

Social Actor Exclusion on 2019 Presidential Election News Reporting in MediaIndonesia.com and iNews.id

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Abstract

Mass media, in its reporting, always bring out some social actors. The risen social actors always have influence on the mass media which publish them. It is common to have different news based on the mass media they are from. This study was made in order to find out the representation of social actors in MediaIndonesia.com and iNews.id based on Theo van Leeuwen's exclusion strategy (suppression and backgrounding). Data sample was collected by observing the social actors' representation on both media, applying Simak Bebas Libat Cakap (Uninvolved Conversation Observation) technique on online (website/youtube.com) data and taking notes (copy-paste). Based on the analysis conducted during the 2019 presidential and vice presidential candidate pre-appointment period on July 10th to August 8th 2018, it was found out that Joko Widodo was still favored by the public to run for president in 2019, competing with Prabowo Subianto. It was evident from the news frequently published in mediaIndonesia.com and iNews.id, either by suppression or backgrounding. Joko Widodo was being backgrounded by mediaIndonesia.com by calling him 'Mantan walikota Solo', 'mantan Gubernur DKI Jakarta', or 'presiden'. On the other side, Prabowo Subianto was being backgrounded with 'Ketua Umum partai Gerindra', 'mantan Danjen Kopassus' or 'mantan pangkostrad'. The forms of backgrounding that appears in the data were in accordance with the experiences of the social actors had as they were serving in particular institutions. It means the journey of the social actors in leading an institution take effect on the backgrounding that is being shown. Meanwhile, in suppression, the ownership of the media is the one giving influence instead. MediaIndonesia.com tended to take sides on Joko Widodo because its owner, Surya Paloh, was going to join coalition with him if he would run for the presidential election. On the other hand, iNews.id tended more to Prabowo Subianto considering the frequencies of the news being shown in the last month. The result of this analysis can give an overview about social actors' positions in the news.

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INTRODUCTION

Language, as means of communication, is used to deliver ideas, thoughts, hope and expectations. The language human use has its own importance and functions (Subyantoro, 2019). As a communication tool, language is manifested in informative, expressive, directive, aesthetic, and phatic functions. Leech considered informative function as the main function of language for human (1997). However, in critical view, information has become social, politic and economic commodity which is very important in establishing hegemony. Thus, apply the premise *Information is power* (Subrata, 1997). In regard to that matter, in the view of critical discourse analysis (CDA), such usage of language is considered as sociocultural practice and is determined by social structure (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore, mass media, including literary work, is not a neutral entity, but is being controlled by the dominant group controlling communication process (production, distribution, and consumption of discourse).

Some topics that often arose and attracted public attention throughout 2018 were those related to presidential election. Even though the election would be started on April 2019, the news related to the presidential election had spread widely in both printed mass media and online media. Moreover, since the previous year, some rumors had spread that might aim to defame the serving Indonesian leader. It can be said that Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla's period was really exhausting due to various campaigns in the name of religion. Arsam (2014) explained that the ownership of mass media can influence the news that is being published.

Littlejohn (2002) had explained that study on mass media exists because in discourse contains the influence of human. This is a proof that mass media is very essential in society, including online mass media. Even more so, everything which has smell of politics must be loaded with intrigue. Shodikin (2018) explained that political interests which is being wrapped by social movements is loaded with ideology so it can ignite the stability of government.

A relevant study was conducted by Ritonga (2014) entitled "Pertarungan Makna pada Konvensi Partai Demokrat dalam Mencari Calon Presiden Republik Indonesia". The result of the study showed that the news about Dahlan on Radar Bandung newspaper and Bandung Ekspres was his efforts on the struggle of meaning. Next study was conducted by Bestari (2014), which is focusing more on Theo van Leeuwen's inclusion-exclusion strategy by giving out data frequencies that shows the representation of Bali governor on Bali Post news.

In the following year, Ritonga (2015) did an almost similar research to the previous research. He re-used Theo van Leeuwen's discourse analysis model on different research object. Ritonga's research entitled "*Pertarungan Makna Hamas Bukan Teroris pada Pemberitaan Kompas.com dan Republik Online*" gained three final conclusions which were related to symbols on representing, semiotic resource, and media as means of power. On the other hands, Alfanika (2016) did a research using Theo van Leeuwen's model which focused on the inclusion strategy. The inclusion strategy was applied to topic of '*pencurian*' (stealing) which was published in Posmetro Padang newspaper.

In 2017, some critical discourse analysis studies were conducted, one of them was Aji and F. Rokhman (2017) who revealed the point of view of Suara Merdeka Daily on the conflict of KPK against Polri. Mardikantoro and B. Wahyudi (2017) revealed the construction of electronic media against corruptions on their research. Lastly, Supriyadi and I. Zulaeha (2017) did some research with the purpose to figure out the economic, politic, and ideology dimensions mentioned in Jawa Pos press. Those three studies were similar in critical discourse analysis context but differed on the media analyzed and the critical discourse models used.

The latest research by Santoso (2018) analyzed political topic by using Theo van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis approach which was focusing more on the district heads election event in Java in 2018. In this research, he wanted to reveal the representation, meaning and

also the battle of discourse by online media which rotating around district heads election on 2018.

On following year, Rahzinie and Rustono (2019) conducted critical discourse analysis research using Teun A. Van Dijk's model. Their research revealed the representation of power as reflected in editorial article about terrorism which was shown explicitly so the police's image was projected positively.

Based on some of the researches mentioned above, the researcher would be focusing on the exclusion strategy regarding president election 2019 news which had been published on online media, MediaIndonesia.com and iNews.id. Exclusion strategy is an important aspect in this critical discourse analysis (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Exclusion strategy can be found using two strategies, suppression and backgrounding. This research aimed to reveal the image representation shown by the two online media. The representation of course refers to the power of the media (Eriyanto, 2001). The research analyzed the news by stressing on the historical situatedness throughout all of the social occurrences which are published in the news (Denzin, 2000). This research was expected to be able to open the readers' horizon that a news has a deep meaning and influence in various aspects, such as politics, economics, as well as socio-cultural.

METHODS

This research was conducted by using two kinds of approaches; theoretic approach and methodological approach. The theoretical approach was using critical discourse analysis theory in Theo van Leeuwen's models, while the methodological approach used three way qualitative-descriptive method, they are description, interpretation, and explanation (Fairclough, 1995). The data collection technique is by using advanced technique II: *Simak Bebas Libat* (uninvolved observation) technique for website and youtube.com data; and technique IV: taking note (copy-paste) (Sudaryanto, 2015).

The data analysis of exclusion in representation of social actors in the 2019

presidential election news was conducted in three steps. The first step is by reading all of the presidential election's discourses which are focusing on the social actor Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subiyanto. The second step is taking a note of the discourse fragments which were suspected to contain exclusion and grouping the data based on the suppression and backgrounding strategy. The third step is describing, interpreting, and explaining the obtained data which to reveal social practice that is built in the discourse based on some aspects; ideological context and social, political, economic, and cultural aspects.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Deletion is the main focus in Theo van Leeuwen's critical discourse analysis using exclusion process. Exclusion is one of deletion processes by omitting or not preaching on the social actors but represent them by something that is attached to them, either by suppression or backgrounding. The two social actors (Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto) could be represented based on the frequencies of the showed words or phrase.

The data were collected in a month (July 10th – 8th August 2018) prior to the determination time of the 2019 president and vice president candidates which are written on the online media; MediaIndonesia.com and iNews.id. The following diagram is the general comparison between the both media in presenting both of the social actors.

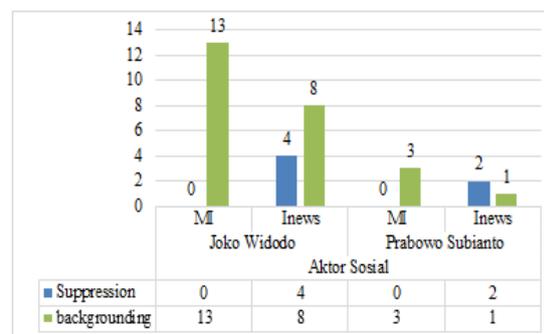


Figure 1. Exclusion of 2019 Presidential Candidates Pre-Election

Suppression

Suppression strategy can only be found in the iNews.id online which representing both social actors, Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. The data which is found to be using suppression strategy was manifested through some ways, they are:

Deletion of the Passive Agen

Suppression strategy can only be found in the iNews.id online which representing both social actors, Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subiyanto. The data which is found to be using suppression strategy was manifested through some ways, they are:

- (1) Polri juga diminta terus menjalankan perannya sebagai perekat kerukunan bangsa.

In speech fragment no. 1 above, representation by suppression was applied, omitting the social actor. Insert technique can change the speech fragment above to become:

- (1a) Polri juga diminta *oleh Presiden Joko Widodo* untuk terus menjalankan perannya sebagai perekat kerukunan bangsa.

Suppression strategy by removing passive agent (Joko Widodo) will make the reader focusing more on the target than the actors. The target mentioned here is Polri. Polri became the main focus for its significant role as the unifier of national harmony for Joko Widodo. The pattern of the speech fragment no (1) could also lead the readers to focus more on the target than to know who is the social actor asking Polri to fulfill their duty.

When viewed by examining the previous sentence, it was most likely related to the effectiveness of the sentence. News writers sometimes avoid explicitly mentioning the actors' name repeatedly in sequence for the effectiveness of the sentence. The written sentence before the speech fragment no. 1 was:

“Presiden Joko Widodo (Jokowi) menginstruksikan Kepolisian Republik Indonesia (Polri) untuk terus

meningkatkan kewaspadaan dan kemampuan dalam menghadapi ancaman serta kejahatan terorisme.”

Therefore, removing passive agent could also be done by the news writer to avoid re-mentioning the name of the social actor on the next sentence. This passive agent deletion is a form of representation strategy which was mentioned by Theo van Leeuwen as suppression.

- (2) Penghargaan diberikan kepada Brigjen (Pol) Teddy Minahasa yang berdinasi di Propam Polri.
- (3) Penghargaan juga diberikan kepada Ipda Setiawan Heri Karyadi yang berdinasi di Intelijen Keamanan Polres Surabaya dan AKP Adarias Hisaje di Bapolresta Kepulauan Yapen Polda Papua.

In speech fragments no (2) and (3) above, the writer also applied suppression strategy by deleting the passive agent. The social actor who should be mentioned there, Joko Widodo, was not written. If the sentences above were being tested by using insert technique it can be proven that those sentences will change to become:

- (2a) Penghargaan diberikan *oleh Presiden Joko Widodo* kepada Brigjen (Pol) Teddy Minahasa yang berdinasi di Propam Polri.
- (3a) Penghargaan juga diberikan *oleh Presiden Joko Widodo* kepada Ipda Setiawan Heri Karyadi yang berdinasi di Intelijen Keamanan Polres Surabaya dan AKP Adarias Hisaje di Bapolresta Kepulauan Yapen Polda Papua.

Deleting passive agent tended to have impact on the focusing of the targets. In the speech fragment no. 2, the writer focused on the one who is given the award, Brigjen (Pol) Teddy Minahasa. Whereas, on the speech fragment no. 3, the writer focused on those getting the award, Ipda Setiawan Heri Karyadi and AKP Adarias Hisaje. The actor who gave the awards (the doer), President Joko Widodo, was being omitted on purpose so it would form a representation using suppression strategy. Focusing on the target can be interpreted as a good imaging for participant who received the award while suppressing Joko Widodo's figure can be interpreted as an attitude of humbleness. In other word, excluding his

figure in the speech fragment gives the impression of acceptance and unselfish attitude of his.

Nominalization

Suppression can be realized in the process of nominalization which is found in a clause or sentence. Below are some data samples for nominalization process.

- (4) Pertemuan dilaksanakan di Istana Kepresidenan Bogor, Jawa Barat pukul 19.00 WIB.

Speech fragment no. 4 was nominalized. It means the verb was altered into noun. Generally, nominalization is marked by giving *pe-an* affixes to a word. In speech fragment no. 4, word '*pertemuan*' indicated a face to face meeting between two or more people. The meeting actors were not explicitly mentioned in the speech fragment. However, based on the sentence prior to the speech fragment no. 4, i.e. "*Presiden Joko Widodo (Jokowi) malam ini akan bertemu sekretaris jenderal (sekjen) partai koalisi*", it could be discovered that there was a meeting between Joko Widodo and the party secretary of the coalition. If the social actors are to be included by applying transformation technique, the sentence would be:

- (4a) Presiden Joko Widodo bertemu dengan sekretaris jenderal (sekjen) partai koalisi yang dilaksanakan di Istana Kepresidenan Bogor, Jawa Barat pukul 19.00 WIB.

Based on fragment no. 4a, it can be concluded that actors involved in the meeting are President Joko Widodo and the secretaries of parties that had formed a coalition with him. The meeting which was held at Bogor Presidential Palace, West Java, was expected to be attended by more than two persons, considering the number of party declaring their support to Joko Widodo was more than one.

- (5) Pertemuan akan membahas rekomendasi ijtima ulama bersama sejumlah tokoh nasional.

In speech fragment no. 5, nominalization was marked by word '*pertemuan*'. The word '*pertemuan*' indicates that there was interaction

between two or more people in an assembly. Looking at the speech fragment above, it can be seen that there has been an agreement between ulama (*ijtima ulama*). This also emphasized by the title of the discourse, "*Hari Ini Prabowo Bertemu Ketua Majelis Syuro PKS Salim Segaf Aljufri*", that Prabowo Subianto held a meeting with Salim Segaf Aljufri, Chairperson of the PKS' Shura Council (Consultative Assembly). If the speech fragment is to be transformed by bringing up the social actors, it will most likely become:

- (5a) Prabowo bertemu dengan Salim Segaf Aljufri, Ketua Majelis Syuro PKS yang akan membahas rekomendasi ijtima ulama bersama sejumlah tokoh nasional.

Prabowo meeting with Salim Segaf Aljufri was nothing but to follow up on suggestions from some Ulama involved in *Ijtima Ulama* to choose him or Uztaz Abdul Somad (UAS) in the oncoming presidential election. Of course, there are many considerations in choosing one of them, especially when the Demokrat party also proposed Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (AHY) to be elected as the candidate for his vice president.

Based on the collected data finding, it can be concluded that suppression is not used by online media, MediaIndonesia.com. On the other hand, iNews.id applied suppression to both social actors six times in total, four times to Joko Widodo and twice to Prabowo Subianto. In other word, iNews.id has a preference for favoring Prabowo Subianto for him displayed in more discourse than his opponent. This is most likely based on its ideological and political motives (extreme religious-nationalist, means they will do everything they can to achieve their goals).

The reasons for economic motives are also evident in the two actors reported through suppression, although with unbalanced frequency. However, there was a possibility of sympathetic consideration towards Prabowo Subianto, given the coalition with the owner of iNews.id online, Hary Tanoesoedibjo, who is also the chairman of Perindo, a political party he founded, in the previous presidential election. Textually, Perindo declared its hand offered to Joko Widodo, but this did not rule out the

possibility of it being two-timing politicians. It means though in writing Perindo was supporting Joko Widodo, this party still had desire to continue to defend Prabowo Subianto's policies.

The rumored discourse in which Perindo would support Joko Widodo had been circulating since 2017. This certainly implied a big question mark because this political party was known to be the loudest critic of Joko Widodo's government. Arif Susanto, an analyst at Exposit Strategic, revealed the possibility of several reasons that required Hary Tanoesoedibjo, General Chairman of the Perindo political Party, to support the current ruling government.

In Arif's perspective, Perindo's support had another tendency by considering several statements in an article published on BeritaSatu.com on August 2, 2017 entitled, "Pengamat: Dukungan Perindo ke Jokowi Miskin Makna" which mentioned three reasons Perindo tends to be forced to support Joko Widodo. Firstly, it was unclear whether Perindo can participate in the 2019 Legislative Election. Secondly, Hary Tanoesoedibjo's history when he supported Prabowo-Hatta in the previous presidential election and always being critical towards Jokowi-JK government. Thirdly, Hary Tanoesoedibjo was involved in case of tax corruption and threat texting to prosecutor Yulianto. These three reasoning were most likely related to why they must support the current government. In addition to personal safety, he also aimed to maintain the existence of the political party that he had formed.

Backgrounding

Backgrounding is a representation strategy in which the social actors are excluded through role playing to reduce their frequency of appearance. Thus, making the explicit replacement refers to the actors. This strategy generally relates to functional positions that were previously held. The more experience the social actors have, the more backgrounds they can create. This applies to the figure of Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. These two actors have different backgrounds so the backgrounding that appears also has significant differences. Joko

Widodo who currently serves as president has experienced backgrounding for 21 times, 13 times by MediaIndonesia.com and the rest by iNews.id.

Differences in background and education certainly affect the backgrounding process. The figure of Prabowo Subianto who came from military field and never served as president received backgrounding three times by MediaIndonesia.com and once by iNews.id. Following are some of the speech fragments that have backgrounding both from MediaIndonesia.com and iNews.id.

Firstly, backgrounding for Joko Widodo by MediaIndonesia.com.

- (6) Eks Wali Kota Surakarta itu juga belum dapat memastikan kapan akan mengumumkan cawapres.

Backgrounding is used in speech fragment no. 5 to represent the social actor. The backgrounding is applied by using phrase '*eks walikota Surakarta*' which is explicitly referring to Joko Widodo who was once the mayor of Surakarta from July 28, 2005 until October 1, 2012. The position he once had gave rise to the representation that Joko Widodo was also known as the former Mayor of Surakarta.

Furthermore, backgrounding on Joko Widodo's figure is indicated by either words or phrases as shown in speech fragments no. 6 and 7.

- (7) Kepala Negara dalam kesempatan itu juga menyampaikan terima kasih kepada seluruh alumnus PMII karena sudah membantu kerja pemerintah selama ini.
- (8) Menurut dia, acara di Istana Bogor hanya pertemuan biasa. Namun, dia enggan membocorkan isi pembicaraan antara Presiden dan petinggi parpol.

In the speech fragment no. 6, the backgrounding is formed with the phrase '*kepala negara*' or the head of the state. The head of the state is an individual or collective position having role as the highest representative of a country. If there is a question about the head of state of

Indonesia, the answer will definitely refer to Joko Widodo who currently served as the president of Indonesia. It is also related to the speech fragment no. 7 in which the word '*presiden*' appears. The meaning of the word '*presiden*' in this speech fragment certainly refers to the figure of Joko Widodo who currently serves as the head of the government of the Republic of Indonesia..

The use of phrase '*kepala negara*' and the word '*presiden*' is a form of appreciation from media for the position carried out by Joko Widodo. The chosen words for his backgrounding inferred his figure as an actor who has good image, well respected, and in full control over his government. The selection of words that are reasonable and familiar enough makes it easy for people to be able to think of and tell that the figure in question is Joko Widodo.

Based on some data obtained in a month from MediaIndonesia.com, it can be concluded that the figure of Joko Widodo underwent backgrounding and was replaced by his current and previous functional position. The words to replace the name 'Joko Widodo' were not negative either. That is, the forms of phrases that replaced his name were adjusted to what Joko Widodo has truly experienced.

Secondly, backgrounding experienced by Joko Widodo from iNews.id is in the following data.

- (9) Tidak hanya itu, *mantan gubernur DKI* ini juga mengingatkan agar Polri senantiasa menjalankan perannya dalam menjaga kerukunan serta menjaga nilai-nilai kebhinekaan di masyarakat.
- (10) Dalam acara ini, *Presiden* juga menganugerahkan tanda kehormatan bintang Bhayangkara Nararya berdasarkan Keputusan Presiden (Keppres) Nomor 54 TK tahun 2018 tertanggal 29 Juni 2018 dan Keppres 55 TK tahun 2018 tertanggal 9 Juli 2018 kepada empat orang anggota Polri.
- (11) Menurut dia, *mantan wali kota Solo* itu masih perlu melihat siapa sosok kandidat yang bakal dimunculkan kubu penantang, baik capres maupun cawapres mereka.

From analyzing data collected, it turned out that the phrases used by iNews.id online media in backgrounding Joko Widodo were the

same as the phrases displayed by MediaIndonesia.com. This surely is closely related to what is inherent in Joko Widodo and the position he was in. It is shown by the use of the phrase '*mantan Gubernur DKI*' in speech fragment no. 8 which refers to Joko Widodo who had led DKI Jakarta before elected as president of Indonesia. Furthermore, in speech fragment no. 9 appeared the word '*presiden*' which can be interpreted as a figure who leads a country with presidential system and connected to Indonesia; this would refer to Joko Widodo. Likewise, speech fragment no. 10 is still related to Joko Widodo who once ruled Solo before becoming the Governor of DKI Jakarta. Therefore, the backgrounding appears with the phrase '*mantan walikota Solo*'.

Based on several forms of phrases displayed from the figure of Joko Widodo, it can be interpreted that Jokowi is a figure who works hard and willing to grow. Joko Widodo, who currently was the head of Indonesia, had gone well-grounded from the regional level. It meant Jokowi has experience in conducting a region, province and finally a country

Meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto experienced backgrounding by both MediaIndonesia.com and iNews.id, as follow.

- (12) *Ketua Umum Partai Gerindra* itu belum juga tuntas bernegosiasi dengan sekondannya, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), yang kukuh meminta Prabowo memilih calon pendamping dari sembilan nama kader yang disorongkan Majelis Syuro PKS.
- (13) Mencermati perkembangan dinamika perpolitikan terkait pencapresan di kubu oposisi, Pengamat politik sekaligus Direktur Indo Barometer Muhammad Qodari menyatakan saat ini *Ketua Umum Gerindra* sedang berada dalam posisi yang sangat dilematis.

MediaIndonesia.com was backgrounding Prabowo Subianto's figure by using '*ketua umum partai Gerindra*' or '*ketua umum Gerindra*' to replace his name. It is a well-known fact that after his retirement from military service, Prabowo involved himself in politic. Prabowo has served as the chairman of Gerindra, a political party he

founded, since 2008. This fact represented Prabowo Subianto as the holder of full authority in Gerindra. Thus, speech fragments no. 11 and 12 backgrounded Prabowo Subianto by phrase '*ketua umum Partai Gerindra*'.

- (14) Mantan Danjen Kopassus ini juga meyakini tokoh-tokoh yang dimiliki PKS dan PAN akan memikirkan hal yang terbaik bagi kepentingan bangsa dan negara.
- (15) Namun, anggota tim pemenangan Prabowo, M Taufik mengatakan, nama Gubernur DKI Jakarta Anies Baswedan saat ini masuk dalam pembahasan sebagai kandidat cawapres untuk mantan pangkostrad itu.

Speech fragment no. 13 which is retrieved from online media, MediaIndonesia.com, used phrase '*mantan Danjen Kopassus*' to exclude Prabowo Subianto in their reporting. Prabowo Subianto is represented as '*mantan Danjen Kopassus*' for he was once served as the commander general of Kopassus (Special Force Command) with the rank of Major General. The emergence of phrase '*mantan Danjen Kopassus*' to represent Prabowo Subianto in news reporting surely brought huge influence i.e. the notion of him having had great power in military that made him deserved to be respected.

In the speech fragment no. 14 which was published in the iNews.id, Prabowo Subianto's is backgrounded with the phrase '*mantan pangkostrad*'. Not much different from '*mantan Danjen Kopassus*', the phrase '*mantan pangkostrad*' also inferred that Prabowo Subianto was an important and respected person in his past time, especially when he was in Army. The chosen phrase gave a representation that Prabowo Subianto as Commander of the Army Reserve Command (*Pangkostrad*) has high authority in Army. The highest position in the Army brought up the notion that Prabowo Subianto is a disciplined person and highly dedicated to the government.

From some speech fragments mentioned above, Prabowo Subianto can be interpreted as a social actor who has superior power and highly disciplined with resolute mind. This came from considering his background in military. In

ordinary people's mindset, military person is highly educated and disciplined also have strong mind which is not easily influenced by others.

CONCLUSION

Media ownerships can influence the frequency of representing social actors in their reporting. In representing social actors by exclusion, suppression or backgrounding can be applied. Suppression is realized through passive agent deletion and nominalization, whereas backgrounding can result from using functional position of the social agents. For instance in backgrounding by online media, Joko Widodo is mentioned as '*mantan Walikota Solo*', '*mantan Gubernur DKI Jakarta*', or '*Presiden*'. On the other hand, Prabowo Subianto is backgrounded as '*Ketua Umum Partai Gerindra*', '*mantan Danjen Kopassus*', or '*mantan Pangkostrad*'. The forms of backgrounding applied are in accordance with the social actors' experience when serving in certain institution. It means the journey of the social actor as leader in an institution may change the resulted backgrounding. Meanwhile, suppression was influenced by the ownership of the media. MediaIndonesia.com tended to side with Joko Widodo because Surya Paloh as the owner of said media formed a coalition with him for his advances on become a presidential candidate. In contrary, considering how iNews.id reported more frequently about Prabowo Subianto in a month, it can be seen that this media took his side. Based on the description in the result and discussion above, it can be concluded that Joko Widodo was still supported to advance to be 2019 presidential candidate.

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