IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONING OF EDITORIALS ON PRABOWO'S STRATEGY FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2024

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MOTTO

“Your introversion led you here. Intuition protected you along the way. Feelings allowed you to be well balanced, and perspective gave you foresight.”

Emma-Louise Corrin

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this graduating paper to:

The Almighty Allah Subhanahu Wa Ta'ala.

My beloved parents, Yahya Ansori and Yayuk Peny Kartikawati.

My dearest sister, Rafa.

My late grandfather, Alm. Djuardi and My grandmother, Siti Marchamah.

All of my teachers in my life.

My dearest friends.

English Department of UIN Sunan Kalijaga.

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Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb

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kami menyatakan bahwa skripsi tersebut sudah dapat diajukan pada sidang Munaqosyah untuk memenuhi salah satu syarat memperoleh gelar Sarjana Sastra Inggris.

Atas perhatiannya, kami mengucapkan terima kasih.

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FINAL PROJECT STATEMENT

I certify that this graduate paper is definitely my own work. I am completely responsible for the content of this graduating paper. Other researcher's opinion or finding included in this research is quoted or cited in accordance with ethical standards.

Yogyakarta, 14/08/2024

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This research indeed still lacks in some aspects, hence suggestions from the readers will be appreciated.

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IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONING OF EDITORIALS ON PRABOWO'S STRATEGY FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2024

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ABSTRACT

An editorial is an opinionated news article. It can shape public opinion by sharing its' point of view toward a certain event, and additionally, promote its ideology. It is typically done by using particular patterns of language hence text negotiation is important. This research aims to determine the ideology of *The Jakarta Post* and *Deccan Herald* editorials in covering Prabowo's *gemoy* strategy for the 2024 Indonesian Presidential Election. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics theory was applied to reveal the realization of the three language functions used by the two editorials. This research uses a qualitative descriptive method. The ideology was determined using Martin's model of ideology. Through the realizations, the register and the genre of the editorials could also be determined. It was found that *The Jakarta Post* mostly used relational attributive process (37%) to assign attributes to the strategy, Prabowo, and Gen Z voters. Meanwhile, material process (37%) is mostly used by *Deccan Herald* to remind the readers of what Prabowo had done in the past. The register analysis proved that both texts only differ slightly in the field. *The Jakarta Post*'s field is the *gemoy* strategy and its' impact on Indonesian politics and Gen Z voters, while the *Deccan Herald*'s field is the *gemoy* strategy and Prabowo's ruthless past. The tenor is between the writers and the readers, with unequal, infrequent, and low affective involvement. The mode of both texts is written to be read with the genre of hortatory exposition. The ideology of the texts, using Martin's ideology was found to be right-leaning protagonist.

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Keywords: *Ideology, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Editorials, Prabowo, Gemoy*

IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONING OF EDITORIALS ON PRABOWO'S STRATEGY FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2024

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ABSTRAK

Tajuk rencana merupakan artikel yang memuat opini. Tajuk rencana dapat membentuk opini publik dengan menyampaikan sudut pandang dan ideologinya terhadap suatu peristiwa tertentu. Hal ini biasanya dilakukan dengan menggunakan pola bahasa tertentu, sehingga analisis teks menjadi penting. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui ideologi dari tajuk rencana terbitan *The Jakarta Post* dan *Deccan Herald* dalam meliput strategi *gemoy* Prabowo pada Pilpres Indonesia 2024. Teori Linguistik Fungsional Sistemik Halliday diterapkan untuk mengungkap realisasi tiga fungsi bahasa yang digunakan oleh kedua tajuk rencana. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif. Ideologi ditentukan dengan menggunakan model ideologi milik Martin. Melalui realisasi tersebut, register dan genre kedua tajuk rencana juga dapat ditentukan. Ditemukan bahwa The *Jakarta Post* sebagian besar menggunakan proses atributif relasional (37%) untuk menetapkan atribut atau sifat pada Prabowo, strateginya, dan pemilih Gen Z. Sementara itu, proses material (37%) sebagian besar digunakan oleh *Deccan Herald* untuk mengingatkan pembaca tentang apa yang telah dilakukan Prabowo. Melalui analisis register, terbukti kedua teks hanya sedikit perbedaan dalam *field*. *Field The Jakarta Post* adalah strategi *gemoy* dan dampaknya terhadap politik Indonesia dan pemilih Gen Z, sedangkan *field Deccan Herald* adalah strategi *gemoy* dan masa lalu Prabowo yang kejam. *Tenor* kedua teks adalah antara penulis dan pembaca, dengan hubungan yang *unequal, infrequent* dan *low affective involvement*. *Mode* kedua teks adalah ditulis untuk dibaca. Genre kedua teks adalah eksposisi hortatori. Ideologi kedua teks adalah *right protagonist*.

Kata Kunci: *Ideologi, Linguistik Fungsional Sistemik, Tajuk Rencana, Prabowo, Gemoy*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

Language is the essential tool human beings use to communicate with each other, exchange knowledge and ideas, and share beliefs and emotions. This is in line with Downes (1998, p. 2), who stated that humans associate language with expressing thoughts and feelings. By communicating through language, people can share their ideas and opinions about the world and describe phenomena around the world. Language is also used to persuade others to believe a particular point of view on a societal issue. It can be concluded that language, as a communication tool, has the ability to construct ideas as well as beliefs and, therefore, has the influence to shape humans' perspectives.

Language as a means of communication is divided into two forms: oral and written. One form of written language is news media. The news media uses language to deliver information about phenomena or issues around the globe. However, news media often do not only provide reliable information but also tend to convey different perspectives on certain events. This results in news media or journalists having ideological leanings toward a particular side. According to Barker (2016, p. 406), "the reason why the news promotes certain world views is that the media are seen as a reflection of a class-dominated society." Hence, ideology may be consciously introduced by media controllers who are also part of those with power in society.

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The use of language to convey a particular perspective in the news involves specific patterns of linguistic choices. Ghannam, as cited in Suparto (2018, p. 17) stated that language is used in various ways to reinforce and manipulate a message. This implies there are possibilities for readers to unconsciously accept a particular perspective through reading news.

News media promote ideology through framing, which is defined as the way the news is presented. Framing can involve using a particular choice of words to influence how readers view an event or a figure. Vreese (2005, p. 52) stated that news frames may impact how people learn, perceive, and evaluate issues and events. This indicates that the choice of words in news can significantly impact how people view an issue or event. Thus, paying close attention to linguistic features used in news articles, specifically editorials, is essential.

Among the fields that news media cover, the political field is typically the topic editorials cover to promote its ideology. One notable political figure who was talked about during the presidential election is Prabowo Subianto. Since his declaration to run for president in 2024, he has not been immune to the public's attention as this is his third bid for the presidency of Indonesia after his losses back in the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections.

During his career in the military, Prabowo caught the public's attention as he was suspected of being involved in the abduction of 13 activists in 1998. This resulted in him being discharged from military service in the next few months in the same year (Tan, 2015). His military background and involvement in the 1998

Incident create his image as someone who is not only disciplined and stern but also ruthless.

However, the personalities mentioned above do not entirely portray Prabowo's image as it used to be. In recent events following his bid for the presidency, he has shown a different image that implies adorability several times. He showed the public this opposite persona by performing little dances at certain events while being playful and humorous. The public seems divided into two sides regarding the image he is building. Some think that the adorability and the chubby image are catchy and attractive, while others think that dancing is not enough to win voters' hearts (Syamsudin, 2023).

Referring to the matter above, the researcher is interested in analyzing the linguistic features used by editorials in covering Prabowo's *gemoy* strategy because it seems to contradict his image as a person with a military background and as someone tied to human rights violations. Moreover, compared to the other two candidates, Prabowo is more familiar with the presidential election as the 2024 election is his third bid for presidency. This means that he has more experience than the rest of the candidates in building strategies for his campaign.

The researcher chose *The Jakarta Post* and *Deccan Herald* editorials for several reasons. First, *The Jakarta Post* is a local English-language newspaper known for its critical coverage of issues within the nation and internationally. Second, *Deccan Herald* is an Indian English-language newspaper that also covers news and provides opinions on national and international issues. The researcher aims to uncover the two editorials' stances on this matter.

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Analyzing Prabowo's *gemoy* strategy for the 2024 election coverage in news media articles is essential, as both editorials may have potential political leanings. Additionally, the researcher is interested in conducting this research because there may be readers who are not aware of the ideology the editorials convey due to their lack of understanding of the existing linguistic features and patterns used in the articles.

The research will begin by applying the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) approach by Halliday, specifically the three metafunctions, which are the textual, interpersonal, and ideational functions. The SFL approach is considered a suitable approach to this research as it provides a wide range of grammatical tools for the analysis and in finding perspectives of both editorials towards the issue. Further analysis will be conducted to unveil the ideology using the register and genre analyses, followed by Martin's model of ideology.

1.2 Research Questions

Based on the background of the study above, the analysis of this research will focus on the research questions as follows:

1. How are the three functions of language realized in the articles?
2. What is the underlying ideology conveyed by the articles?

1.3 Objectives of Study

Based on the research questions above, the objectives of this research are:

1. To identify the realization of the three language functions used in the articles.

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2. To identify the underlying ideology conveyed by the articles.

1.4 Scope of Study

This research mainly focuses on the language features and patterns used and the ideology conveyed by editorials published in *The Jakarta Post* and *Deccan Herald*. In identifying the language features, Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics theory will be applied to this research. Further analysis of the underlying ideology will be done by identifying the context of the situation and the cultural context of the articles using Halliday's register and genre theory, followed by applying Martin's model of ideology.

1.5 Significance of Study

This research aims to make significant contributions to the field of linguistics and the reader's insights into the media's role, through journalists, in shaping public opinion and perspective on a particular event, in this case, Prabowo's *gemoy* strategy for the 2024 election. Additionally, this research is also expected to give additional information to future researchers who may be interested in conducting similar research.

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1.6 Literature Review

Previous studies on this research topic have been conducted in the past years. Each research has different theories, topics, and approaches.

The first research was conducted by Asad et al. (2019), which analyzes the ideational functions of language (transitivity) in Malaysia and Pakistan online newspapers about election coverage. The method used is qualitative descriptive, while the data is analyzed through Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL),

specifically ideational function by Halliday. This research shows that independent newspapers such as *Malaysiakini* and *Dawn* have been found neutral in reporting the election coverage by giving fair representation to social actors. In contrast, *The New Strait Times* in Malaysia and *The News* in Pakistan, as mainstream newspapers, leaned more toward private political interest. This research is similar to the theory used, which is Halliday's SFL approach. However, it should be noted that Asad's analysis is limited to transitivity analysis, which lies under the ideational function. In contrast, the researcher's analysis will focus on the three functions of Halliday's SFL as a whole. Moreover, despite the similarities in the type of media, which are online articles, the object of Asad's research still differs from the researcher's object. Asad's research focuses mainly on election coverage written by online articles of Malaysia and Pakistan, while this research focuses on the coverage of Prabowo's *gemoy* strategy for the 2024 election. The data of Asad's research was gathered at a certain period, a week before and after the polling day. Meanwhile, the data of this research was collected at one particular time.

The second research was conducted by Koussouhon and Dossoumu (2015), which analyzes SFL mood, epistemic and deontic modality choices, and recoverable references in Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari's inaugural speech. This research also adopts the Critical Discourse Analysis theory as the backbone. This research shows that specific choice of mood types, recoverable references through personal pronouns, and deontic and epistemic modalities were used in Buhari's speech. Interrogative clauses are found in the speech, which can set the audience to listen. It is then explained that the purpose of such a linguistic

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choice is to convey the sense of moral obligation, accountability, and responsibility of the President and his administration. The first-person pronoun *we* dominates the speech, followed by the person singular pronoun *I* through examining the recoverable references. Among the similarities of Koussouhon and Dossomou's research with this research is the application of SFL theory. Furthermore, the object of their research is an inaugural speech by President Buhari, while the research object is two online articles about Prabowo's strategy for the 2024 election.

The third research is a journal conducted by Han et al. (2023).This research focuses on the strategies employed by *Akurat.co* as an online media outlet to cover the news regarding the loudspeaker regulation issued by Yaqut Cholil Qoumas. Through framing analysis, the researcher classified the data into four categories: syntaxis structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetoric structure. It was later found that the newspaper showed an ideological leaning toward the government regarding the loudspeaker regulation. This research applies a different theory to analyze the data. However, Han's research has the same focus as that of the researcher, which is analyzing strategies employed by news media articles and uncovering the editorials' ideology.

The last research was conducted by Aslani and Salmani (2015). This research underlines the notion that news media can use translation as a tool to rewrite or manipulate. The researchers collected some English news texts from *The Guardian, Reuters,* and *The Independent* regarding the Syrian Civil War and the protest against President Bashar al-Assad in 2011. The Persian translations were collected from Keyhan. Using Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis,

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the researchers analyze the data by looking through syntactical, lexical, and intertextual lenses. It is found that the ideological positions of news media providers highly affect the translation process. Consequently, this may also lead to biased news media translations. Although the research the researcher will conduct has a similar object, method, and aim to Aslani and Salmani's research, the data analysis technique differs from theirs.

The similarities found in each study will help the researcher conduct this research, while the differences prove that this research has not been conducted yet.

1.7 Theoretical Approach

The Systemic Functional Linguistics by Halliday has been widely used in analyzing text and its meaning. The most important unit for functional grammar analysis is the clause rather than the sentence (Martin et al., 1997, p. 5). There are three ways of analyzing a text: ideational, textual, and interpersonal. Ideational function focuses on the processes in a text. Interpersonal function focuses on social relations such as the context of situation and the context of culture of the text. The two contexts will also be identified by using Halliday's approaches, which are called register and genre analysis. Lastly, the textual function additionally highlights the fact that text may return to closely related starting locations at the beginning of succeeding phrases.

The researcher, in identifying the ideology of the two articles, uses J.R. Martin's model. Martin (1992) suggested four types of ideological tension: left antagonist, right antagonist, left protagonist, and right protagonist.

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1.8 Methods of Research

1.8.1 Type of Research

In conducting this research, the researcher uses the qualitative method. According to Yin (2011), qualitative research "covers the contextual conditions within which people live." Additionally, the qualitative approach to research is concerned with subjective assessments of attitudes, opinions, and behavior (Kothari, 1990, p. 5). The researcher finds the qualitative method suitable for this research as it concerns ideology that may be promoted by the two articles using particular language patterns.

1.8.2 Data Sources

The first data was obtained from *The Jakarta Post* website (https://www.thejakartapost.com) entitled *Will the 'gemoy' Tactic Be Effective in Wooing Gen Z Voters?* Published on 2 December 2023. The second data was obtained from the *Deccan Herald* website entitled *From Army General to Cuddly Grandpa: Prabowo's Tiktok Makeover* which was published on 11 December 2023 (https://www.deccanherald.com/)

1.8.3 Data Collection Technique

In collecting data, the technique of data collection is one of the essential steps needed in research. Various techniques can be used to collect data. Questionnaires, interviews, documentation, and observation are the techniques that can be considered to collect data.

This research in collecting the data will use documentation. According to Zaim (2014), documentation is a technique that uses written sources to

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obtain data. The written sources may be magazines, newspapers, literary works, legislation, etc. The data collected in this research is in the form of editorials that cover Prabowo's strategy for the 2024 election.

1.8.4 Data Analysis Technique

There are three phases of activity in analysis: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

a. Data Reduction

Data reduction refers to the process of simplifying the data that is considered important. Data reduction is an analysis form that sharpens, sorts, focuses, and organizes the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Since the entire data from both editorials is considered to be important in determining the ideology, the researcher, in an attempt to analyze the data, will start by breaking down longer phrases and sentences into smaller parts. Each word and clause then will be categorized into ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions. This process is in line with Miles and Hubert's process of simplifying. Data simplification can be used in analysis so that the data becomes easier to analyze.

b. Data Display

In this research, the data will be organized in an SFL systematic table. The data then will be calculated by its percentage. After that, the dominant pronouns will be measured and described in sentences.

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Lastly, the data display will be used to reveal the ideology construed by both editorials.

c. Conclusion Drawing

Conclusion drawing is the phase where the research will be concluded. In concluding the research, paying close attention to patterns, explanations, causal flows, and propositions must be taken into account.

The researcher will conclude the results according to the data findings by describing the results of SFL metafunction analysis found in both online articles and the ideology conveyed by the articles.

1.9 Paper Organization

This research has four chapters, which consist of introduction as the first chapter. In the first chapter, there are multiple subchapters such as background of the study, research questions, objectives of study, scope of study, significance of study, literature review, theoretical approach, method of research, and paper organization. The second chapter is the theoretical framework. It provides all aspects of the theory used in this research. Then followed by findings and discussions in the third chapter. In this chapter, the data will be presented and analyzed. The fourth chapter is the conclusion and suggestions. Important points of the entire research will be drawn into a conclusion and summarized in this chapter. Suggestions for future researchers will also be included in this section.

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CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

4.1 Conclusion

Editorial is one form of texts that actively share points of view. Hence it can shape the opinion of the reader. Thus, understanding the in-depth meanings construed by a text is important. In negotiating editorial texts, it is important to look into the situation and cultural contexts contained within. These features of context are both typically presented explicitly and implicitly in a text hence internal and external analyses are needed. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics proposes three functions of language that are widely used to negotiate a text. In a broader spectrum, a text may suggest an ideology through its writing. One model of ideology proposed by Martin was used to analyze the ideology of the texts in this research.

In relation to the first research question, the results of this research show that the most used processes of Transitivity in *The Jakarta Post* and *Deccan Herald* are respectively the relational attributive and the material process. The relational attributive process is used by *The Jakarta Post* to assign attributes to the *gemoy* strategy and Gen Z voters, while *Deccan Herald* mostly uses the material process to describe that he didn't do too badly during the campaign period. Moreover, the material process is used to bring up Prabowo's discharge from the military due to his alleged involvement in the human rights violation in East Timor.

In relation to the second research question, the ideology can be attained by analyzing the register and the genre of the texts. From the transitivity analysis, the

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field of a text can then be attained. The editorials' subject matters revolve around the strategy employed by Prabowo. While *The Jakarta Post* is concerned about its impacts on Indonesian politics and Gen Z voters, *Deccan Herald* shows its concern about his past as well as reminds the reader, especially Gen Z voters about it despite his successful strategy.

At the interpersonal level or tenor, the researcher has found that the relationships between the writers and the readers are unequal with infrequent contact, and low affective involvement. Hence, formal language is used in both texts as they don't know each other personally. Furthermore, at the textual level of meaning, the researcher found that the mode of both texts is written to be read. Following this, the genre of both editorials is hortatory exposition with the leaning in opinion pieces as they use thesis, arguments, and recommendations in the editorials.

From the register and genre analyses above, although the editorials have slightly different approaches to cover the issue, it was found that the ideology of both texts is right-leaning protagonist. This is because both editorials try to resolve the resurging issue by bringing calls for action and awareness to the Gen Z voters about the danger of the strategy itself. They both showed concerns about Indonesian politics and Gen Z voters. However, the *Deccan Herald* writer doesn't side with the Gen Z voters entirely. This is proven by her providing one source who said that the Gen Z voters don't resonate with the older generation. In contrast to *Deccan Herald*, *The Jakarta Post* actively used modalities to demand actions from the candidates as well as make calls for action to the Gen Z voters.

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4.2 Suggestion

The researcher in analyzing the research focused on the application of Halliday's SFL theory and Martin's model of ideology to determine the register, genre, and ideology of the texts. This research may still lack in the deeper analysis of a text hence those who are interested in negotiating a text and its ideology may consider using Fairclough's critical discourse analysis theory or other related theory to understand the in-depth meanings as well as the purposes of a text.

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