a text.

Critical discourse analysis is used in order to detect and study how the position of an individual or a group has been marginalized in a discourse as this individual or this group is later categorized into social actor; in other words, social actor can be individuals or social groups (Van Leeuwen in Eriyanto, 2008, p.192). Through the critical discourse analysis, one can identify how the social actors, be it dominant individuals or dominant groups, hold the control over the interpretation of an event and its meaning while the dominated group has always served as the object of meaning with poor description. Thus, through this study the researchers would like to analyse the strategy of social actor presentation within the claim of victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election as having been described in Kompas Daily.

Theo Van Leeuwen in the Perspective of Social Actor within the Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis views language as an important part in establishing trust. The discourse analysis centres on the power of meaning production since the meaning is produced by the media in order to talk about the news facts that include the process of meaning production and reproduction. With regards to the statement, Eriyanto (2008, p.6) states that critical discourse analysis puts emphasis on the power constellation that takes place on the produce of meaning production and reproduction. Thus, it can be defined that critical discourse analysis is not merely understood as a study of language. In this case, language is analysed in order not to describe the aspect of language but, instead, language is analysed in order to associate the language to the contexts inside the practice of power. Fairclough & Wodak (in Eriyanto, 2008, p.7) define discourse analysis as the use of language in speeches and writings as the form of social practice. Describing discourse as a social practice, therefore, causes a dialectical relationship between certain discursive statements and situations, institutions, or social structures that shape them.

Critical discourse analysis strives to display in which context the social actors are represented as agents and patients; however, the sociological agency of the actors is not always manifested by the linguistic agency and the grammatical role of the agents. As an alternative, the sociological agency can be manifested in numerous ways such as possessive pronoun or preposition (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.23). Individuals are not considered as neutral subjects who can interpret anything within the society freely since individuals are highly related to and influenced by the social power within the society. The position of language in the perspective of critical discourse can also be understood in a certain way, as having been explained by Eriyanto (2008, p.6): language in the perspective of critical view is understood as a

representative that plays a role in shaping certain subjects, certain discourse themes, and certain strategies within.

This situation is acceptable since critical discourse analysis has been used to dismantle the power inside every process of language: the limits that have been allowed in the discourse, the perspective that should be used, and the topics that have been discussed. According to the critical perspective, a discourse views that language has always been involved in shaping the power relation, especially in shaping the subjects and the numerous acts of representation that have been found in the society. Critical discourse analysis, thus, views language as an important factor, namely how language can be used for viewing the power gap that has occurred within a society, as having been suggested by Fairclough & Wodak (in Eriyanto, 2008, p.7): critical discourse analysis studies how the language of the existing social actors compete with each other and propose their respective version.

Furthermore, the model of critical discourse analysis that has been proposed by Theo Van Leeuwen views that media have marginalized the minority groups by putting forward the interests of the dominating majority groups as an ideology that has always been portrayed in the media. The focus of this model are two aspects namely exclusion and inclusion. In exclusion, the critical discourse analysis pays attention to the presence of the news items that have intentionally or unintentionally omitted certain actors both personally and communally within the news. This action is taken in order to achieve certain objectives in diverting the public focus upon several parts of the role that these social actors have played within the news that has been delivered. According to Van Leeuwen (in Eriyanto, 2008, p.173), there are several strategies in relation to how an actor (be it individuals or groups) have been excluded. These strategies can be outlined as follows:

1. Passivation

One of the classic ways in shaping the passivation within this framework is composing passive sentences. Through the composition of passive sentences, actors are unable to present themselves into the text since this is impossible to happen in the active sentence structures. The composition of the passive sentences may impact the understanding toward the meaning of the news contents. First of all, indeed the actors are missing from the news items. Consequently, the journalists and the public pay attention more to and are more interested with the victims rather than the actors. In addition, the form of passive sentence that omits the actors from the sentences may also render the readers uncritical.

2. Nominalization

This discourse strategy is related to turning the verbs into nouns. In general, this strategy is carried out by adding the affix and the suffix "pe-an" in the case of Bahasa Indonesia. Nominalization does not need any subject since nominalization basically refers to the process of turning the verbs carrying the meaning of performing actions/activities into the nouns carrying the meaning of events. Thus, in every action/activity there will always be the elements of actors but this principle does not apply in the case of action or symptom.

3. Alteration by Clause

Alternation by clause can also be performed by using the clause that also serves as the actor replacement. The use of such clause replacement is mostly found within the public, including the author himself. The reason is that the author is possibly unaware of the alteration by clause.

On the other hand, in inclusion the critical discourse analysis views the possibilities in which journalists or mass media include individuals or groups as the actors who will be highlighted in the news items. This action is taken under certain objective so that emphasis can be pushed forward with the presence of the actors in certain events. According to Van Leeuwen (in Eriyanto, 2008, p.179), there are several strategies that can be used for pursuing inclusion namely:

1. Differentiation – Undifferentiation

An event or a social actor can be portrayed into a text independently as a unique or peculiar event. On the contrary, an even or a social actor can be made contradictory by portraying another event or actor within the text.

2. Objectivation – Abstraction

The understanding toward the objectivation – abstraction strategy refers to the concrete or abstract labelling about the actor that will be included. This decision can also refer to several ways such as defining certain measures, as having been explained by Van Leeuwen (2008, p.46): abstraction takes place when social actors are represented by the quality that has been assigned to them within the representation. As an alternative, objectivation takes place when social actors are represented by referring to a place or a matter that have been closely associated with the social actors or the involvement of the social actors that has been described. In other words, objectivation is manifested by means of metonymic reference. The discourse elements of the social actors are portrayed by providing concrete hints or by means of abstraction.

3. Nomination – Categorization

The understanding toward the meaning of the nomination-categorization strategy means that social actors can be represented both in terms of the unique identity that they have nominated (nomination) and in terms of the identity and the function that they have shared with other people (categorization) (Leeuwen, 2008, p.40). Once again, it is always interesting to study which social actors in a discourse who have been nominated and who have been categorized. For example, within a plot nameless characters will only play the figurative and functional roles and these characters will not serve as the point of identification for both the readers and the listeners. Most of the time, within the news around the presidential election, the social actors may be nominated as they are or may be categorized.

4. Nomination – Identification

Through the nomination-identification strategy, the process of inclusion leads to another explanation in the form of identification and vice versa by the actors. The inclusion process itself can take the form of religion, race, group, and alike. As having been explained by Van Leeuwen (2008, p.42), in terms of classification social actors are referred to based on the main categories in order to differentiate the social classes. In the West, these differences include age,

sex, source, class, wealth, race, ethnic, religion, sexual orientation, history, and also culture. This discourse strategy is almost similar to categorization, namely how a group, an event, or a certain action has been defined. The only difference between categorization and identification is that the process of identification is performed by providing clauses as parts of explanation.

5. Determination – Indetermination

Van Leeuwen (2008, p.39) has proposed about the understanding toward the meaning of the determination-indetermination strategy, namely the uncertainty that takes place when the social actors are represented as anonymous individuals or groups who have not been defined in relation to the determination of their identity. This uncertainty is usually manifested into uncertain pronouns (such as someone, something, few things, and alike) that have been used in the nominal function. In addition, uncertainty is manifested by exophoric references that have been generalized; in this case, the social actors are provided with some kind of impersonal authority and sense of invisibility with certain power. Most of the time, within the news items the social actors or the events are clearly mentioned but at other times these entities are not clearly mentioned (anonymous). Such anonymity is possible because the journalists have not attained the sufficient evidence so that it will be safer for the journalists to write the social actors in anonymity because there is a structural concern if the social actors have been portrayed or because there is another tendency that leads the journalists to the form of anonymity within the news source.

6. Assimilation – Individualization

This discourse strategy is related to the question whether the social actors who have been portrayed have clear reference of their category or not. Assimilation takes place when the location of the social groups or communities are mentioned instead of their category.

7. Association – Dissociation

There is another way, still, in which social actors can be represented as a group namely association. Association refers to the groups that have been formed by the social actors and/or the groups of social actors (both in general and in specific) who are not labelled within the text (although the actors or the groups of actors who make the association are certainly named and/or categorized). This discourse strategy is related to the question whether an actor or a party is portrayed individually or is associated with wider group. The association-dissociation strategy will provide certain meaning to the readers with regards to the presence of the association between the event and the wider interest or the intention that demands the news items to be associated with greater event in order to support the marginalization of the inclusion actors.

From the numerous critical discourse strategies that have been uncovered by the model proposed by Theo Van Leeuwen, the whole concepts will refer to the presence of the ideology products that would like to be delivered to the journalists through the news concepts. Similar to the perspective of Shoemaker and Reese, who emphasize ideology as the achievement that media targets, Van Leeuwen has also emphasized the interest of ideology as an object that has been put into concept for being the central of news coverage, as having been proposed by

Eriyanto (2008, p.13): as a central concept in critical discourse ideology should also be critical. The reason is that texts, conversations and other aspects are the benchmark for the practice of ideology or the reflection of certain ideology. The classical theories of ideology state that ideology has been established by the dominant groups in order to reproduce and legitimate their dominance.

Media Power and Political Interest in the Presentation of Political Actor

Media power refers to the form of social power that appears in the public domain (Couldry & Cruran, 2003, p.4). Media power has its own capacity to channel the information flow, knowledge, and visualization of phenomena and realities. Furthermore, media holds the power to influence the social structure and intervene the social conflict. In this regard, the term conflict is taken from the term that Giddens has borrowed in representing the dynamics of social interaction (Pahdepie, 2014, p.6). Through this capacity, as a theme that appears from the social conflict, media has the power to disseminate the symbolic power and to direct political-laden public opinion.

According to the normative theory, media has the rights and responsibilities to provide benefits for both individual and society. Normative theory views media power as being associated to the power structure of the country in which media has been thriving. Siebert et al. (in Rusadi, 2015, p.20) states that the system of a media will be adjusted to the system of politics in which the media has been in existence. With regards to the statement, there are authoritarian system, liberal system, socially responsible system, and communist system. This theory has lots of premises, one which is based on the relationship position between media and government. Within the authoritarian system, the relationship pattern between the media and the government puts the media under the direct control of the power structure by the government. Then, in the liberal system, the one who has the power to control the media is related to the individual who holds the market; in other words, the one who has seized the market will hold the power to control the media. Next, in the socially responsible system, media should be held responsible for exerting the social responsibility. Last but not the least, in the communist system the communist party holds the power over the media.

The Political Economy of the Media within the Production of the Media

Studying the political economy of the media as a review that positions the presence of the power role within the production of the media can be seen from the association between the media and the political economy itself. Political economy basically studies the presence of the power relation in all aspects. According to Mosco (2009, p.127), political economy refers to the study about social relationships, especially the power relation, that is mutually beneficial among the sources of production, distribution, and consumption, including the sources that have been related to communication. In a simpler definition, political economy refers to the power (political) relation within the economic sources existed in the society. If individuals or a group of individuals are able to control the society, then these individuals or these groups of individuals hold the power in de facto manner although in de jure manner they do not hold the power as executive, legislative, and even judicative function. Mosco's perspective toward ruler

is more emphasized to the de facto understanding, namely the people or the group of people who control the societal life, while the basis of the social life is economy.

The content of the media is defined by the power and the interest of the political economy. What has been delivered by the media is not something neutral but, instead, is something that has been defined by the significant factor outside the media and the journalists. All of these factors define the news that should be written and the direction that should be taken. When delivering the news about something, media basically performs the filtering process since media cannot just differentiate what has been the interest and the attention within the event. The filtering process goes through five stages that Herman & Chomsky (1988, p.2) have proposed, namely: (1) size, ownership, and economic orientation of the media; (2) advertiser (whether the event has been related to the advertiser and whether the news that has been written is able to make the advertiser happy or angry); (3) mass media source (in which the news orientation is also defined by, namely, news sources that the media has interviewed); (4) flaks (the negative comments that generally take the form of flyers, phone calls, petitions, and alike toward a program); and (5) anti-communism mechanism. These factors are very peculiar with the American and Western perspective, in which many of the news items are very allergic with the communist-related subjects. This kind of news ground is generally filtered by the editor-in-chief.

Media is not something neutral that can define their own agenda. On the contrary, what has been presented by the media is basically defined by the wider political economy power outside the media itself. It is this political economy power that forces and defines what has been presented and what has been the news orientation (Sudibyo, 2000, p.125). The actual form of the political economy process within the media is commodification. Within the framework of political economy, commodification is one of the forms in media control in addition to structuration and spatialisation (Mosco in Manggaga, 2018, p.259). The practice of commodification is more apparent and thus it needs the consideration from the social context in addition to continually showing its performance within the free market as having been suggested by Sugiyanto (2015, p.58). In other words, commodification is related to business benefits.

2. Method

Within the study, the researchers implemented the critical discourse analysis in order to uncover the hidden meaning that the print mass media presented through the production of the news items. The use of critical discourse analysis provided flexibility in criticizing the news items and became the way in which the media had constructed the reality within the news items. Critical discourse analysis held the capacity to view the linguistic practice of ideology as the practice of social interest that had been considered relevant for the researchers in interpreting the strategy of social actor presentation over the claim of victory in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election delivered by Kompas Daily. Thus, the object in the qualitative study referred to the social situations that consisted of three main elements which, according to Spreadley (in Sugiyono, 2013, p.297), consisted of place, actors, and activity. Therefore, the object in the study was the strategy of social actor presentation in the news items about the claim of victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election in Kompas Daily. Within the

study, the researchers implemented the constructivism paradigm, which had viewed that the existing social reality had gone through the process of reconstruction into human knowledge, which had also been the process of construction itself. Then, the data sources within the study consisted of primary data sources and secondary data sources. The primary data sources were Kompas Daily from April 17th until May 22nd, 2019, editions which had been related to the claim of victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. Those dates were selected because April 17th had been the date of the General Elections Commission for the voting of the President and the Vice President for the Republic of Indonesia and May 22nd, 2019, had been the date when the General Elections Commission announced the official results for the voting of the President and the Vice President for the Republic of Indonesia. Based on the observation on these editions, the researchers found that there had been five news items that were related to the claim of victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. On the other hand, the secondary data sources were attained from books, online information sources in relation to the claim of victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election, and also journal articles and other scientific reports that support the information adequacy within the study.

3. Results and Discussions

News Items of the Claim over the Victory of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election

There are five news items that have been selected within April 17th, 2019 – May 22nd, 2019 from Kompas Daily and all of these news items have been related to the claim of victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. Referring to the model of critical discourse analysis by Theo van Leeuwen, which consists of exclusion and inclusion, the news items of the claim over the victory of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election can be outlined as follows:

3.1. The Exclusion of Social Actor from the News Items

      a. Passivation

The survey agencies are not defined as the provocateurs, which have been accused by Prabowo. The claims over the victory of Jokowi, which have been echoed by his supporters, have been based on the facts of the independent survey agencies with trustworthy credibility.

      b. Nominalisation

The Election Supervisory Body (Bawaslu, Badan Pengawas Pemilu) and the General Elections Commission are not mentioned as the source of the polemic on the claim over the victory of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election between Jokowi and Prabowo.

      c. Alteration by Clause

Both pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates are not the source of the polemic on the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election anymore. However, the supporters from both pairs of candidates have not stirred the political turmoil over the claim due to their being immature within the practice of democracy. On the contrary, the shortcoming of the General Elections Commission in holding the general election is still tolerable and acceptable; as a result, the voting system can be improved and thus there are not any significant impact on the final votes.

3.2. The Inclusion of Social Actor from the News Items

a. Determination

The quick count results that do not favour the interest of National Board of Victory are considered to be full of fraud. The narration of fraud with its characteristics of being structured, systematic, and massive is disseminated by the National Board of Victory and is supported by the misunderstanding of the society toward the role of the General Elections Commission Vote Counting Information System. In this regard, the elites of politics become the source of the polemic and the information source of the Information Technology Team within the National Board of Victory upon the General Elections Commission Vote Counting Information System is considered irrelevant.

b. Abstraction

Jokowi and his supporters have claimed that the victory due to the supporting data from the survey agencies. However, the survey agencies do not determine the victory of Jokowi-Ma'ruf. Thus, the elites of politics have influenced the supporters of Prabowo on the grassroot level to believe the narration of fraud.

c. Assimilation

The narration of fraud, altogether with the accusation that the fraud has been caused by the intervention by the government, cannot be proven by Prabowo, his allies, and his supporters and this situation is completely similar to that of the 2014 Indonesian Presidential Election.

d. Association

Prabowo is very ambitious to win the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. Therefore, he has been stating his personal claim and he also been stating continuously that the claims made by his party and Jokowi's party have indicated the poor performance by the General Elections Commission and the Election Supervisory Body.

e. Differentiation

The supporters of Prabowo believe in the claim that there has been structured, massive, and systematic fraud within the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election and the fraud, thus, is an unacceptable error. This situation occurs because the supporters of Prabowo is unable to digest information well.

The Use of Exclusion and Inclusion within the Claim over the Victory of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election as Having been Found from 5 Kompas Daily News Items

The strategy of presenting the social actors within the claim over the victory of 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election in Kompas Daily has been done through exclusion and inclusion. The process of exclusion displays the tendency to not involve or hide the social actors from the core of the news items and, at the same time, to protect one's self or to hide the given social actors. Referring to Van Leeuwen (in Eriyanto, 2008, p.172), the process of exclusion intends to view whether actors or group of actors are excluded from a news items and what strategies have been used in order to do achieve that end.

The process of exclusion within the model of critical discourse analysis proposed by Van Leeuwen refers to three main strategies in excluding the social actors (be it individuals or group of individuals) within the news items. The first strategy is passivation, which has been shown by using passive sentences that enable the subjects to be unseen within the news items. Then, the second strategy is nominalisation, which has been shown by using the nominalisation sentences that enable the alteration from the verbs into the nouns in order to omit the subjects. Last but not the least, the third strategy is alteration by clause, which has been shown by the use of the clauses that enable the indirect omission of the subjects from the news items. The third strategy is possible take place because of the journalists' understanding toward the generalization of the public knowledge upon the events that have been reported.

All of the exclusion strategies have been used by Kompas Daily to exclude the social actors that have been involved in the claim of victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. The process of excluding the social actors that Kompas Daily has performed upon the claim of victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election, in overall, show that the quick count survey agencies that present the victory of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin cannot be categorized as provocateurs, as having been accused by Prabowo and his supporters.

Therefore, exclusion is also intended to the part of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin as the part who have been believed to claim their victory based on the facts delivered by the independent survey agencies with trustworthy credibility. At the same time, the General Elections Commission and the Election Supervisory Body, whose performance has been considered poor, by the National Board of Victory and the supporters of Prabowo, used to be excluded. As a result, it can be concluded that the source of the problem over the claims made by Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo Soebianto-Sandiaga Uno is not the General Elections Commission and the Election Supervisory Body, as Prabowo Soebianto-Sandiaga Uno and their colleagues filed for the presidential election lawsuit to the Constitutional Court. In this case, the poor performance by the General Elections Commission is still tolerable and acceptable and, thus, the poor performance does not a significant impact to the final decision over the national vote count; however, the performance of the General Elections Commission should be improved. Over the time, Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo Soebianto-Sandiaga Uno are excluded because the source of the polemic over the claim of the victory has moved to the supporters of both pairs, who have been immature in terms of the practice of democracy.

The exclusion that has taken place in Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin is different because both of them have been excluded as the parties that do not play any role in the direct claim. The name of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin has often been replaced by the names from the National Campaign Team, both individually and communally. For example, the name of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin has often been replaced by Erick Thohir, who has been the Leader of the National Campaign Team. The economic structure of the media within the liberal approach is also merely viewed from the framework of professionalism. In this regard, the advertisement parts or the media owners serve as one of the functions that media has. On the contrary, within the critical approach the numerous equal and inequal positions within a media organization may cause the power of one media to dominate another media. In addition, the advertisement parts or the media owners may turn their power to dominate other entities. For instance, the media

owners force the editors in chief to report the cases that only benefit these owners (Schulman in Sudibyo, 2000, p.122).

The claim of victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election has been mostly encouraged by the elite politics who join the National Board of Victory and the parts of society who support Prabowo and believe the narration of fraud that has been disseminated by the elites of politics form the National Board of Victory. These people strongly believe that the General Elections Commission and the Election Supervisory Body have performed poorly. There are two reasons behind this strong belief. First of all, these people believe that the claim that both parties have made is caused by the poor performance of the General Elections Commission and the Election Supervisory Body. Then, at the same time, these people hold misconception on the role of the quick count independent survey agencies. In their opinion, these agencies disseminate lie because they announce the result of the national votes before the official results from the General Elections Commission have been issued. Interestingly, Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin has been indirectly claimed to be the victor of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election because of the massive supports from the society and also from the independent survey agencies. For this end, the National Campaign Teams have made their efforts in order that Joko Widodo does not leave any impression of being aggressive. Unfortunately, the impression of being aggressive is still slightly manifested because of the huge militance shown by his supporters in legitimating anything that claims the victory of Joko Widodo in the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election.

The efforts that Kompas Daily has made in presenting the social actors within the news items through their selection of words, sentences, terms, and alike are parts of the forms in reality construction. The reality that has been shaped and constructed by Kompas Daily has gone through the process of event selection. The process of selecting the event itself should be consistent with the interest of the media organization and the news is produced based on the filtering process, that consists of the power of the social class dominance and the interest of the politics, as the means that has the capacity construct the reality on the news within the sequence of the claim over the victory of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election from both pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

The supporters from both pairs of candidates provide their own evidence in claiming the victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. The way the media presents the social actors within the news items on the claim over the victory of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election can be categorized as parts of media construction that may shape the public opinion. The shaping of the public opinion that the media has performed in presenting the social actors within the news over the claims of the victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election can be considered as either beneficial or detrimental for the parties within the contestation. As a result, the reality results in the huge impact for shaping the public opinion in believing into the claims made by one of the presidential and vice-presidential candidate pairs.

The content of the media is determined by the interest and the power of the political economy. What has been presented by the media is not something neutral; instead, what has been presented by the media is determined by the huge factors outside both the journalists and their media. All of these factors define the news that should be reported and the direction that the

news will incline. In other words, media is not something neutral that can define its own agenda. On the contrary, what has been presented by the media has determined by the power of the political economy outside the media. It is this power of political economy that forces and defines what has been presented and which news orientation that should be taken (Sudibyo, 2000, p.125). The concrete form of the process behind the political economy of the media is often found in the form of media commodification. In the political economy of the media, media commodification is regarded as a form of media control in addition to structuration and spatialisation (Mosco in Manggaga, 2018, p.259). Thus, it is more apparent that the practice of media commodification does not need any consideration on the social context since the political economy of the media continuously displays its performance in the free market. According to Sugiyanto (2015, p.58), commodification can be considered as part of business benefits. Specific to this case, all news items that have been reported by Kompas Daily in relation to the claim of victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election from the perspective of political economy will always be related to the direction of partiality and of power dominance.

The news items over the claims cannot be set apart from the concept of implementing news ideology as the efforts of understanding the interest through the accurate use of language and structure. The partiality of the media is viewed as the power relation through the language structure that has delivered the understanding of ideology. In other words, the use of language can be considered as a form of disclosure. The ideology that has been shaped by the news items that Kompas Daily has reported with regards to the claim over the victory of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election narrowed the understanding to the figure of Prabowo, who have been considered to early to claim the victory in order to match the opinion made over the quick count results made by the independent survey agencies, which grant victory to the part of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. This action has been made by Prabowo as an effort to delegitimate the quick count results and directly influence the society to not believe these quick count results.

The presence of the contradiction between the quick count results announced by the independent survey agencies with trustworthy credibility and the count results announced by the internal department of the National Board of Victory that give victory to Prabowo Soebianto-Sandiaga Uno has resulted in the interpretation and the reconstruction of the structured, massive, and systematic fraud by the pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. In order to deal with this accusation, the pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin has instead turned the National Campaign Team into a tool that has matched the claim made by Prabowo because Joko Widodo himself has thought that quick count results independently represent the public view. The presence of the massive public support with regards to the politics that have centred around the individual and communal interest makes it clear that the individual and communal, instead of the people interest, have been defended.

Kompas Daily through its news item has presented the claims made by each party during the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election as a process of political learning and, altogether at the same time, has positioned itself as the media that represents the public concern over the existing political turmoil. The presence of the claims made by each pair of presidential and vice-presidential candidate is a phenomenon that has polarised the society into two groups of

supporters, each of which believe in the victory of the candidates that they have been supporting. According to the theory of social responsibility, mass media should serve as the media of public literacy that delivers the form of verification over each claim toward the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election with the support from the data and the fact that each pair of presidential and vice-presidential candidate has.

4. Conclusions and Suggestions

Conclusions

Based on the results of the analysis that has been performed, the strategy of social actor presentation in the news items about the claim over the victory of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election from Kompas Daily, it can be concluded that the presentation of the social actor has been done through exclusion and inclusion. The use of the exclusion and inclusion can be summarized as follows:

1. The exclusion is performed by using passivation, nominalisation, and alteration by clause. In overall, the process of exclusions shows that the quick count survey agencies who report the victory of the pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin cannot be categorized as the provocateurs, as having been accused by the pair of Prabowo Soebianto-Sandiaga Uno. In addition, the process of exclusion is also targeted to the pair Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin as the pair that claims the victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election based on the quick count results that have been released by these independent survey agencies. Furthermore, the General Elections Commission and the Election Supervisory Body, whose performance has been considered poor by the National Board of Victory and other supporters of Prabowo Soebianto, imply that the source of the problem over the claims from both pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidate is not from the General Elections Commission and the Election Supervisory Body since the pair of Prabowo Soebianto-Sandiaga Uno has filed a presidential election lawsuit to the Constitutional Court. In the meantime, the poor performance of the General Elections Commission is still tolerable and acceptable and, thus, its poor performance does not have any significant impact over the final vote recapitulation; however, the General Elections Commission should improve the performance. Eventually, the source of the problem over the claim made by each pair has moved to the supporters of the two parties.

2. The process of inclusion by Kompas Daily in presenting the social actors on the news items about the claim over the victory of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election has been performed through determination, abstraction, assimilation, association, and differentiation. In overall, the process of inclusion shows that Prabowo Soebianto has been the central object within the inclusion made by the news items. Prabowo has been considered as the party who has been very ambitious in winning the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election by making personal claims through the establishment of the internal survey team, which independency has been in question, for the presidential election. Eventually, Kompas Daily has made Prabowo as an actor who has been used by the internal parties within the National Board of Victory and the bases of his supporters who demand the claim of victory. Indeed, the claim of victory made by Prabowo has been encouraged by the elites of politics from the National Board of Victory, the Information Technology from the National Board of Victory, and the parts of society that

support Prabowo who believe in the narration of fraud that has been disseminated by the elites of politics within the National Board of Victory. Furthermore, the process of inclusion is also performed toward the General Elections Commission and the Election Supervisory Board because the claim made by both Joko Widodo and Prabowo Soebianto over the victory of the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election has been caused by the poor performance of both the General Elections Commission and the Election Supervisory Board as well as the misunderstanding toward the role of the independent survey agencies who report the victory of Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin prior to the official announcement made by the General Elections Commission. Last but not the least, the process of inclusion also involves the engagement of the name Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin as the party that has claimed the victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election due to the massive supports from the public, including the independent survey agencies.

3. The news items of Kompas Daily from April until May 2019, which the researchers have selected for the purpose of the study, have been analysed using the model of critical discourse analysis by Van Leeuwen show that the social actors that have been displayed in the selected news items are Prabowo, National Board of Victory, the supporters from the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidate Number 02, and the elites of politics. 60 % of the news items that have been analysed confirm that Prabowo Soebianto has been used by the internal parties within the National Board of Victory and the supporters who demand the victory over the 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election. The claim of victory made by Prabowo Soebianto is mostly encouraged by the elites of politics within the National Board of Victory, the Internal Information Technology Department from the National Board of Victory, and the supporters of Prabowo who believe in the narration of fraud that has been disseminated by the elites of politics within the National Board of Victory.

Then, based on the results of the analysis and the discussion from the previous discussion, the researchers have also gathered several more conclusions. First, Kompas Daily can be considered as a neutral media because ever since from its from its establishment, Kompas Daily has always been enlightening through the provision of credible (trustworthy) information with impartiality. Therefore, the subjective accusation made by Prabowo and his allies cannot be confirmed.

Second, the limited news coverage over the declaration of victory made by Prabowo Soebianto is not related to the spirit of neutrality within Kompas Group. Public should understand that the redactional and editing process of news items takes time. All stakeholders in Kompas Group must have had a long and tiring discussion over the news coverage of the victory declaration by certain pair of presidential and vice-presidential candidate. Not to mention, in this kind of situation many parties benefit the existing situations for certain interests. Therefore, the readers should believe that Kompas Daily is a neutral media, a principle that has been tested over the time since the establishment of the media.

Third, by the time Kompas Daily has become unneutral and subjective then it can be decided that Kompas Daily has left the spirit of its founding figures. However, the consideration toward the non-neutrality of the Kompas Group cannot be seen from a single case only. Thus, such subjective consideration should be objectified through the more in-depth media investigation.

Suggestions

Based on the results of the analysis that has been performed, the researchers would like to propose several suggestions as follows:

Kompas Daily should deliver direct quotations from the sources of both pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates under coverage so that the genuine meaning can be delivered in order to minimise the partiality due to the reinterpretation made by the journals since the reinterpretation may take place because of the indirect quotations from the sources that have been articulated by the journalist. Kompas Daily should strive to attain direct information from the main sources of both pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates in relation to the events under coverage so that the validity of the information can be held more credible and can also be confirmed in order to hold the principle of covering both sides.

The future researchers who use the critical analysis discourse model proposed by Van Leeuwen should be more observant in viewing the sequence of words and sentences in order to be more critical toward the role of the main actors especially in analysing the process of exclusion. The reason is that the social actors who have been covered in the news items are usually mentioned on several parts of sentences or paragraphs, leaving an impression that these actors have been hidden.

The future researchers who use the critical analysis discourse model proposed by Van Leeuwen should be more critical in presenting the social actors within the process of exclusion through the efforts of observing words, terms, and sentence sequences more observantly. The reason is that the process of exclusion has more strategies that enable the exchange of the role among the social actors within the same single news items.

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